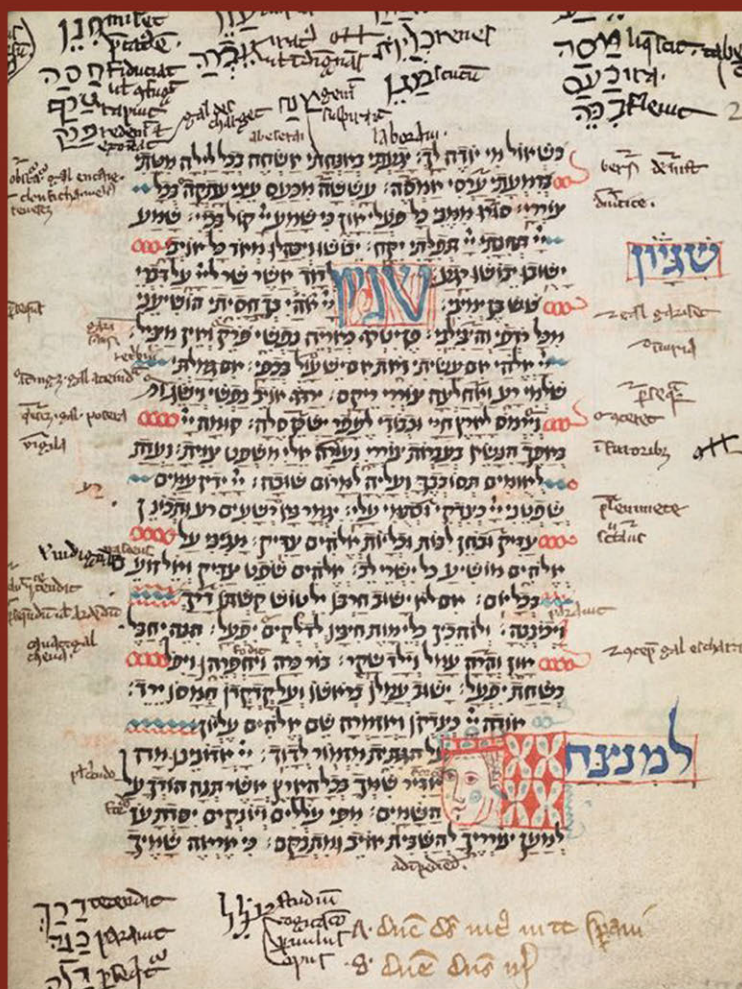
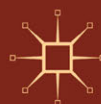


# The Palgrave Dictionary of Medieval Anglo-Jewish History



Joe and Caroline Hillaby



**THE PALGRAVE DICTIONARY  
OF  
MEDIEVAL ANGLO-JEWISH HISTORY**

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# THE PALGRAVE DICTIONARY OF MEDIEVAL ANGLO-JEWISH HISTORY

Joe and Caroline Hillaby

This volume has been published to celebrate the 120th anniversary of  
the foundation of the Jewish Historical Society of England

palgrave  
macmillan



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This book is dedicated to my wife and co-author, whose enthusiasm,  
skills and wide-ranging interests have contributed so much.

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# Preface

Some 25 years ago, Robert Stacey drew attention to ‘the need to begin to think more broadly, to tie our understanding of Anglo-Jewish history to what we know about the general medieval history of England and France’; one might add, ‘Germany, Austria and Sephardic Spain’ (Stacey, 1987b: 68). He continues, ‘in short, to rethink the outlines of the history of medieval Anglo-Jewry, and to do that effectively, we must try to see that history as a whole’ (ibid.). In 1897, Heinrich Gross published *Gallia Judaica*, a geographical dictionary of French Jewry. It was followed by the topographical *Germania Judaica* in 1934. Volumes 2 and 3 were published in 1968, together with a reprint of the 1934 volume. Our own *Anglia Judaica*, by the Reverend d’Blossiers Tovey in 1738, had as its subtitle *The History and Antiquities of the Jews in England*. It provided a few images: the shrine of Little St Hugh at Lincoln, the seal of Jacob son of Master Moses and the Bodleian Bowl. Given the world coverage of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, the English entries of the second edition, contributors learned, were of necessity very limited.

Robert Chazan, in *Reassessing Jewish Life in Medieval Europe* (2010), concluded that the ‘momentous changes’ that took place between 1000 and 1500 ‘did much to shape Jewish experience during the modern period’, and that ‘very little attention has been paid to the positive influences of Jewish life in medieval western Christendom on Jewish experience in the modern West’. Among these he included demographic growth, transfer of population gravity from the Islamic to the Christian sphere, attraction to urban centres and a well-developed communal structure that buttressed Jewish life at both the corporate and individual levels.

This book seeks to address some of these matters. The Introduction gives an overview of the history of the English medieval Jewry. The *Dictionary* itself commences with key statutory and other documentation in chronological sequence, from the so-called Laws of Edward the Confessor of c.1136–38 to the expulsion writ of 1290. The entries that follow fall into three categories: some 45 topographical entries look in detail at the major communities, some providing plans identifying the site of the Jewry, the synagogues and cemeteries where known. Linked to these are biographical entries that examine the leading families of these communities, some of which can be traced back five generations. Finally, a wide range of entries of general interest provide information on matters as diverse as Synagogues, Ritual Child Murder, Women, Libraries and Books, *Mikva’ot*, Usury, Herb Gardens, Bezant, Community, Treasure and Laving Stones. Photographs are by Caroline Hillaby unless otherwise stated. An asterisk \* indicates cross-referencing.

# Topographical, Biographical and General Entries

## Topographical Entries

Arundel	Exeter	Ospringe, Kent
Bedford	Gloucester	Oxford
Bridgnorth, Shropshire	Guildford	Ramsey Abbey
Bristol	Hereford	Rouen
Bungay, Suffolk	Hertford	Southampton
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk	Huntingdon	Stamford, Lincs
Caerleon	Ipswich	Tewkesbury, Gloucs
Cambridge	Leicester	Thetford, Norfolk
Canterbury	Lincoln	Warwick
Castle Rising, Norfolk	London	Wilton
Chichester and Sussex	Lynn	Wiltshire
Colchester	Marlborough, Wilts	Winchester
Coventry	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Worcester
Devizes, Wilts	Northampton	York
Dorchester, Dorset	Norwich	
Dunstable, Beds	Nottingham	

## Biographical Entries, Jewish

Alfonsi, Petrus	Lincoln, Master Benedict of (Berechiah)	Norwich, Isaac of
Bedford, Belia of, and sons	London, Aaron son of Vives	Norwich, Jurnet of
Berkhamsted, Abraham of	London, Abigail and Family of	Norwich, Meir ben Elijah of
Cambridge, Rabbi Benjamin of	London, le Blund Family of	Oxford, David of
Dernegate, Sir Henry de	London, Elias l'Eveske of	Oxford, Jacob of
Hereford, Aaron II le Blund of	London, Jacob ben Judah of	Sudbury, Moses de Clare of
Hereford, Hamo of, and his Family	London, Master Elias of	Winchester, Benedict of
Ibn Ezra, Abraham	London, Master Moses of	Winchester, Chera of
Lincoln, Aaron of	London, Moses ben Isaac ha-Nessiah of	Winchester, Licoricia of
Lincoln, Joseph of	London, Rabbi Josce of, and sons	York, Aaron of
		York, Bonamy of
		York, Josce and Benedict of

## General Entries

Archpresbyter	Fine	<i>Mikva'ot</i>
Attorney	Genealogy	Montfort, Simon de
Badge	Gold: Henry III's two	<i>Oboli</i> and <i>Denarii</i>
Bet Din	Treasures	<i>de Musc'</i>
<i>Bet Tohorah</i>	Herb Gardens	Pawnbroking
Bezant	<i>Herem</i>	Physicians and
Bodleian Bowl	<i>Herem ha-Yishuv</i>	Surgeons
Caricatures	Houses and other	Pipe Rolls and Related
Cemeteries	Buildings, Medieval	Sources
Chests, <i>Archae</i>	Jewish	Poll Tax (Chevage)
Chirographs	<i>In soltis</i>	Population Size
Clare, Gilbert de	Interest	<i>Promissum</i> of 1194
Coin Hoards and Hoard	Jewish Court	Provincial Jewries
Cannisters	Jewish Historical Society	Queen's Gold
Coinage and	of England	Relief
Coin-Clipping Crises	Jews and the Court	Responsa
Community	Jews' Garden	Ritual-Child-Murder
Converts, House of	Judeo-French	Accusations
Cornwall, Richard earl of	<i>Kiddush ha-Shem</i>	Seals, Hebrew
Crossbowmen and	Laving Stones	Sheriffs
Serjeants-at-Arms	Legislation and related	<i>Shohet</i>
Disinherited, The	matters	Starr
Exchequer of the Jews	Leper House	<i>Synagoga</i> and <i>Ecclesia</i>
Exchequer of the Jews,	Liberty	Synagogues
Plea Rolls of	Libraries and Books	Tallages
Exclusion Clauses	Licences for Residence	Tally Sticks
Expulsions, General, 1290	London	Tombstones
Expulsions and	London, Constable of the	Tovey, d'Blossiers
Exclusions, Local,	Tower of	Treasure
1231–83	Madox, Thomas,	Usury
Expulsions from the	1666–1727	Wales and Ireland
Queen Mother's Dower	Manuscripts, Medieval	Westminster Abbey
Towns, 1275	Hebrew	Muniments
Families: Size and	Mark	Wine
Relationships	Masters of the Law	Women

# Acknowledgements

Without Bill Rubinstein this book would not have come into being. It was originally envisaged as part of *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History*, but it soon became apparent that the two periods were so disparate as to demand separate volumes.

We would like to thank the staff at the following libraries: The London Library; the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth; and the University libraries of Bristol, Cambridge, Cardiff, Cheltenham for Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society's remarkable collection of primary sources and journals, Leeds, Leiden, Leipzig, in London the School of Oriental and African Studies and University College London, and in Oxford, the Bodleian. The staff at Malvern Library, especially recently retired Jean Sims, provided an excellent interlibrary loan service.

The increasing availability of medieval material on the Internet, initiated by university libraries especially in the United States and of Toronto, has been invaluable.

On a personal level we should like to record our thanks to Richard Cross of Canterbury Archaeology, Barrie Dobson, the late Marc Fitch, Gordon Forster, John Freeman, Mick Jones and Chris Johnson of Lincoln, Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, Nicholas Orme, Michael Richardson of University of Bristol Library Special Collections, Edgar Samuel, Richard Sermon, Maria Stürzebecher, Piet van Boxel and Chris Willis, and our niece, Susie Young, for her work on the town plans and other illustrations.

Every effort has been made to trace all of the copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked, the publisher will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements at the first opportunity.



# Abbreviations

AHT	<i>Atlas of Historic Towns</i> , ed. M. D. Lobel, 1 (1969); 2 (1975); 3 London to c.1520 (1989)
<i>Am Hist R</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
<i>BAA Conf Trans</i>	<i>British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions</i>
BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i> , British Series
BIHR	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i> to 1986, continued as HR
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
BNJ	<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>
Bodl.	Bodleian
BoE	<i>Buildings of England</i> series
BRS	<i>Bristol Record Society</i> publication
CVMA GB	<i>Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi</i> , Great Britain Series
ECHR	<i>Economic History Review</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EPNS	English Place-Name Society
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HR	<i>Historical Research</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
J	<i>Journal</i>
JBAA	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>
JCH	<i>Jewish Culture and History</i>
JHS	<i>Jewish Historical Studies</i> 29– (1986–)
JHSE	Jewish Historical Society of England
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
LAMAS	London and Middlesex Archaeological Society
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
<i>Misc JHSE</i>	<i>Miscellanies</i> , Jewish Historical Society of England
MoLAS	Museum of London Archaeological Service
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
NS	New Series
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>

OHS	Oxford Historical Society
OS	Old Series
PpR Soc	Pipe Roll Society
PRO	Public Record Office, now The National Archives (TNA)
RC	Record Commission
RCHME	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des Études juives</i>
<i>RHS</i>	<i>Royal Historical Society</i>
RS	Rolls Series
Soc	Society
<i>TBGAS</i>	<i>Trans Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society</i>
<i>TJHSE</i>	<i>Trans Jewish Historical Society of England</i> , 1–28 (1894–1984) continued as <i>JHS</i>
TNA	The National Archives
trans	translated
<i>Trans</i>	<i>Transactions</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Trans Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>TWAS</i>	<i>Trans Worcestershire Archaeological Society</i>
<i>TWNFC</i>	<i>Trans Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club</i>
VAG	Vernacular Architecture Group
<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i>

Map A



Map A The English medieval Jewry: communities with chests



Map B The English medieval Jewry: lesser communities

# The English Medieval Jewry, c.1075–1290: An Introduction

William of Malmesbury tells us that William the Conqueror (1066–87) ‘had transferred’ some Jews to \*London from \*Rouen. The English medieval Jewry therefore shared the Ashkenazic culture of northern France and the Rhineland, which had developed in a Christian milieu, as opposed to the Sephardic culture of Islamic Spain and North Africa. This, however, was beginning to find expression in England by the early twelfth century (see Alfonsi, Petrus). The crusader attack on the Rouen Jewry in 1096, described by Guibert de Nogent, may well have led to a second influx of Norman Jews.

The first evidence of Jews in England comes again from Malmesbury, who describes how the leaders of the London \*community presented gifts to William II at a church festival early in his reign. The king then provoked the Jews ‘to dispute with our bishops’, saying ‘in jest, I suppose’ that if they refuted the Christians by clear proofs and beat them, he would ‘join their sect’. The contest was held ‘to the great alarm of the bishops and clergy, who were filled with fear in their pious anxiety for the Christian faith’. Malmesbury adds, the defeated Jews ‘often boasted they were beaten by party passion and not argument.’<sup>1</sup>

Sources for the early history of the English Jewry are few and scattered. The Laws of Edward the Confessor of \*c.1136–38, c23, state: ‘the Jews themselves and all their possessions are the king’s; but if someone detains them or their money, the king shall demand [them] as his own property if he wishes and is able.’<sup>2</sup> The relationship is clear: the king permitted the Jews to reside in his kingdom, and granted them his protection; in return, they and their wealth were at his disposal. The Jews, for their part, fully accepted the Halachic ruling laid down by the sage Samuel after the Sassanid conquest of Babylon, 226 CE: *dina de-malkhuta dina*, ‘the law of the land is the law.’<sup>3</sup> Confirmation that Henry I, ‘our father’s grandfather’, had granted the Jews their ‘liberties and customs’ and that they may ‘reside freely and honourably in our land’ comes in the charter issued by John in \*1201. The earliest immigrants spoke \*Judeo-French, based on the Norman dialect.

Initially Jewish residence was restricted to London. A St Paul’s Cathedral survey of c.1127 refers to three adjoining plots *in vico iudeorum*, ‘in the street of Jews’, in London. The first official record of the Jewry is in the \*pipe roll, the annual audit of the sheriffs’ accounts at the royal exchequer, of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130. This, the only extant pipe roll for Henry I’s reign, shows London’s Jewish magnates, including their leader \*Rabbi Josce, proffering money for royal assistance in the courts to recover loans from major baronial and ecclesiastical clients. Thus Abraham and Deulesault offered one gold \*mark (£6) to recover their debts against Osbert of Leicester; and Jacob and his

wife offered 60 silver marks (£40) against the abbot of Westminster. The credit facilities offered by the Jewry enabled the Crown to escalate the fines levied on the upper ranks of feudal society. London's Jews were also providing the Crown with credit, repayments being referred to as *\*in soltis*. The £600 paid immediately towards the £2000 fine 'for the sick man they killed' is an indication of the financial resources at the Jewry's disposal.<sup>4</sup>

### **King Stephen and the \*Provincial Jewries**

An English, as opposed to a London, Jewry emerged during the turmoil of Stephen's reign, 1135–54, when his succession was hotly disputed, first by Henry I's daughter, the Empress Matilda, and then by her son, Henry of Anjou. Stephen, possibly of necessity, took a more relaxed attitude than his predecessors. Whilst Henry I had created few new earldoms, Stephen created 12 between 1138 and 1140. The authority of a significant number was enhanced by special grant. Some have argued that Stephen's acceptance of earls ruling autonomous counties as surrogates for the king was only to be expected of a man who had been count of Boulogne, 1125–35. Indeed, for Warren the 'shift of power from central to local control was... a conscious rejection of the trend towards centralisation'.<sup>5</sup>

Stephen's approach quickly became evident in his policy towards other previously closely defended royal monopolies: the mints, the \*coinage and the Jewry. The number of mints was allowed to double, from 24 in the later years of Henry I's reign to over 48 in Stephen's, of which 34 produced 'baronial' coins. Of these, 22 issued coins with Stephen's likeness, 5 with Matilda's, and as many as 17 produced coins with other designs.<sup>6</sup>

The Jewry was not slow to take advantage of this new flexibility. There is evidence of Jews living at \*Oxford by 1141, at \*Norwich, with the first recorded \*ritual-child-murder accusation, in 1144, \*Cambridge in the same year, and at \*Winchester prior to 1148. \*Lincoln, \*Northampton, \*Thetford, \*Bungay and \*Castle Rising were probably founded, as seigneurial Jewries, about the same time. Most of these towns had common characteristics: as major trading centres with good communications by land and, probably more important, by water, they were boroughs of early foundation, with a powerful, strategic, and often early Norman, castle. All except Bungay were Anglo-Saxon mint towns. Lincoln, Northampton and Cambridge had been Anglo-Danish *burhs*, thriving on trade. Winchester had been the administrative centre of the ancient kingdom of Wessex and, later, of Anglo-Saxon England. Oxford had been amongst the foremost Anglo-Saxon *burhs*.<sup>7</sup>

With the preaching of the First Crusade, there had been an assault on the Rouen community and later massacres of Jews in the Rhineland in 1096. The Second Crusade led to further but lesser attacks in 1146. In England, however, as Ephraim of Bonn wrote, 'the king of Heaven saved the Jews through the king [Stephen]. He turned his heart so that he protected them and saved their lives and property. Praised be the Help of Israel.' Certainly, through his sheriff, Stephen came to the aid of the Norwich Jewry during the St William ritual crucifixion trial.

## Henry II, 1154–89

On his accession, Henry II sought vigorously to re-establish the authority of the Crown over both currency and Jewry. The 1159 *Donum*, a levy on London and ten provincial Jewries, now including \*Gloucester and \*Worcester in the west, is evidence of Henry's acceptance of the value to the Crown of such a network. It raised £362 for his Toulouse campaign of 1159–61; London paid £133 6s 8d, just over a third. Norwich, Lincoln, Cambridge, Winchester and Thetford each paid between £44 and £30.<sup>8</sup> As in London, so in the provinces: England's medieval Jewries were almost invariably sited close to the town's principal trading area. They were not ghettos, for Christian and Jew lived side by side. The Jews were not the only moneylenders in the realm. Prior to his accession, as duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, Henry had had to rely on such local moneylenders as William Cade of St Omer and William Trentegeruns of Rouen. (See Usury.)

From 1158–59 the pipe rolls, now an unbroken series, provide valuable biographical and other details of the London and provincial Jewries. By the \*1164 Constitutions of Clarendon, Henry ensured that 'pleas concerning debt... should be in the justice of the king'. Pipe rolls include further references to Jews offering the Crown money for 'help concerning their debts'. Between 1157 and 1164, Isaac, Rabbi Josce's eldest son, following his father's example, was making short-term loans to the Crown. From 1165 the pipe rolls indicate that provincial magnates such as \*Aaron of Lincoln, England's wealthiest twelfth-century Jew, and from 1169 \*Jurnet of Norwich, were encroaching on what had been the preserve of the London magnates. They also had London mansions on prime sites in Colechurch Lane and Lothbury, some with direct access to the city's great \*synagogue, *magna scola*. In \*1177 Henry II granted the provincial Jewries the right to their own \*cemeteries, outside the city walls.

Gervase of Canterbury reports that in 1168 the emperor Frederick Barbarossa complained to Henry II of the excessive departure of his Jews for England. In 1182 Philip Augustus' decree, expelling the Jews from the French royal domain, will have led to a further influx. During Henry's reign personal names provide evidence of immigration from other French lands. Thus the pipe roll for 1182/83 records that a Peitevin at Eye in Suffolk owed 1 gold mark for custody of the son of Jacob of Newport Pagnell. Poitou was one of the lands acquired by Henry through his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine. Later examples of Jews bearing the name Peitevin, and Angevin, are found in the 1220 \*plea roll of the \*Exchequer of the Jews, by 1244 the former are numerous.

By 1186 Henry II began to exploit the taxation potential of the Jewry. For William of Newburgh, the Jews had lived in a country 'in which their fathers had been happy and respected';<sup>9</sup> but Gervase of Canterbury reports that in that year the Guildford \*tallage, totalling £60,000, was imposed. Next year, London Jews faced a tax of one-quarter on their chattels. The 1191–97 pipe rolls show arrears of the London community for the Guildford tallage as £3254 12s 8d.

During Henry's reign the number of provincial communities doubled, from ten in 1159 to twenty in the Northampton *Donum* of \*1194, when their contributions increased from 63% to 73% of the whole. Bungay and Thetford had disappeared, but twelve new communities were assessed for the 1194 tallage: \*Canterbury, \*Warwick, \*Colchester, \*Chichester, \*Bristol, \*Hereford, \*Nottingham, \*Hertford, \*Bedford, \*Exeter, Wallingford and \*Coventry.<sup>10</sup> Thus the Crown could now call upon a network of provincial Jewries, extending from \*York in the north to the rivers Severn and Wye in the west and Exeter in the south-west.

### **The 1189–90 Attacks on the English Jewries**

September 1189 marks the end of the era of personal security that England's Jews had enjoyed. In \*1181 the Assize of Arms had deprived them of items of personal defence. Richard I's coronation, and his forthcoming crusade, was the flash-point for an attack on the London community, when Rabbi Jacob of Orleans was killed along with some 30 other Jews. This was followed in the spring by assaults on East Anglian Jewries. In January 1190 (Kings) \*Lynn's Jewry was plundered and burned; on 6 February the Norwich Jewry was attacked, but a number of its families found safety in the castle; on 7 March crusaders murdered \*Stamford Jews; and, according to Ralph de Diceto, on Palm Sunday, 18 March, 57 were killed at \*Bury St Edmunds, not far from the abbey; in the same month the Lincoln community, forewarned, fled to the castle bail. The 16 March attack, led by Richard Malebisse and other debtors, on the York Jews who had fled to the royal castle was of quite a different order. It was Rabbi Yom Tov of Joigny, a visitor to the city, who called for martyrdom, \**Kiddush ha-Shem*, 'death in sanctification of the divine name'.

In the face of such tribulations Isaac son of Rabbi Josce travelled to Rouen, where in March he negotiated with Richard I's chancellor the \*1190 Charter. This, the first royal charter of liberties of which we have the text, granted him 'all customs and all liberties, just as the Lord King Henry II our father granted and confirmed in his charter.' Thus, as Brand points out, from Henry II's reign

there existed a specific written guarantee of the king's protection for members of the Jewish community and a written statement of certain of the jurisdictional and legal privileges and rules which applied to them... These privileges preserved and even enhanced the separateness of the Jewish community within the wider society.<sup>11</sup>

With the \*1194 Articles about the Jews, *Capitula de Iudeorum*, Richard I's justiciar, Archbishop Hubert Walter, introduced measures to protect Jewish bonds from the fate of those burned in York Minster by Malebisse and his associates. \*Chests, *archae*, were established at a number of authorised Jewries, where bonds had to be registered before 'two lawful Christians, two lawful Jews and two lawful scribes', copies being kept



in the chest. Only such bonds were enforceable in the royal courts. The whole system, controlled by the barons or justices of the Exchequer of the Jews at Westminster, formed the basis for the Jewry's administration for the next century, refined by Henry III's 1233 Statute concerning the Jews. The plea rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, although incomplete, throw an important light on its operation from 1218, and provide an extraordinary range of evidence on the members of the English Jewry.

In 1201, two years after his succession, in return for a fine of 4000 marks,<sup>12</sup> King John granted two charters, the first to 'all Jews of England and Normandy', the second to 'our Jews in England'. For John, as for his predecessors, the charter was to ensure 'that his subjects would not exploit his Jews'. It was a virtual recapitulation of Richard I's 1190 Charter, omitting only Clause 12, relating to Jewish debt during a minority.

A remarkable series of public records commences with John's reign: the charter and fine rolls in 1199, liberate the following year, patent 1201, and close rolls in 1204. For Chazan, these 'non-Jewish documentary sources for the...English Jewry are literally many hundreds of times richer than those for France'. With the plea rolls, they provide 'a fuller historical reconstruction of medieval English Jewry' than is available 'for any other [contemporary] Jewish community of western Christendom' or, one might add, any other section of English thirteenth-century society, except the highest echelons of the baronage and church.<sup>13</sup>

John's problems began in 1204, when the French king, Philip Augustus, conquered both his duchy of Normandy and Anjou. Three years later John made two demands on the Jewry: first, a 4000-mark tallage; and second, a tenth of the value of all Jewish bonds, linked to a list of all debts, together with a valuation of each.<sup>14</sup> In 1210, on his return from his Irish expedition in April, he ordered a 'General Captivity of the Jews', that is all those of consequence. This was followed in November by the 'Bristol' tallage of £40,000, described by the chroniclers as 'of unprecedented severity'. Even the poorest Jew had to pay £2 or quit the realm. Any shortfall led to sequestration of bonds and property, and in some cases torture and death. Isaac of Canterbury was hanged; \*Isaac of Norwich, held in the Tower of London, promised £6667 (10,000 marks) at 1 mark, 13s 4d, a day. Many Jews died in prison, and large numbers fled abroad. John now demanded that Christian debtors paid him directly for money owed on Jewish bonds in his possession. This dangerous policy he moderated in 1212 after a plot on his life. In response to baronial demands, Chapters 10 and 11 of Magna Carta in 1215 restricted the rights of Jewish creditors in relation to widows' dowries and the estates of minors.

### **Revival of the English Jewry**

John died at Newark in October 1216. The lords of the Welsh March, led by William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, buried him at Worcester Cathedral and crowned his nine-year-old son as Henry III at St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. With the country's finances and administration shattered by civil war and the French invasion, the Jewry was regarded

as too valuable an asset not to be revived. This was no doubt due to Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, who was active at the exchequer between 1206 and 1212, when he was appointed Henry's guardian; he served as Justiciar 1214–15. The royal exchequer reopened at the end of 1217, followed six months later by the Exchequer of the Jews, where control was in Peter's hands. According to Nicholas Vincent, his relations with the Jews, in particular with such leading figures as \*Isaac of Norwich and \*Chera of Winchester, 'appears to have been harmonious, even symbiotic'.<sup>15</sup>

For English Jews a new era now began, as a dramatic reversal of policy ensued. Nevertheless, the receipt rolls show that from 1218 to 1224 a sustained effort was made to enforce payment of the arrears of the Bristol tallage, whether from Jews or from Christians whose bonds had been acquired by the Crown. William Marshal, the regent, and senior lay members of Henry's Council of Regency had a keen appreciation, in Tovey's words, of 'what great Profit might arise from the Jews if they were kindly dealt with'.<sup>16</sup> Marshal himself had been granted his personal Jew, of Chambay, one of the wealthiest in Normandy.<sup>17</sup> Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester, an executor of John's will and member of the Council, regarded Coventry and \*Leicester as his own private Jewries; they made no contributions to the early tallages of the reign. During his shrievalty, 1216–23, Walter II de Lacy looked upon \*Hamo of Hereford as his personal Jew. These men had a sympathetic administrator at the Exchequer in Peter des Roches, who had his own fruitful relationships with Isaac of Norwich, Elias of Lincoln and other Jews.<sup>18</sup>

The Council of Regency reissued Magna Carta in November 1217, but omitted Chapters 10 and 11, clear evidence of its acquisitive attitude to the Jewry. Jews in captivity were released. In spring \*1218 Jewish immigration was encouraged, and orders were sent to the constables of the castles at Bristol, Gloucester, Lincoln and Oxford to supervise the elections of 'the twenty-four better and more discrete citizens' who were to be 'custodians of our Jews', and protect them 'especially from crusaders'. At Leicester in 1253, as at Winchester in 1264, 'the twenty-four' were termed 'Jurats', 'those who had taken an oath'. In 1218 the Jews of 17 towns – Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Colchester, Exeter, Gloucester, Hereford, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Stamford, Winchester, Worcester and York – were granted their own communities, where 'all matters, other than pertain to our crown, shall be administered according to their own law'. Communal status was later extended to Jews in other towns (Maps A and B).

The \*sheriffs were to assure Jews that they had the king's firm peace and that they would suffer neither injury nor molestation. Canons 67–70 of the fourth Lateran Council, 1215, regulated the Jewish–Christian relationship, and placed restrictions on the Jewish communities. Those bishops who, following the Lateran decrees, sought to intervene were told 'our Jews are no concern of yours'. The papal legate insisted in 1218 that all English Jews should wear the \*'badge of shame', the two tables; but dispensations

were available for cash. A number of these provide early evidence of the \*community, *kehillah*, in action. After William Marshal died in 1219, his successor, Hubert de Burgh, continued this Jewish policy.

After the Council of the Canterbury province held at Oxford in April 1222, Archbishop Langton and the bishops of Lincoln and Norwich, following the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, issued orders that no Christian should have any communication with Jews practising \*usury, or sell them provisions, under pain of excommunication. The royal council promptly intervened, commanding the three sheriffs to ‘proclaim throughout your district that if you find anyone who shall refuse to sell them food and other necessities you shall capture him and keep him in safe custody’.

### \*Tallages on the Jewry

Details of tallage contributions by Jewries in 1221 and 1223 provide a valuable hierarchy of the wealth of the 17 communities assessed: York paid twice as much as London in 1221 and a third more in 1223. In 1226 \*Wilton, \*Southampton, \*Huntingdon and Bedford were also taxed; and by 1241, when Huntingdon and Southampton were omitted, the Jews of Warwick. The \*1233 Statute sought to impose a maximum \*interest rate of 2d per £1 per week, to replace \*tallies with \*chirographs, and to expel all Jews ‘not of service to the king’.

By the late 1230s England’s Jewry was dominated by a small group of what Lipman calls the ‘super-plutocrats’: \*Aaron and Leo Episcopus of York, \*David of Oxford and Aaron I le \*Blund of London. After Aaron of York replaced Josce of London as \*arch-priester in 1236, the lack of transparency in tallage apportionment fuelled hostility between communities, especially London and York. It also led to tension between the smaller communities and the super-plutocrats who controlled the assessment procedure. This came to a head in 1236, when 18 London Jews gave evidence of the bribery and corruption of four of Henry III’s officers responsible for the administration of the Jewry.<sup>19</sup>

A levy in 1239, of a third on the chattels and bonds of all Jews, lowered tax thresholds dramatically, further increasing tension. At Gloucester, for example, the number of taxpayers doubled, to 24. Bonenfaunt, the community leader, paid £3, but 10 others paid less than 1s. With total receipts, as Stacey explains, unlikely to have exceeded £3000,<sup>20</sup> Henry III, anxious for more cash for his Gascon expedition, intervened personally.

### The Impoverishment of the Jewry, 1241–55

In \*1241 Henry summoned 109 members from 21 communities. This meeting, which has come to be called the Worcester ‘parliament’, following Tovey’s term, *Parliamentum Judaicum*, was to discuss not the amount of the forthcoming tallage, 20,000 marks, but its allocation. Sums already paid towards the third would be taken

into account as contributions towards it. A committee was formed of six *maiores*, the wealthiest, and six *mediocres* or *minores* such as Bonenfaunt of Gloucester. The latter were to assess the former. The radical new distribution provided immediate relief for poorer communities and the less wealthy: the six smallest communities paid 0.2% or less. By contrast, Aaron of York was assessed at 6000 marks, Leo Episcopus and David of Oxford 2200 marks each; between them some 50% of the whole. The assessment of the London magnates, Aaron I le Blund and Aaron son of Abraham, was a mere 1200 marks each. The dominance of York over the leaders of the old-established London community was due to Aaron and Leo's mutually beneficial relationship with the rapidly expanding sheep-farming interests of the Cistercian and other monasteries of northern England.

For Stacey, this tallage 'inaugurated a new and ultimately disastrous decade... [for] the medieval Anglo-Jewry', with the eventual ruin of the super-plutocrats:<sup>21</sup>

By 1241, after two decades of economic and demographic growth,... the English Jewish community controlled approximately 200,000 marks in liquidable assets, a sum equivalent to roughly one-third of the total circulating coin in the kingdom. Per capita, this made them almost certainly the wealthiest Jewish community in Europe.<sup>22</sup>

Henry III was now well aware of where this wealth lay. With the death of Leo in 1243 and David in 1244, Aaron of York was exposed to the full impact of the rapacity of Henry III; by 1255 he declared himself bankrupt.

Between 1244 and 1250 tallages totalled another £40,000. The clients of the Jewry began to feel the impact. On a Jew's failure to pay the full amount, the sheriff and chirographers were ordered to remove his 'better and clearer' bonds from the chest, following which the sheriff was to distrain the client's property. Thus, when Rachel, daughter of David Lumbard of Nottingham, owed £12 for her portion of the £10,000 tallage of 1246, they were 'to distrain in any way you know the Christians named in her chirographs'.<sup>23</sup>

Tallage was not the only means by which the Jewry was impoverished. On the death of a Jew his heirs became involved in detailed negotiation over the \*relief of one-third of the estate, due to the Crown. In 1231 the sons of Hamo of Hereford faced a claim for 6000 marks, in 1244 the heirs of Leo Episcopus of York one for 7000 marks, the highest relief in the Jewry's history. Although exempted from tallage, the two families were effectively ruined. David of Oxford's estate was assessed at 5000 marks; only by exercising her personal skills on Henry III did his widow, \*Licoricia, ensure her survival in relative affluence.

The Jewry had further financial burdens to bear. From 1230 Henry III began to grant respite of interest on Jewish loans. Thus Robert Mucegros, Roger de Clifford and others 'on the king's service abroad' were to be free of interest on their debts to Jews. In some cases the principal also was pardoned, being deducted from the Jewish lender's debts

to the Crown. A further means of rewarding servants of the Crown was by extension of terms, the time limit after which interest became payable. On other occasions wealthier Jews were ordered to meet the living costs of, and even provide homes for, royal \*crossbowmen.

\*Elias l'Eveske, who replaced Aaron of York as archpresbyter in 1243, had to meet ever-increasing demands from Henry III. By 1252 crisis point had been reached. When a further tallage was ordered early that year, Aaron I le Blund and his brother Elias attempted to flee the realm with their families. As Stacey has pointed out, 'between 1241 and 1255 the king assessed close to 100,000 marks in direct taxation against the Jews... , more than three times what he had assessed between 1221 and 1239'.<sup>24</sup> In 1254 l'Eveske cracked under the strains of office. On hearing of yet another 10,000-mark tallage, he made a highly impassioned, but wholly unsuccessful, plea for the English Jewry to be allowed to leave the realm.

Henry III had built a house for Jewish \*converts, *Domus Conversorum*, in Chancery Lane, in 1232. His \*1253 Statute concerning the Jews sought a general tightening up of the legislation relating to the Jewry. 'Based largely upon ecclesiastical canons,' it included provisions concerning synagogues and the wearing of the badge. This, together with rapidly deteriorating economic circumstances, led to increasing numbers of converts, 143 in 1255. Henry's response was to oblige monasteries to provide accommodation.

The ritual-child-murder charges, first raised at Norwich in 1144, and again at Gloucester in 1167–68, were renewed at Lincoln. The discovery of the body of 'Little St Hugh' in 1255 led to the hanging of 18 of 92 Lincoln Jews incarcerated in the Tower. This was the most notorious of such accusations.

### Richard, earl of Cornwall

In 1247, when Henry III had ordered a recoinage, he placed control of the operation in the hands of his brother, Richard earl of Cornwall, who in four years minted £1 million in pennies, taking a profit of £20,000 for himself. In 1253 Richard lent the king 1000 marks, 'repayable from the Jews of England out of their tallage'. In the words of William Prynne, in his *Short Demurrer to the Jewes* (1656), 'those whom the king himself had excoriated he handed over to the earl his brother to be eviscerated'. This was not altogether a fair judgement, for Richard was too shrewd a businessman not to nurture a valuable resource; hence his intervention in 1255 to ensure the release of those Lincoln Jews still in the Tower.

In February that year Henry again granted the Jewry to his brother. In return for 5000 marks, the patent rolls explain, 'he has assigned to him all his Jews of England, and also bound the said Jews to the payment of the 3000 marks' of the 1254 tallage. The king had already 'pledged his jewels of the old treasure', which included 76 girdles, 307 rings, 51 brooches, the queen's crown, the king's little crown, the crown

of Norway and a chaplet (*capellum*) of the Emperor. At Richard's request Aaron of York was exempted from the £1000 tallage of October 1255 on account of poverty, but London and the provincial Jewries were surcharged 10% for his 'portion'. The king was even to pledge the Jewry to his son Edward in 1262, in return for most of his estates; the following year Edward, also anxious for cash, granted it to the 'citizens and merchants of Cahors' for two years. In 1270, to subsidise the prince's crusade, Henry imposed a 6000-mark 'aid' on the English Jewry. Receipts being only 4000 marks, the next year he borrowed the sum outstanding from Earl Richard, who was to be repaid by the Jewry.<sup>25</sup>

Elias l'Eveske's 1254 outburst and Aaron's bankruptcy indicate, as Stacey points out, that the Jewry was 'financially ruined and spiritually demoralised'. The year 1257 witnessed the triumph of the sons of \*Master Moses, with the dismissal of Elias l'Eveske as archpresbyter 'for the trespass committed against the king and against his brother'. The evidence suggests that their victory was due principally to Earl Richard, for whom they had 'laboured much'. In the future few English Jews were to thrive without the support of a member of the royal family: during the reign of Henry III, from his queen, Eleanor of Provence, or brother, Earl Richard; during that of Edward I, from Eleanor of Castile, or his brother, Edmund earl of Lancaster. The only major patron outside the royal circle was that of \*Aaron son of Vives, Gilbert, the Red Earl of Gloucester.

For some years the king had been granting selected Jewish bonds to members of the royal family – his queen, Eleanor of Provence; his brother Richard; and, above all, his hated Poitevin half-brothers, the de Lusignans: Aymer, elected bishop of Winchester in November 1250 but unconsecrated until 1260, and William de Valence, lord of Pembroke. This process became a major political issue when they demanded payment from the Jews' Christian clients. The \*1258 Petition of the Barons at the Oxford parliament demanded an end to such royal trafficking in Jewish bonds, which they declared was 'to the manifest disherison' of landowners great and small, and the Provisions of Oxford pressed for 'reforms in the [administration of the] Jewry'. The struggle for Jewish bonds had become a struggle for that most important of all commodities in the medieval world, land.

### **Civil War 1264–65 and its Consequences for the Jewry**

The papal dispensation of Henry III's oath to observe the Provisions of Oxford, and their formal annulment in January 1264 by St Louis, king of France, led to the outbreak of civil war. In the words of a contemporary chronicler, 'by the non-observance of these Provisions...the realm of England was profoundly troubled and many thousands of men perished', amongst them numerous Jews. Hostilities opened with Henry III's capture of Northampton in April 1264.<sup>26</sup>

In London there were deep divisions. The popular party, strong supporters of de \*Montfort's cause, fearing collusion between the patricians, the London Jews and the

royal troops, launched a violent attack on the Jewry. Other attacks, with the chests and their bonds as their principal objectives, were made at Bristol, Canterbury, Gloucester, Lincoln, Northampton, Nottingham, Winchester and Worcester. After Prince Edward's victory and de Montfort's death at Evesham in August 1265, his \*Disinherited supporters burned the Lincoln synagogue, carried off the Cambridge and Bedford chests to their camp in the Isle of Ely, and plundered Norwich. When the forces of Gilbert de Clare, seventh earl of Gloucester 1262–95, entered London in April 1267, the Jewry was attacked again.

With peace restored, Henry III was desperately anxious to heal the ravages suffered by his Jewry. He revoked all de Montfort's pardons of debt, even those endorsed with his own seal, and granted that the Jews might recover their dues from all their debtors. Such debts were to be reinstated to their status 'as of the day of the battle of Lewes'. Those improperly removed from the chests were also to be restored, 'if they can be reasonably reconstructed'. At this time one can detect a greater readiness to issue licences under the 1253 Statute for Jews 'to tarry' in towns in which Jews had not been 'wont to dwell', as at Bridgnorth in 1267. Other licences were granted to Jews moving to established communities, such as Nottingham in 1273. The patent rolls show that in 1269 Henry III, fearing his rebuilding of Westminster Abbey would not be completed in his lifetime, commanded all issues of the Jewry to be devoted to that purpose.

At Prince Edward's instigation, measures were introduced to deal with what he recognised as the genuine problems raised by the barons in relation to the sale of Jewish bonds. By the \*1269 Provisions of the Jewry debts secured on land in fee were prohibited, as was the sale by Jews of existing bonds, except under licence from the Crown. The \*1271 Statute touching Lands and Fees of the Jews decreed that no Jew may 'have a freehold in manors, lands, tenements, fees, rents and holdings whatsoever by charter, gift, ... or any other wise'. No longer able to lend money at interest on the security of lands and so on, their economic activity was seriously limited. They could let houses lawfully only to Jews, not to Christians, except on leases already negotiated. In Oxford and York, where Jewish investment in domestic property was considerable, the implications were dire. In the capital Jews were permitted to repair and restore their 'houses formerly demolished'.

## Edward I

Henry III died in November 1272. Only in August 1274 did Edward and his queen return from crusade. The coronation took place the next month. In 1273 his ministers had imposed a levy of a third on all Jewish moveable goods, the heaviest tax since 1241. Many Jews, lacking the cash, had to pay in bonds; thus their creditors, distrained by the sheriffs, carried the burden. This caused a political furore, which Edward, with vivid memories of the Petition of the Barons, 1258, now sought to assuage.

At the same time, he began to address the problem that had bedevilled his father's reign: cash flow. He persuaded a parliament, meeting in April 1275, to impose a customs duty of 6s 8d, half a mark, on each sack of wool or 300 woolfells exported from England and Ireland. Yielding some £10,000 per annum, this provided Edward with a degree of security for the loans that he had been receiving whilst on crusade from the Riccardi of Lucca. Their officers were to hold half the customs seal, the cocket, attached to the sacks of wool exported from 16 accredited ports. Two local officers held the other half. The first clause of the \*1275 Statute of the Jewry enacted that 'no Jew shall lend anything at usury... beyond 18 March. Covenants made beforehand shall be kept, but usuries shall cease.' In October a further parliament approved a tax of one-fifteenth on moveables.<sup>27</sup>

Usury, 'which had led to disinheriting the good men of this land', being prohibited, Jews were to live by 'lawful merchandise... and their labour'. The chests, with bonds negotiated before the Statute, were closed, and their contents scrutinised. New chests, however, were opened later. In bonds contracted after 1275, large quantities of grain and wool are recorded, but the overall evidence suggests that the Jewry was not wholly converted to trading in such commodities, and that usury was not eradicated. The Statute permitted Jews to lease farmland, but only for 15 years, leading Rigg to suggest that Edward already had a 1290 \*expulsion in mind, should his 1275 provisions fail.<sup>28</sup>

This legislation also reinforced article 9 of the 1253 Statute. The badge of shame had to be 'of yellow felt, six inches long and three inches broad' (15 by 7½ cm) and worn by 'each Jew after he or she is seven years old'. Residence was again restricted to 'where the chirograph chests are wont to be'. The Statute also imposed a chevage of 3d a year on all Jews aged 12 years or more, for the benefit of the House of Converts (*see* Poll Tax). In the same year, at the instance of his mother, Eleanor of Provence, Edward I commanded the \*expulsion of all Jews from her dower towns of Cambridge, Gloucester, \*Marlborough and Worcester, each of which had a chest. Ordered to move to specified neighbouring communities, not all obeyed.

The fifteen Articles Touching the Jewry for Enquiry of c.\*1276 have been examined by Brand. Two relate to the coinage: the first to Jews who 'falsify and clip coins, and buy silver plates fused from clippings'; the second to 'Christians and Jews who give and receive in exchange good money for clipped money'. They thus anticipate the \*coin-clipping crisis, one of the most horrifying episodes in the history of England's medieval Jewry.<sup>29</sup> It opened late in 1276, with commissions to try accusations of coin-clipping in London and Nottingham, and later extended nationwide. According to the chroniclers, 680 Jews were incarcerated in the Tower. Rokéah has shown that in London and Middlesex 269 Jews were hanged, as compared to 29 Christians.<sup>30</sup> There were also many executions at provincial centres.<sup>31</sup> Rokéah notes that 'receipts... connected with coinage offences, exceed a princely £16,500 in a period of some five years'.<sup>32</sup>



Immediately following the Articles is a text with no title, but its principal concern is the evasion of the provisions prohibiting usury in the 1275 Statute:

By a new and wicked device, under colour of trading and good contracts and covenants, [the Jews] have dealings with Christians by bonds and divers instruments... in which they stipulate for twice, thrice or four times as much as they part with to Christians... avoiding the term 'usury'.

Draft proposals are then put forward to remedy the situation.

The late 1270s witnessed the forceful entry of Edward I and Eleanor of Castile into the land market. By pardoning debts to the Jewry, Eleanor in particular acquired encumbered estates. Probably the most spectacular example was the release by William de Leyburn to Edward and his queen of Leeds Castle,<sup>33</sup> which, situated on its lake, became a favourite residence of theirs, and of Edward III and Henry VIII. By 1290 Eleanor had gained an unsavoury reputation, which even led to a letter of remonstrance by the archbishop of Canterbury, who warned her of the dangers to her immortal soul.

In 1280, following a papal bull, Edward I commanded 'sheriffs and all bailiffs... to induce the Jews' during Lent,

by such means as they under the inspiration of the spirit of truth may think most efficient, to... hear without tumult, contention, or blasphemy, the word of God preached by the [Dominican] friars, and ensure others do not interfere with those converted.

The number of admissions to the *Domus Conversorum* suggests that the friars had little impact.

The last tallage imposed on the Jewry was in \*1287. The Bury chronicler reported that, as a preliminary, on 2 May 'Jews throughout England of every age and both sexes were thrown into prison. They returned home only after they had agreed to pay the king £12,000'. Delegates from 18 communities were summoned to discuss details at the 'mini-parliament' in London at Eastertide. Less than £5000 was received.<sup>34</sup>

### The Expulsion

In July \*1290, the year after he expelled the Jewry from his duchy of Gascony, Edward instructed his sheriffs and the \*Constable of the Tower of London that all Jews, with their wives, children and chattels, were to quit the realm by 1 November, on pain of death. Edward's motives still arouse lively debate. He blamed the Jews for maliciously contriving a worse sort of usury, called courtesy (*curialitas*). Others have attributed it to the impoverishment of the Jewry. For Prestwich the expulsion of the Jews was 'part of the price for financial stability'.<sup>35</sup> For Stacey it was one of a number of 'connected elements in an evolving political bargain' between Edward and his parliament. For the

knights it may have been perceived 'as the only way to ensure that the king would fulfil his previous engagements to eliminate Jewish lending and the traffic in Jewish bonds, an aim that they had sought 'ever since 1258'.<sup>36</sup>

Linked to this was the hostility towards the royal family, especially Edward's queen, Eleanor of Castile, whose voracious appetite for land led to her continued large-scale trafficking in Jewish debts, and estates encumbered by them. The popular view was summarised by the ditty: 'The king covets our pennies, the queen our fine manors.'<sup>37</sup> To what extent did Edward I's need to sever such links between the royal family and the Jewry play a part in the expulsion? Significantly, the shrine of Little St Hugh (d.1255) in Lincoln Cathedral is attributed to the post-expulsion years, that is more than 35 years after his death, and 'displays such close acquaintance with the Eleanor crosses [marking her funeral procession in 1290] that it has to be considered alongside them'.<sup>38</sup> The political message behind the crosses was the piety and power of the English Crown in the person of Edward I.

At the expulsion in 1290, the Constable of the Tower recorded that 1461 Jews embarked from the port of London for Wissant, halfway between Calais and Boulogne, of which 126 poorer Jews paid customs dues of 2d rather than 4d. Small numbers also departed from other ports. The suggestion that 16,000 were expelled is far from the mark. (*See Population Size.*) Most went to France, a smaller number to Germany. The last word perhaps rests with Snooks: 'Probably the most important effect of these [Jewish] money-lending facilities, which were less localised than other factor markets, was a decline in interest rates in the thirteenth century.'<sup>39</sup>

*See also* Cemetery, Community, Jews and the Court, Synagogue, and Jewish Court.

□ For general studies of the English Jewry: Roth (1964); Richardson (1960); Mundill (1998); Skinner (2003)

## Notes

1. Malmesbury, *GR*, 563.
2. O'Brien (1999), 184–5, 96–7.
3. Neusner & Avery-Peck (2003), 82.
4. *PpR*, 1130, 53, 146–9, discussed in Hillaby (1995), 8–12.
5. Warren (1987), 94.
6. Blackburn (1994).
7. Hillaby (2003a), 14–40; Stacey (1995).
8. *PpR*, 1159–60, 3, 12, 17, 24, 28, 35, 46, 53, 65; Hillaby (2003a), table 1, p. 21.
9. Newburgh (1996), 555.
10. TNA/E101/249/2.
11. Brand (2000), 1138–9.
12. *Rot Ob*, 133.
13. Chazan (2006), 155.
14. Stacey (1988), 137.
15. Vincent (1992), 119–22.
16. Tovey (1738), 77.

17. Richardson (1960), 202 n. 1.
18. Vincent (1992), 121–2, & (1996), 177–80, 288–90, 363–4.
19. Adler (1941).
20. Stacey (1987a), 147.
21. Stacey (1985), 175–249, & (1987a), 158.
22. Stacey (2003), 41.
23. Causton (2007), no. 206.
24. Stacey (1988), 138.
25. Denholm-Young (1947), 120, 157–61.
26. For the Montfortian case, Stacey (1991); Treharne (1986), 171–208.
27. Prestwich (1990), 98–103; Kaeuper (1973), 135–71.
28. Rigg (1902), xlii.
29. Brand (2000), 1144–58; Skemer (1999).
30. Rokéah (1990), 98.
31. Rokéah (1993).
32. Rokéah (1990), 92.
33. *CCR*, 1278, 499; *CPR*, 1279, 334.
34. Rokéah (2001).
35. Prestwich (1990), 344.
36. Stacey (1997), 77, 100.
37. Guisborough, 216.
38. Stocker (1986), 109–17; Colvin, 1 (1963), 485.
39. *Enc Jud*, 6 (2007); 625; Snooks (1995), 42.

# Dictionary of Medieval Anglo-Jewish History

## Statutory and other Key Documents

### **c.1136–post1138, *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, the Laws of Edward the Confessor**

Chapter 25 of the *Leges* provides the first documentary evidence of the relationship of the English Jewry to the Crown. It reads:

It should be known that all Jews ... ought to be under the guardianship and protection of the lord king; nor can any one of them subject himself to any wealthy person without the licence of the king, because the Jews themselves and all their possessions are the king's. But if someone detains them or their money, the king shall demand [them] as his own property if he wishes and is able.

The *Leges* purport to be an expression of the Confessor's laws as practised in the mid twelfth century. The earliest manuscripts have been examined by O'Brien, who has identified two versions. The alpha, which refers to the Jews 'wherever they are in the kingdom', he dates to 'ca. 1136?'; the beta, referring to them 'in whichever kingdom they may be', to 'after 1138?' O'Brien believes that the *Leges* were most likely inspired by Stephen's 1136 Charter of Liberties for the Church, as common ground is extensive. Hence the suggested dates, for their author had not only a keen interest in local administration, but also 'a precocious knowledge of the legal position of the Jews'. O'Brien makes a strong case for their being compiled at \*Lincoln.

O'Brien points out that the 'tentative and conditional language' of both versions as to the nature of royal control of the Jewry

may imply that, whilst the king could profit from his control of the Jews, so too could his barons, lay and ecclesiastical, and that this is exactly what was happening. Jews were moving out of London and out of royal supervision and establishing relationships of protection and benefit with local magnates,

as seigneurial Jewries. The political conditions of Stephen's reign permitted the foundation of England's first \*provincial Jewries. There is evidence of Jews in \*Oxford by 1141, \*Norwich, with the boy William murder accusation, in 1144, \*Cambridge in the same year, and \*Winchester prior to 1148.

Howden records a later version, c.1180. William I, he tells us, 'consulted the country as to the ancient customs', a reference to the Laws of Edward the Confessor. Chapter 25 effectively repeats the alpha version, but ends, 'the king shall claim their money as his own', without the qualifying phrase, 'if he wishes and is able'.

□ O'Brien (1999), 96–7, 184–5; Howden, *Annals*, 1 (1853), 553

### 1164, Constitutions of Clarendon

Clause 15 states: 'Pleas concerning debt which are owed on pledged faith or without pledge of faith are to lie within the jurisdiction of the king.'

As Warren points out, such

royal interest in pleas of debt may ... be presumed to have derived considerable impetus from the peculiar relations of the Crown and the Jews... The Crown therefore not only extended to them its especial protection but also had an interest in debt collection on behalf of moneylenders – an interest which the local courts might not have shared with the same enthusiasm.

Early \*pipe rolls show Jews offering payments 'that the king might help them concerning their debts.'

□ Stubbs (1951), 167; Warren (2000), 546–7; *EHD*, 2 (1981), no. 126

### 1177, Jewish Provincial \*Cemeteries authorised

Roger of Howden records that in 1177 Henry II granted

to the Jews in his dominions to have a burial ground for each city of England, without the walls of the said cities, wherever they could, for a reasonable sum and in a convenient situation, purchase a place for the burial of their dead. Before this all Jews who died were carried to London to be buried.

Howden's report that \*Benedict of York was refused burial by both Christians and Jews in 1189 suggests that there was a Jewish cemetery at Northampton by this time. The earliest firm evidence of a provincial cemetery is at Norwich in 1200.

Henry's grant represents the coming-of-age of the English \*provincial Jewries. The expulsion returns and other sources identify cemeteries at \*Bristol, \*Lincoln, Northampton, \*Norwich, \*Oxford, Winchester, York and possibly \*Canterbury, \*Stamford and \*Worcester.

□ Howden, *Annals*, 1 (1853), 458

### 1181, Assize of Arms

This stipulated the military equipment that each man should have according to his rank and wealth. Article 7, however, stated that:

No Jew is to keep in his possession a cuirass or hauberk, but he is to sell the same or give them away, or in some other manner dispose of them but so they continue to be used in the service of our lord the king.

□ Howden, *Annals*, 2 (1853), 9; Stubbs (1951), 183; *EHD*, 2 (1981), no. 27

### 1190, Richard I's Charter of Liberties for the English and Norman Jewries

This was granted on 22 March 1190 to Isaac, eldest son of Rabbi Josce, who had moved to \*Rouen following the September attack on the London Jewry.

Richard, by the grace of God, and so on.

- [1] Know that we have granted and...confirmed for Isaac son of \*Rabbi Josce, his sons and their men all customs and all liberties, just as the Lord King Henry [II] our father granted and confirmed in his charter to the Jews of England and Normandy, namely the right:
  - [i] to reside in our land freely and honourably;
  - [ii] to hold from us all things which the aforesaid Isaac and his children held at the time of our father King Henry in lands, fiefs, pledges, gifts and purchases, that is 'Hame' [unidentified] which our father King Henry gave them for their service, and Thurrock [Essex], which Isaac purchased from Earl Ferrers, and all the houses, properties and pledges which Isaac and his sons had in our land at the time of our father King Henry.
- [2] If a dispute arise between a Christian and Isaac or any of his children or heirs, he who summons the other to answer his complaint shall provide the witnesses to prove the matter, namely a law-worthy Christian and a law-worthy Jew.
- [3] If Isaac, his heirs or his children shall have a writ concerning the dispute, the writ shall serve them as witness; if a Christian shall have a dispute against the aforesaid Jews, it must be judged by the peers of the Jews.
- [4]
  - [i] If any of the aforesaid Jews shall die, his body shall not be kept above ground. Let his heir have his money and his debts. In that way he will not be disturbed, if he has an heir who can answer for him and redress his debts and forfeits.
  - [ii] The aforesaid Jews may accept and buy whatever is brought to them, except things belonging to the Church and bloodstained garments.
- [5] If they be summoned by anyone without a witness, they shall be acquitted by their oath upon their book [of the Law]. In regard to summons concerning those properties which belong to our Crown, they shall likewise be acquitted by an oath on their roll.
- [6] If a dispute arises between a Christian and any of the aforesaid Jews or their children about a settlement of any money, the Jew shall prove the principal and the Christian the \*interest.
- [7]
  - [i] The aforesaid Jews may sell their pledges peacefully, after it is certified that they have held them for a full year and a day.
  - [ii] They shall not enter into judgment except before us or before those who have custody of those bailiwicks in which the Jews reside and wherever they have been.
- [8] They may go wherever they wish with all their chattels, just as our property. None may retain them or deny them these rights.
- [9] If a Christian debtor dies owing money to a Jew, and has an heir, during the minority of the heir, let not the Jew be disturbed of his debt, unless the heir's land is in our hands.
- [10]
  - [i] We order that the Jews be acquitted, throughout all England and Normandy, of all customs and tolls and prisage of wine, as our own property.
  - [ii] We order and command you that you guard and defend and protect them.

## 1194, Form of Proceeding in Pleas of the Crown

[iii] We forbid anyone, on pain of forfeiture, from bringing the aforesaid Jews to court concerning the above.

□ *Fædera*, li, 51; Jacobs (1893), 134–8; Roth (1938), 6–8; Chazan (1980), 67–9; Brand (2000), 1138–9; Richardson (1960), 109–12

### 1194, Form of Proceeding in Pleas of the Crown, including Articles about the Jews, *Capitula Iudeorum* (Cap 24)

Archbishop Hubert Walter, Richard I's justiciar 1193–98, introduced these measures to ensure, amongst other things, the safekeeping and regulation of Jewish bonds, and to inform the Crown of the resources of the Jewry. For Clanchy this 'provided the first public archives and official writers'. However, it was 'primarily concerned... with taxing the Jews and their transactions as thoroughly as possible'. Cap 9 refers to 'killers of Jews'; 'all the pledges and debts of Jews killed are to be taken into the king's hands; those present at the killing who have not made fine... are to be taken and not liberated except by the king or his justices'. Cap 15 refers to 'deceased usurers and their chattels'.

Stacey has recently argued that:

the creation of the *archae* system in 1194 and the emergence of the Jewish exchequer in 1198 were less directly responses to the massacres of 1189–90 than has sometimes been suggested... [but] are better understood as reflections of an increasingly aggressive royal claim to exercise exclusive lordship over all the Jews of the kingdom.

### Cap 24, Articles about the Jews

All debts, pledges, lands, houses, rents and possessions of Jews are to be enrolled. Any Jew who conceals any of these things shall forfeit to the king his body and... all his possessions and chattels.

Let six or seven places be appointed at which Jews shall make their loans, and two lawful Christians, two lawful Jews and two lawful scribes be appointed; and in their presence... let such loans be made, and let a deed describing the loan be made... One part shall remain with the Jew, sealed with the seal of the borrower, while the other part shall remain in the common \*chest, on which there shall be three locks, of which the two Christians are to keep one key, the two Jews another, and the clerks the third; and those who have the keys shall apply their seals. The clerks are to have a register containing copies of all deeds. For each deed shall be paid three pence, a moiety by the Jew and a moiety by the borrower; the two scribes shall have two pence and the keeper of the register the third. No loan shall be made, no payment made to Jews, no alteration of the deeds, except in the presence of the aforementioned. The two Christians, two Jews and keeper of the register are to have a roll of receipts.

Every Jew shall swear upon his roll [Scroll of the Laws?] that he will cause all his debts, pledges, rents, and all his property and possessions to be registered, that he will not conceal anything; but shall secretly disclose anyone who has concealed anything, forgers of deeds and clippers of money, when he knows of such persons.

The Articles refer to a 'deed' providing details of the loan. In practice \*tallies were used. The \*1233 Statute amended procedures, seeking to ban the tally and enforce the \*chirograph.

□ *EHD*, 3 (1995), no. 15; Howden, *Annals*, 2 (1853), 338; Stacey (2013); *ODNB*, 'Hubert Walter'; Wykes, 42–3; Richardson (1960), 118–20; Cramer (1941); Clanchy (1993), 71–2

### 1201, John's Charters of Liberties

John issued two charters on 10 April 1201. In the first he granted to all Jews of **England and Normandy** that:

- [1] they may reside freely and honourably in our land, and hold of Us all things that they held of King Henry [I], our father's grandfather, and all that they rightfully hold in lands, fees, gages and purchases;
- [2] they may have all their liberties and customs as they had them in the time of the said King Henry, in better and more peaceful and honourable enjoyment.

This charter then effectively repeats Clauses 2–8 and 10 of Richard I's \*1190 Charter of Liberties, omitting Clause 9, concerning the debts of a deceased Christian during the minority of his heir. Stacey draws attention to the different wording of Clause 7, that Jews 'shall not enter into judgment except before us ...' Richard's charter continues 'or before those who have charge of those lands in which the Jews reside or where the Jews might be', whereas John's reads 'or before those who have custody of our castles, in whose bailiwicks the Jews live'. For Stacey this signifies John's claim to 'an exclusive legal jurisdiction over Jews'.

In 1249 and 1271 Henry III 'inspected and confirmed' this charter 'in favour of the Jews of England and Normandy'.

To 'our Jews in **England**' John confirmed in 1201 that:

1. The breaches of right that shall occur among them be examined and amended amongst themselves according to their Law, so that they may administer their own justice amongst themselves, except such as pertain to our Crown and Justice, as touching homicide, mayhem, deliberate assault, housebreaking, rape, larceny, arson, and treasure (trove).
2. As often as any of them shall have appealed another touching a cause of action which pertains to them, We will compel none to give evidence in



## 1210, General Captivity of the Jews and the Bristol Tallage

favour of one against another; but if the appellor shall have a lawful and fit witness, let him bring such witness with him.

3. But if there shall have occurred among them some matter of a heinous character and notorious, pertaining to our Crown or Justice, as one of the said Pleas of the Crown, though appellor thereof there be none among them, We will make inquest to be had touching that cause by our lawful Jews of England, as the Charter of our father, King Henry [II], rightfully witnesses.

For this charter the Jews of England offered a fine of 4000 marks.

□ *Rot Chart*, 93; Rigg (1902), xxi, 1–2; Richardson (1960), 109–12, 176; Brand (2000), 1138–9; Stacey (2013); *CChR*, 12.49, 347, & 1271, 164

## 1210, General Captivity of the Jews and the Bristol Tallage

In 1207 John had imposed two tallages. The first was for 4000 marks, the second a 10% levy on all Jewish loans. Each moneylender was to provide details of all his loans, attaching his valuation for each. To confirm that the appropriate amount had been paid, the Crown had the option of taking the debt, at the Jew's evaluation.

In April 1210 the more affluent members of the English Jewry were imprisoned, and their bonds, tallies and so on recorded. In November a tallage, which Richardson describes as of 'unprecedented severity', was imposed. The total demanded was £40,000, a sum confirmed by the \*plea rolls of the \*Exchequer of the Jews for 1218. Even the poorest Jew had to pay £2 or quit the realm.

Any shortfall led to sequestration of bonds and property, and in some cases torture and death. Isaac of Canterbury was hanged. Roger of Wendover reports that, of those imprisoned 'one, even after being dreadfully tortured, refused to ransom himself or put an end to his sufferings... the king ordered his agents to knock out one of his cheek-teeth daily, until he paid 10,000 marks of silver to him'. Having lost seven teeth, 'the said Jew, reluctant as he was...', gave the said sum to save his eighth tooth'. For his life \*Isaac of Norwich, held in the Tower of London, promised John 10,000 marks – to be paid at 1 mark a day. Many Jews died in prison, and large numbers fled abroad.

The Jewry milked dry, John now demanded that Christian debtors paid him directly for money they owed on Jewish bonds in his possession. This he moderated after a plot on his life in 1212. However John's Jewish policy left its mark on Magna Carta, \*1215. In response to baronial demand, Chapters 10 and 11 restricted the rights of Jewish creditors in relation to widows' dowries and the estates of minors.

As Stacey explains, 'entire communities disappeared, a generation of Jewish leaders was wiped out through death, flight or execution; many records of Jewish debt were [later] destroyed by baronial partisans'. For the Lanercost chronicler, the Jews of London, many of whom had lost their homes, 'prowled the city like dogs' in 1215.

The receipt rolls 1220–24 give the names of many Jews and Christians who, having survived the rigours of these years, were now being called upon to pay the arrears from John's 1210 tallage.

□ *Wendover*, 2 (1849), 252–3; Richardson (1960), 153, 168–72; Stacey (1988), 137

### **1215, Magna Carta**

Where money was outstanding from the \*Bristol tallage of 1210, John seized Jewish bonds. To realise these debts he distrained their Christian clients. The barons introduced three chapters into Magna Carta to address this issue. Chapters 10 and 11 related directed to the Jewry, whilst Chapter 9 applied to debt more generally. Chapters 10 and 11 were not included when Henry III's Council of Regency reissued Magna Carta in 1216 and 1217. Problems arising from the Crown's prosecution of Jewish debtors were to be raised again by the barons in their \*1258 Petition:

- [9] Neither we nor our bailiffs will seize any land or rent in payment of a debt, so long as the debtor's chattels are sufficient to repay the debt. A debtor's sureties shall not be distrained so long as the debtor can discharge the debt. If, lacking the means, the debtor defaults in the payment of the debt, his sureties shall answer for it. If they wish, they may have the lands and revenues of the debtor until they have received satisfaction for the debt they paid on his behalf, unless the debtor can show that he has discharged his obligations to them.
- [10] If anyone who has borrowed money from the Jews dies before the debt is repaid, no \*interest will apply to the debt while the heir is under age, of whomsoever he holds the lands. If the debt falls into our hands, we will take nothing except the principal sum specified in the bond.
- [11] If a man dies in debt to the Jews, his wife may have her dower and pay nothing towards the debt from it. If he leaves children who are under age, their needs shall be provided for as appropriate to his holding. The debt shall be paid out of the residue, saving the service due to his feudal lords. Debts owing to others than Jews shall be dealt with likewise.

□ J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (1965), 125–7, 232–4, 320–1, 352; Stubbs (1951), 294; *EHD*, 3 (1995), no. 20

### **1218, The Re-establishment of the English Jewry by Henry III's Council of Regency**

By the time of John's death in October 1216 the impact of civil war and the French invasion had led to the collapse of the royal administration. Both rolls and exchequer cloth had been lost, but the \*Exchequer of the Jews was reopened in May 1218, its justices being appointed by 'Common Council'. It was Michaelmas before the \*sheriffs started to account again. The regent's financial sources were thus 'limited in the extreme'.

The depth of this financial crisis led to a dramatic reversal in royal policy towards the Jewry. In 1217 the nine-year-old Henry III's Council of Regency, under the leadership of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, was 'informed', in the words of de Blossiers Tovey, 'of what great Profit might arise from the Jews if they were kindly dealt with.' This some Council members knew from their own experience. In 1200 William Marshal had been granted his personal Jew, Meir of Bernay, one of the wealthiest in Normandy, by John as duke of Normandy. William's close ally, Walter II de Lacy, had been sent by John in 1214 to buy horses at Narbonne, the largest and culturally most important Jewry north of the Alps. There he had seen for himself the benefits that could accrue to both Christian and Jew of a harmonious relationship. Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester, an executor of John's will, was to retain his own private Jewries at \*Coventry and \*Leicester, which made no contributions to the 1221–26 tallages. In this respect, he was possibly following the example of his political ally, Falkes de Bréauté, at \*Bedford.

The Council took immediate measures to secure its new policy. First signs of change came in April 1217, with the release of some of the most wealthy, and vocal, members of the Jewry, including Elias of \*Lincoln, Isaac son of Solomon and his wife, \*Chera of Winchester, with her two servants. Their bonds were returned. After \*Isaac of Norwich renewed the promise he had made to John in 1210, to pay one mark a day, the constable of \*Norwich castle was ordered to defend and protect him, and all other Jews of the town. It was then ordered that all Jews in prison should be released.

The policy was further developed in spring 1218. Emigration by English Jews was prohibited, except by royal licence. To encourage Jewish immigration, the wardens of the ports were to 'place no impediment in the way of Jews entering the realm', but to register their names on the rolls of the justices of the Jews. As a consequence of John's loss of Normandy and Anjou to the French king in 1204, immigrants came mostly from Poitou and lands to the south. This is reflected in the names of English Jews such as Peytevin the Great of Lincoln; Pictavin of Bedford, \*Belia of Winchester's second husband; and the leader of \*Stamford Jewry.

The patent and close rolls record that on 19 June writs were sent to the sheriffs and constables of the castles at Lincoln, \*Stamford, \*Gloucester and \*Northampton; the constable of \*Bristol; the sheriffs of \*Hereford, \*Worcester and Hampshire; the sheriff and citizens of \*York; and the citizens of \*Winchester. They were to 'proclaim throughout all your bailiwick that the Jews are to have their own \*community and that we have granted them our firm peace'. At Lincoln, Gloucester, Bristol and \*Oxford, 24 of the 'better and more discreet' citizens were to protect the Jews, especially from crusaders.

The 1220 \*plea roll shows that, despite such precautions, three Jews had been murdered at Lincoln, without any action being taken by the 24. The sheriff was commanded by the Exchequer of the Jews

to have before the Justices the men of Walter de Evermen who slew Moses of Lincoln and to bid the mayor of the city to be before the Justices at the said

term and have there the Christians that slew Sarra, wife of Deulecresse, and Deulecresse himself.

Later nine named individuals responsible for Moses' murder were brought before the justices. A further mandate to the sheriff, prompted by his 'slackness', ordered that 'he use diligence in this matter'. The writ instructs that, 'all these things you shall do as they were done in the days of our father, John'.

As his 1201 Charter of Liberties makes no mention of local communities, one can only assume that they were a subsequent development. However, at Norwich in 1200 the curia regis rolls record that the Jewry, as a community in law, had sued the burgesses for breaking into their cemetery. By 1219 there is evidence that the same conditions were enjoyed by the Jewries at Cambridge, Canterbury, Colchester, Exeter, Nottingham and London. Each of the 17 communities had its own chest, *archa*, and liability of assessment for tax. All contributed to the 1221 and 1223 tallages.

The Council refused to be browbeaten by clerics, and informed the sheriffs of cathedral cities that 'action taken contrary to these instructions by the bishop...is of no effect, for our Jews are no concern of his'. Further, 'you shall not permit the Jews to be impleaded in any ecclesiastical court on account of any debt'. Although, due to pressure from the papal legate, the 'badge of shame' was introduced, formal dispensations were available for small sums.

A strict financial regime was imposed. Arrears due from Jews for the 1210 Bristol tallage, and from Christians whose debts had been forfeited by John, had to be paid. The Easter 1220 receipt roll provides names of numerous Christians with arrears outstanding *pro judeis* and a lesser number of Jews for the tallage. The respective figures of Christians and Jews so assessed at Gloucester, Lincoln and Canterbury are 28 and 2, 8 and 2, and 12 and 2. Four years later a few tallage arrears were still outstanding. Thus at Gloucester Filia, wife of Jacob of Oxford, still owed 10s and at Hereford, Solomon of Canterbury and Aaron le Prestre each owed 6s 8d.

The receipt rolls also record the sums owed by Christians whose Jewish bonds had fallen into the hands of the Crown, either by the death of the Jewish moneylender or his failure to meet its demands. In a number of notorious cases the Council sold some of its more problematic debts to Elias of Lincoln and Isaac of Norwich. The appropriate sheriffs were warned 'to follow our instructions carefully lest, through your default, our debts shall not be paid at the terms given to Elias and we shall be losers in this matter'. On one occasion Elias moved onto the debtor's property with a gang of 26 locals. As Holt explains, 'Peter des Roches and William Brewer, old watchdogs of John's Exchequer, had not forgotten their tricks.' (*See also Community.*)

□ *PR*, 1216–25, 59–60, 95, 98, 105, 157, 179–81; *Rot Litt Claus*, I, 354b, 357, 359b; Richardson (1960), 178–83, 285–92; Carpenter (1990), 50–3, 82–3; Vincent (1996a), 117 n. 26–7, 177–80; Tovey (1738), 77

### 1233, Statute Concerning the Jews

Henry III ordained that:

- [1] Loans contracted with Jews shall be by \*chirograph only, not by \*tally. The Jew shall have the first part, with the seal of the Christian debtor attached; the Christian debtor the second part; the third part, the *pes*, foot, shall be put in the \*chest for safekeeping by both Christian and Jewish chirographers.
- [2] A chirograph whose foot is not in the chest is invalid.
- [3] No Jew shall lend by penalty, but he can charge \*interest of no more than twopence per pound per week, so that only the sum first loaned is at risk.
- [4] Only Jews who can be of service to the king and find sound sureties for loyalty may remain in our kingdom.
- [5] Jews who can be of no service to the king shall quit the kingdom before Michaelmas 1233. If they remain they will be imprisoned and released only on the king's special command.
- [6] No Jew may grant loans on church plate or on garments stained with blood, sodden or with holes, as if obtained by force.

These procedures, and the administration of the chests (sections 1 and 2), were tightened up in \*1239, as indicated in mandates to the \*sheriffs of Essex in February 1240 and \*Nottingham in May \*1241. Section 1 of the Statute was amended: the first part of the chirograph was to be given to the Christian; the second part, with the seal attached, to be placed in the chest; and the *pes* to go to the Jew.

Such attempts to outlaw the tally proved ineffectual. Nor is there evidence to suggest that articles 4 and 5 were strictly implemented, or that they led to many Jews leaving the country.

□ *Rot Litt Claus*, I, 378; *EHD*, 3 (1995), no. 28; Richardson (1960), 147, 293–4; Causton (2007), nos 81, 197

### 1239, The 'Third,' and Revised Legislation

Matthew Paris reports, under the heading *De destructione Judaeorum*, that on 22 June 1239 the Jews were pillaged and incarcerated, their wealth being extorted. In order to keep their lives and the peace, they paid the third part of all their money, debts and chattels alike. Stacey casts doubt on Paris's assertion that 'the seeds of their destruction ... were raised up by a certain homicide ... secretly perpetrated by the Jews'. However, as the Third was 'cast in the form of a \*relief' and thus the only known Jewish tax on which \*queen's gold was assessed, he suggests that it was 'provoked by some real or imagined criminal charge of which the entire Jewish \*community was held to be guilty'. Possibly what exercised Henry III's mind were the events at \*Norwich that led to at least three Jews being hanged c.1240.

The *archae* were closed in June 1239. In November keepers and clerks of the \*chirographers' \*chests were dismissed and the \*1233 regulations were revised. The part of

the chirograph with the seal attached was to be placed in the chest instead of the *pes*, which was now to go to the Jew. The new appointees were to 'swear to conduct themselves faithfully in their office'. The entry in Fitz-Thedmar's *Chronicle* dated December 1239 refers to 'the repression of the malice and falsity of the Jews' but, as Richardson points out, 'the connivance of many people – lenders, borrowers and officials – was necessary to make clandestine transactions easy and safe'. From Michaelmas all Jews were required to remain in their towns of residence for a year, 'and may only move by our special mandate'. A moratorium was imposed on all \*interest charges on Jewish debts from June to Christmas Day 1239, and the rate of interest was limited to 2d per £1 per week. Mandates to this effect were sent by the justices to the \*sheriffs of Essex in February 1240 and \*Nottingham, May 1241, and presumably all others.

The Third led to a dramatic lowering of the taxation threshold, to include poorer families who had previously escaped taxation, and was effectively a \*poll tax. Details of payments made by members of the \*London, \*Canterbury, \*Winchester and \*Gloucester Jewries identify individuals not normally encountered in tallage returns, thus providing a fuller picture of these communities. About a quarter of contributors were women. Between 73% and 92% of payments were under £1; at Gloucester over 40% were under 1s; some were as low as 2d. Despite the threat of imprisonment in the Tower, total receipts, as Stacey has shown, probably did not exceed £3000. Henry III therefore made careful preparations for the imposition of a 20,000-mark tallage in \*1241, with account taken of payments made to the Third. It was to be assessed in quite a new way.

In 1240 Henry attempted what Stacey has called 'the most extraordinary innovation', an accurate census of all English Jews. On 1 July the sheriffs of Northampton, Cambridge, Lincoln, York, Nottingham, Bedford, Norfolk and Suffolk were informed that two Exchequer clerks were to enquire as to the chattels and bonds of Jews in their bailiwicks and record the names of every Jew and Jewess aged 12 years and over, including widows. A Nottingham mandate reveals that the chests were still closed in May 1241, due to reopen sometime before October.

□ Stacey (1985), 175–86, 210–21; Causton (2007), nos 81, 197; *CR*, 1237–42, 238–9; *CLR*, 1240, 482–3; Fitz-Thedmar, 199–201

### 1241, Worcester 'Parliament'

In January 1241 a writ was sent to 21 \*sheriffs, to inform their Jewries that the king

commands you, as you love yourself and all yours and so that we do not most grievously seize upon you by force, that you cause to come before us at Worcester on the Sunday next before Ash Wednesday six of the wealthier and more powerful of our Jews of [each \*community] to treat with us of your utility as of ours, knowing that unless you come at the aforesaid time we will so aggrieve you by your body and chattels that you will forever feel our hand... immoderately.

The king's words had their effect. On that day 109 Jews assembled at Worcester to treat with the king in person. All seventeen communities recognised in 1218 were represented, together with \*Bedford and \*Warwick, and two counties: \*Wiltshire, with 5 representatives, and Dorset, 2. Such a Jewish gathering was unprecedented, apart possibly from the meeting in 1194 at \*Northampton. It was d'Blossiers Tovey, one of the first historians of the English Jewry, who, in his *Anglia Judaica* of 1738, dubbed this assembly the 'Jewish Parliament'. There is no record as to where in Worcester this took place, but it was presumably either in the cathedral chapter house or refectory, or the great hall of the bishop's palace.

The title has stuck, but it is inapt. The meeting was called to negotiate, not the size of the levy, for Henry III had already determined the total, 20,000 marks, but its distribution. The 'elaborate arrangements to prevent favouritism or bribery' have been described by Stacey. The representatives appointed six of their wealthiest members (*maiores*) – David of Oxford, Leo of York and the four Londoners, Aaron I le Blund, Aaron son of Abraham, and Benedict and Jacob Crespin – to serve as assessors with the \*archpresbyter, Aaron of York. They had to collaborate with six representatives of the *mediocres/minores*: Bonamicus of Canterbury, Leo son of Solomon of Lincoln, Josce of Kent (of York), Bonenfaunt of Gloucester, Abraham son of Muriel of London and Bonamicus (son of Copin) of Oxford. Bonenfaunt, as their only representative, had to fight for the interests of the smaller Jewries.

The king thus used the leaders of the smaller and medium-sized communities, the majority, to bring to heel the magnates, assessment of the *maiores* being conducted by the *mediocres*. Each community recorded the names of those in their Jewry with chattels worth £2 or more. This, together with the records of the prior scrutiny of all 21 \*chests, meant that apportionment could begin.

The outcome was a radical reform of the distribution of the tax burden. In the 1241–42 tallage five magnates were assessed at 64% of the total: \*Aaron of York, 6000 marks, despite having paid in 1235 'to be quit of tallage for his life'; Leo Episcopus of York, his father-in-law, and \*David of Oxford, 2200 each; and Aaron I le \*Blund and Aaron son of Abraham, 1200 marks each. As Stacey explains,

until 1241 disproportionate assessments left a large share of the magnates' wealth in their own hands, while at the same time claiming for the king an overly large share of the working capital of lesser men, increasing even further the gap between the magnates and the rest of the Jewish community.

Henry's success in 1241 was followed by a further tallage demand in 1244, for £40,000, which all but ruined the plutocrats of the English Jewry. Both Leo and David died in that year. Their respective heirs had to pay 7000 and 5000 marks as \*relief. Early in 1252 Aaron le Blund and his family were arrested, trying to flee the realm with their valuables. As Matthew Paris, with the benefit of hindsight, was to write, the events of \*1239 did indeed herald the destruction of the Jewry.

The victory of the *mediocres* at Worcester was short-lived. In 1249 Elias l'Eveske, arch-priest since 1243, and his predecessor, Aaron of York, with Aaron son of Abraham and Abraham of Berkhamsted, were appointed to assess a new tallage. They were to take with them two middle-class and two poor Jews 'so that the rich be not spared nor the poor too much grieved'. With Abraham of Berkhamsted described by Matthew Paris as 'a most wicked and merciless Jew' who 'accused all the others corruptly and in violation of the truth', it is not difficult to imagine how they fared.

□ *CLR*, 1240, 482–3; *CR*, 1241, 354–5; *CPR*, 1249, 46; Causton (2007), nos 81, 197; Stacey (1985), (1987a), 142–59, & (1988); Tovey (1738), 110–13; Hillaby (1990c), 88 for list of delegates

### 1253, Statute Concerning the Jews

The King has ordained that:

- [1] no Jew remain in England unless he do the King service, and that from the hour of birth every Jew, whether male or female, serve Us in some way;
- [2] there be no synagogues of the Jews in England save in those places in which such synagogues were in the time of King John, the King's father;
- [3] in their synagogues the Jews, one and all, subdue their voices in performing their ritual offices, that Christians may hear them not;
- [4] all Jews answer to the rector of the church of the parish in which they dwell touching all dues parochial relating to their houses;
- [5] no Christian nurse in future suckle or nourish the male child of any Jew, nor any Christian man or woman serve any Jew or Jewess, or eat with them or abide in their houses;
- [6] no Jew or Jewess eat or buy meat in Lent;
- [7] no Jew disparage the Christian Faith, or publicly dispute concerning the same;
- [8] no Jew have secret familiarity with any Christian woman, and no Christian man with a Jewess;
- [9] every Jew wear his \*badge conspicuously on his breast;
- [10] no Jew enter any church or chapel save for purpose of transit, or linger in them in dishonour of Christ;
- [11] no Jew place any hindrance in the way of another Jew desirous of converting to the Christian faith;
- [12] no Jew be received in any town but by special licence of the King, save in those towns in which Jews have been wont to dwell;
- [13] The justices of the Jews are to cause these provisions to be carried into effect, and rigorously observed on pain of forfeiture of the chattels of the said Jews.

Of the 13 articles, numbers 2, 4, 5, 8, 9 and 10 were adopted from the canons of the Council of \*Oxford in 1222. For Richardson this Statute 'enforces a good deal of ecclesiastical doctrine'. For Stacey it was 'a highly inadequate response to the problems which [Henry III's] excessive Jewish tallages had created at court and in the countryside'.

□ *CR*, 1251–53, 312–13; Rigg (1902), xlviii–xlix; Richardson (1960), 177, 191; Stacey (1991), 147



**1258–59, Petition of the Barons and Provisions of Oxford and Westminster**

At Oxford magnates of the realm, both high and low, together with members of the clergy, brought forward a series of articles as matters ‘requiring correction’ in the realm. These included serious abuses in the administration of the Jewry.

**May 1258, Petition of the Barons**

Article 25 sought a remedy in that Jews sometimes transferred debts and lands pledged to them to ‘magnates and other persons powerful in the kingdom’ who thus gained access to the lands of minors. Although the debtors were ready to pay, with \*interest, the magnates put the matter off, so that by hook or by crook the lands and holdings remained in their hands, claiming that they can do nothing without the Jew to whom the debt was due, and that they know nothing, until by ‘the intervention of death or some other mischance, evident peril and manifest disherison plainly threaten those to whom the holdings belonged’.

‘Magnates and other persons powerful’ included Henry’s queen, Eleanor of Provence; his brother, Richard earl of Cornwall; and his hated Poitevin half-brothers, the de Lusignans, William, earl of Pembroke and Aymer, bishop of Winchester. A later beneficiary, Walter de Merton, Henry’s chancellor, 1261–63, founded Merton College on land that he acquired from \*Jacob of Oxford.

**June–July 1258, Provisions of Oxford**

Clause 17 reads: ‘\*Sheriffs shall be appointed who are loyal men and sound landholders ... who will deal well, loyally and uprightly with the people of the county.’ It concludes: ‘Be it noted to provide such reforms in the Jewry and concerning the keepers of the Jewry as to redeem the oath thereby.’

**October 1259, Provisions of Westminster**

Clause 23 stated:

Further let sound and wise men be appointed by the justiciar and treasurer to decide, during Advent and the first days before the next parliament, what reforms are needed at the great exchequer and the \*exchequer of the Jews. And let these same men provide reasonable maintenance for those who shall be at either exchequer.

□ Treharne & Sanders (1973), 86–7, 108–9, 155; Harvey (1977), 169–71; Stacey (1991), 147–9; Stubbs (1951), 377, 382

**1269, Provisions of the Jewry**

It is provided by the King, with the advice of the Lord Edward ... for the better ordering of the land and the relief of Christians from the burdens laid upon them by the Jewry of England, that:

[1] all debts to Jews which are fees, and in the hands of the Jews and not assigned or sold to Christians, provided that before this day they have been confirmed by the King or

- enrolled at the Exchequer, be quit to the Christians by whom they are owing, and to their heirs for ever, with their arrears;
- [2] the charters of the fee-debts aforesaid, wherever they shall be found, be returned to the Christians who owe the debts, or to their heirs.
  - [3] if any such charter be hereafter placed or found in [a] \*Chest, let it be held of none. Let no Jew take or make any such fee-debt.
  - [4] no Jew shall sell any such fee to a Christian on pain of forfeiture of life and chattels, and no Christian shall purchase it, on pain of forfeiture of his chattels and his inheritance.
  - [5] no Jew may sell his debt without licence of the King. If a Christian purchase it by licence of the King, let him have no more thereof than the King would have if the debt were in his hand; that is to say, the chattel that is found in the charter, without \*interest.

This legislation is reflected in orders to the \*chirographers of \*Bristol and \*Norwich to remove from their chests all charters containing perpetual fee rents on land and deliver them to the barons of the Exchequer. It was confirmed and strengthened in \*1271.

□ *CPR*, 1269, 376; Rigg (1902), xlviii–li; Richardson (1960), 104 n. 5; Causton (2007), nos 2, 174

### 1271, Statute Touching Lands and Fees of the Jews

Know that for the honour of God ... and the better ordering and increased prosperity of our land, and the relief of the Christians from the losses and burdens which they have sustained by reason of the freeholds which the Jews of our realm claim to have in lands, tenements, fees, rents and other tenures; and lest mischief should grow therefrom in future to Us or the people of our realm ... We have ordained and decreed that:

- [1] No Jew have a freehold in manors, lands, tenements, fees, rents or tenures ... whatsoever by charter, gift, feoffment ... or any other manner.
- [2] Nevertheless they may continue to dwell in the houses in which they dwell in cities, boroughs or other towns, and have them as they have been wont in time past ... They may lawfully let [their houses] to Jews alone, and not to Christians.
- [3] It [is] not lawful for our Jews of London to buy ... more houses than they now have in our city of London ... Nevertheless the Jews of London shall be able to repair their ancient houses and buildings formerly demolished and destroyed, and restore them to their former condition. Touching their houses to be dwelt in or let, no Jew [shall] plead or be able to plead but only before our justices appointed to the guardianship of the Jews by the writs of Jewry hitherto used.
- [4] Touching lands and holdings whereof Jews were enfeofed before the present Statute, we will that such infeudation and gifts be totally annulled, and that the lands and tenements remain to the Christians who demised the same. However, the Christians [should] satisfy the Jews of the money or chattel specified in their charters and \*chirographs ... without \*interest. If those Christians cannot satisfy them thereof forthwith, it be lawful for the Jews to demise those tenements to other Christians, until their chattels can be levied therefrom without interest ...

## 1275, Statute of the Jewry

- [5] Touching nurses of young children, bakers, brewers, and cooks employed by Jews, because Jews and Christians are diverse in faith, we have decreed that no Christian man or woman presume to minister to them in the aforesaid services.

The Statute develops the 1269 provisions. It also prohibited the letting of Jewish houses to Christians. As a result, Roth notes, \*Jacob of Oxford, who owned some 20 tenements in the town, dismantled one property to its foundations, carting the stone and wood to Pennyfarthing Lane in St Aldate's parish to build a fair hall, *aula*; outside Oxford's North Gate, Lumbard of Cricklade stripped a property, acquired as a forfeit, of everything of value before disposing of the site.

□ Rigg (1902), I–IV; Fitz-Thedmar, 195–201; Richardson (1960), 104–8

## 1275, Statute of the Jewry

The king has seen that many evils and (disinheritance) of good men of his land have resulted from usuries made by Jews in the past, from which many sins have followed; though the king and his ancestors have received much benefit from the Jewish people in the past, he has nevertheless ordained, for the honour of God and the common benefit of the people, that:

1. no Jew shall lend anything at \*usury... beyond 18 March. Covenants made beforehand shall be kept, but usuries shall cease. Those who owe debts to Jews on pledges of moveables shall clear them before Easter, or the pledges shall be forfeited.
2. if any Jew shall lend at usury the king will not concern himself to recover his loan, but will punish him at his discretion and do justice to the Christian to recover his pledge.
3. a moiety of the lands and chattels of Christians is to be kept for their sustenance, and no distress for a debt owing to a Jew is to be made upon the heir of the debtor or other person holding the land that was the debtor's before the debt is proved and allowed in court.
4. if a \*sheriff or other bailiff has... to give a Jew, or... Jews,... seisin of chattels or land to the value of the debt, the chattels are to be valued by the oaths of good men and be delivered to the Jew or Jews... to the amount of the debt, and if the chattels do not suffice, the lands shall be extended by the same oath before seisin is given to the Jew or Jews,... so that... the debt is paid and the Christian may have his land again, saving always to the Christian half of his land and chattels for his sustenance as aforesaid, and the chief dwelling.
5. ...in future [a Jew] is not in this matter to be otherwise privileged than a Christian.
6. all Jews shall dwell in the king's own cities and boroughs, where the \*chirograph \*chests of the Jews are wont to be;
7. each Jew after he (or she) is seven years old shall wear... the two Tables joined, of yellow felt, six inches long and three inches broad [15 by 7½ cm].
8. each Jew after he is twelve years old shall yearly at Easter pay to the king whose serf he is, a tax of three pence,... as well for a woman as for a man.
9. no Jew have power to enfeof another, Jew or Christian, with houses, rents or tenements that he now has, or to alienate them in any other manner, or to acquit any Christian of his debt without special permission of the king...

10. as it is the will and sufferance of Holy Church that [the Jews] may live and be preserved, the king takes them into his protection and grants them his peace;... the king, whose bondmen they are. And that none shall owe obedience or service or rent save to the king..., unless it be for their dwellings which they now hold by paying rent, saving the right of Holy Church.
11. ...they may live by lawful trade and by their labour and...have intercourse with Christians in order to carry on lawful trade by selling and buying. But that no Christian... shall dwell among them... They shall not by reason of their trading be put to scot and lot or tallaged with those of the cities and boroughs where they live because they are liable for tallage to the king as his serfs and to no one other than king.
12. ...they may buy houses and curtilages in cities and boroughs where they live, so that they hold them in chief of the king, saving to the lords of the fee their services due and accustomed. And they may take and buy farms or land for the term of ten years or less, without taking homage or fealties or such sort of obedience from Christians, and without having advowson of churches, that they may be able to gain their living in the world if they have not means of trading or cannot labour. And this power of taking lands at farm shall be open to them only for fifteen years from this time forward.

For Brand, this was 'the most wide-ranging, the most detailed and the most radical of all the legislation of the thirteenth century concerned with the Jewish \*community'. It brought the trade in Jewish bonds to a halt. The Old Chests were sealed. Later, however, some recognised communities were granted New Chests. The first bond in \*Hereford's New Chest is dated 1283. The emphasis is now on payment in kind, such as grain and wool. Some historians maintain that the new bonds represent camouflaged moneylending contracts. Mundill, on the other hand, interprets them as evidence that Jews were beginning to act as credit agents, dealing in commodities rather than money, the bonds in the New Chests being advance sale credits, with little difference between the transactions of Jewish and Christian merchants. Nevertheless, in 1290 a considerable number of bonds for cash were found in the New Chests.

□ *The Statutes of the Realm, I, 1235–1377*, Record Commission (1963), 220–1; *EHD*, 3 (1995), no. 49; Lipman (1967), 163–8; Stacey (1997), 97–9; Brand (2000), 1140–4; Mundill (1990), 1–21, & (1998), 109–208, 291–3

### **Petition of the Community of the Jews in response to the 1275 Statute**

For Sayles the 1275 Statute 'at once evoked a lengthy commentary':

The community of the Jews earnestly requests the assent and discretion of the king and his council on the following:

1. The new statutes decree that the Jews should have legal possession of only half the lands and rents in pledge to them, leaving the other half and the chief mesuage to sustain the Jew's Christian debtor, so they ask: if the debtor dies without issue or wife and the lands and rents fall to a rich man or one who has enough to live on without the lands and rents pledged to the Jew, shall the Jew have possession of all the pledged property until the debt is paid, or not?

### **c.1276, Articles Touching the Jewry for Enquiry**

2. We also ask, if a Christian who has borrowed money from Jews, which is the king's money, has no lands, rents or chattels except a large house worth 100s or 10 marks a year and if sold would fetch 100 marks or £100, in which he lives, what seisin will the Jew have of his gage to recover the debt when the Christian has nothing but this house?
3. Besides this, the community earnestly requests the king to permit the poor Jews who have no means by which to live or trade to sell their houses and rents to Jews richer than themselves; it would be worth the same to the king whichever Jews have the rents and houses, and he could not lose by it. If they are not permitted to sell their houses they will have to demolish them and sell the stone and timber.
4. Additionally, the community points out that if Jews become traders they have to buy dearer than a Christian and sell nothing because they have to sell dearer, for Christian merchants sell their merchandise on credit and if the Jew sold on credit he would never receive a single penny. And Christian merchants carry their merchandise far and near but if the Jew carried his beyond... he would be robbed. And they beseech the king and his council that... such faith in the Jewry that they can live in his time and have his [peace?] as in the time of his ancestors since the Conquest.

□ *EHD*, 3 (1995), no. 50; *PRO, Ancient Petitions*, No. 2655, printed in *Sayles*, 3 (1939), cxiv (French), commentary, xxxi–xxxii

### **c.1276, Articles Touching the Jewry for Enquiry**

Touching:

- [1] Jews who falsify and clip coin, and receivers who buy from them silver in plates fused from the clippings;
- [2] Christians and Jews who give and receive in exchange good money for clipped money;
- [3] charters, letters patent or tallies, which though made in favour of Jews are outside the Chest, and charters kept outside the Chest by \*chirographers for more than ten days;
- [4] Jews who receive stolen cloth moist with blood or ornaments of Holy Church;
- [5] Jews practising \*usury since the Statutes made, and so on;
- [6] houses of Jews and rents sold by them without licence of our Lord the King, and so on;
- [7] discharge of Jews arrested or kept in prison by \*sheriffs for trespass against the peace or for \*coin-clipping, without warrant of our Lord the King;
- [8] sheriffs and other bailiffs taking amercements from Jews above the sum of 2s., and so on;
- [9] treasure trove underground in houses of Jews, or elsewhere, after the death of Jews;
- [10] chattels of Jews concealed after their death, of which the King has not the third part;
- [11] Jews for whose chattels and houses no fine has been made within a year after their death, and so on;
- [12] Jews having carnal intercourse with Christian women, and so on;
- [13] converts to the Christian Faith who afterwards revert to the Jewish Law;

[14] Jews outlawed and received in the Jewry, and so on;

[15] Jews who have Christian servants residing with them.

Brand has shown that 'the articles must belong to the period between 1275 and 1279'. Immediately following the Articles is a text with no title, concerning the practice of usury since the passage of the \*1275 Statute of the Jewry. This, together with the fifth Article, suggests a date of c.1276.

□ Rigg (1902), liv–lxi; Brand (2000), 1144–58; Skemer (1999); Mundill (1998), 122–4, 294–8

### 1287, 'Mini-Parliament'

This was the final roll call for England's medieval Jewry. The Bury chronicler reported that on 2 May 1287 'Jews throughout England of every age and both sexes were thrown into prison. They returned home only after they had undertaken to pay the king £12,000.' The London annals report that on this day 'all England's Jews were imprisoned and brought to London in carts'. Such general imprisonment of the Jewry as a softening-up process was the *modus operandi* introduced by John at \*Bristol in 1210.

Writs were sent to the \*sheriffs of the counties of \*Bedford, Devon, \*Wiltshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, \*Nottingham, \*Cambridge and \*Huntingdon, Kent (for \*Canterbury), \*Oxford, Hampshire, \*Lincoln, \*Gloucester, \*Hereford, \*Northampton, Surrey and Sussex, and \*York as well as the constable of \*Bristol castle. They were to 'produce' nominated Jews before the barons of the Exchequer on 3 May 1287, to consider the \*tallage at what Zefira Rokéah has termed a 'mini-parliament'. The \*chests had been brought to Westminster the previous year.

Details of representatives are discussed by Rokéah and given under entries for individual \*communities. No Jews were summoned from London, Essex or Warwickshire. Delegates were, however, summoned from two of the four Jewries expelled by Queen Eleanor in 1275: Ursell son of Isaac (Hak) and Josce son of Saulot, who had respectively obtained permission to reside just outside Gloucester, at Brook Street, and Cambridge, at Chesterton.

In naming the delegates summoned, the writs provide a who's who of the \*provincial Jewries after the ravages of the \*coin-clipping charges, and on the eve of the \*expulsion. They also indicate the sorry condition of what had, for some 150 years, been proud communities. At York the exchequer clerks, unable to name a single Jew, turned to the empty formula, 'four of the richer and more prudent Jews of York'. For \*Winchester and \*Norwich they could not name a third delegate. That this was the case at Bedford and \*Exeter is probably not surprising. Significantly, two of Bristol's three delegates were members of the \*Caerleon family. The sole representative for Surrey and Sussex was 'Samuel, Jew of \*Arundel'.

What is remarkable is that the Lincolnshire writ named not only four delegates from the city, but two more from \*Stamford. This anticipates the picture given by the expulsion returns of a still relatively prosperous community at Lincoln. One family had

## 1290, \*Expulsion Writ and its Context

apparently thrived, that of Moses de Clare, the personal Jew of Gilbert de Clare, the 'Red Earl' of Gloucester. It sent three delegates to the 'mini-parliament': Moses himself for \*Sudbury, his sons Moses and Leo for Nottingham and Stamford, respectively.

A personal statement found in an inscription scratched on the stone wall of the cell of Licoricia's son, Asher, in \*Winchester castle, confirms the date of his imprisonment, 'the eve of the Sabbath on which the periscope *Emor* is read', 2 May 1287. In the event, only some £5000 was received at the Exchequer.

□ Rokéah (2001), & (2000), nos 1116–31

## 1290, \*Expulsion Writ and its Context

The expulsion was a three-part process. First, on 18 June 1290, the \*sheriffs were ordered to close the *archae*, \*chests, at the end of the month. As such action was frequently taken prior to tallages, it gave no hint of what was to follow.

Second, a writ was directed on 18 July 1290 to the sheriffs of \*Gloucester, Essex, \*York, \*Northampton, \*Lincoln, \*Hereford and \*Southampton:

Whereas the king has prefixed to all the Jews of his realm a certain time to pass out of the realm, and he wills that they shall not be treated by his ministers or others otherwise than has been customary, he orders the sheriff to cause proclamation to be made throughout his bailiwick prohibiting any one from injuring or wronging the Jews within the said time. He is ordered to cause the Jews to have safe-conduct at their cost when they, with their chattels, which the king has granted to them, direct their steps towards London in order to cross the sea, provided that before they leave they restore the pledges of Christians in their possession to those to whom they belong.

Subsequently, the feast of All Hallows, 1 November, was established as the date by which all Jews were to have departed. Any found thereafter in the country were liable to capital punishment.

Third, on 5 November it was declared that \*interest would not be imposed on the bonds. As Richardson explains, 'the occasion was taken to publish an elaborate defence of the king's actions.' The text from the close roll reads:

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Whereas the king in his parliament at Westminster at the quinzaine of Michaelmas, in the third year of his reign, ordained that no Jew of the realm should thenceforth lend anything in \*usury to any Christian upon lands, rents or other things, but should earn his living by trade and labour, and the Jews afterwards, maliciously deliberating amongst themselves, changed the kind of usury into a worse, which they called 'courtesy' (*curialitatem*), and depressed the king's people under colour of such by an error double that of the previous one; wherefore the king, by reason of their errors and for the honour of Christ, has caused the Jews to leave his realm as perfidious men; the king, not wishing to be inconsistent with his previous ordinance, but

rather to imitate it, has wholly annulled all manner of pains and usury and every sort thereof that may be exacted from any Christians of the realm for any reasons whatever by reason of Jewry for any times whatsoever, willing that nothing shall be exacted from the Christians except the principal debts that they received from the Jews; of which debts he wills that the amount shall be verified before the treasurer and barons by the oath of three Christians, and that they shall be then paid to the king at suitable terms to be appointed by the treasurer and barons. He therefore orders them to cause his grace thus piously made to be read in the exchequer, and to cause it to be enrolled in the rolls of the exchequer, and to cause it to be firmly observed in accordance with the form above noticed.

(See Expulsion, General.)

- Richardson (1960), 227–33; *CCR*, 1288–96, 95–6, 109; Rigg (1902), xl–xlii



## Topographical, Biographical and General Entries

**Aaron** *see* Hereford, Aaron II le Blund of; Lincoln, Aaron of; London, Aaron son of Vives; London, le Blund Family of; York, Aaron of; for Aaron son of Abraham *see* London, Abigail and Family of

**Abigail** *see* London, Abigail and Family of

**Abraham** *see* Berkhamsted, Abraham of; ibn Ezra, Abraham

**Alfonsi, Petrus** (*fl.* 1106–26)

A Jew of Huesca in northern Spain, which was under Islamic rule until taken by Alfonso I king of Aragon in 1096, Alfonsi was educated in both cultures. He ‘had the typical interests of [Sephardic] Jewish scholars of his time: in theology on the one hand, and in astronomy, astrology, and other mathematical topics on the other’. Burnett continues that, ‘one of the first Jewish scholars to transfer this knowledge into a Christian context, he has an important place in the history of culture’. Alfonsi records that in 1106, at the age of 44, he was converted to Christianity on the feast day of SS Peter and Paul, 29 June. He was thus named after the saint and his godfather, Alfonso I.

Alfonsi arrived in England between 1106 and 1116. The first firm dates come with his publications: *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*, composed 1108–10; astronomical tables in 1116; and *Sententia de Dracone* in 1120. The last indicates that he was in the west midlands, for the tables were ‘translated into the Latin tongue by Walcher, prior of the Benedictine house at Great Malvern’. This had close connections with the Benedictine abbey and cathedral church of \*Worcester, some 5 miles (8 km) to the north-west; the earliest extant copy of the manuscript, Bodleian MS Auct. F.1.9, was written in the Worcester Cathedral scriptorium 1120–40. Other items in the manuscript provide evidence of the strong interest at Worcester in astronomy, for it also includes the revision by Robert of Lorraine, bishop of Hereford 1079–95, of the computus section of Marianus Scotus’ *Chronicle* and Adelard of Bath’s edition of al-Khwarizmi’s astronomical tables.

Alfonsi’s reputation is based on three works. The *Dialogi* has been described by Tolan as ‘the most influential and widely read of all medieval anti-Jewish tracts’; 79 manuscript copies survive. It is written in the form of a debate between Peter, ‘the name I now have as a Christian’, and Moses, ‘the name which I had before baptism’. Of the twelve dialogues, the first four attack Judaism, the fifth Islam; the remainder defend

Christianity. Peter's principal contention, aimed at his Christian audience, was that the rabbis killed Christ, knowing that he was God, and that 'they did this out of envy, because they were afraid to lose their own fame and dignity through Him'; their envy was thus the cause of their exile. For Tolan, this is the first assertion by a Latin writer that the Jews were guilty of deicide. Peter then attacks the Aggadah, the legendary element of the Talmud, as distinguished from the Halachah, and the belief in God's corporeality and the Messianic kingdom as 'without reason'.

For Tolan, 'Alfonsi's polemic in the fifth dialogue against Islam is more thorough and accurate than anything previously written in Latin.' His critique of the life and views of Mohammed provided details hitherto unavailable in Latin. Having dealt with the Creation in the first of his dialogues, in the sixth Peter considered the Trinity, which he explains is substance, wisdom and will; the first he regarded as the Father, the Creator. Subsequent debate considers the Virgin birth in dialogue 7, and then moves on to the Incarnation, Jesus as the realisation of biblical Messianic prophesy, the Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension. His final dialogue examined the validity of the new Christian law in replacing that of Moses. Needless to say, the *Dialogi* conclude with Moses' conversion.

The aims of Alfonsi's second work, the *Disciplina Clericalis*, were for Tolan 'to impose a manual of moral education from non-Christian wisdom literature'. Thus 34 moral tales and sayings of pagan 'philosophers' are 'drawn from Arab sources'. As it became a quarry for the clergy in the composition of their sermons, it is hardly surprising that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries *Disciplina* was translated into French in two prose and two verse editions. Alfonsi's stories were even adapted by Boccaccio, Chaucer and Cervantes. However, he managed to introduce discussion of astronomy and cosmology into both the *Dialogi* and *Disciplina*.

In 1116 Alfonsi published his *Tabulae*, astronomical tables, his translation from Arabic into Latin of the *Zij al-Sindhind* of the Persian al-Khwarizmi, c.780–c.850, which combined Ptolomaic and Hindu traditions and had been revised by al Majriti about the turn of the century. As Tolan explains, Alfonsi's tables were 'the first complete description of planetary motions in Latin'. He questions, however, whether they were 'of practical use to anyone', for his text 'was riddled with simple errors of computation'.

#### Alfonsi and Prior Walcher of Great Malvern, d.1135

Two texts throw further light on the development of astronomy in England in the first two decades of the twelfth century. The first was a set of lunar tables, compiled 1108–12 by Walcher, whose interest in astronomy had been aroused by a lunar eclipse that he witnessed in Italy on 30 October 1091, for which he was unable to establish a precise time. The following year, an hour before dawn on 18 October, he saw a further lunar eclipse that, with the help of an astrolabe, he was able to record

exactly. This is the first reference in a Latin manuscript to the use of an astrolabe in England.

The other, the *Sententia de Dracone* of 1120, was a collaboration: 'the thoughts of Peter the Hebrew [*Magister Noster*], whose last name is Anphus [Alfonsi], concerning the dragon [lunar nodes] which Walcher ... translated into the Latin language'. The 'dragon' is a reference taken from Indian and Arabic astronomy, its head and tale representing the intersecting points in an eclipse.

McCluskey draws attention to the fact that 'heretofore lunar tables were principally concerned with the Pascal Full Moon ... to determine the date of Easter'. It is highly significant that Prior Walcher abandoned such liturgical considerations, for his tables provided the exact time of each astronomical new moon over four 19-year cycles for the period 1036–1111. Walcher believed that his tables could assist medicine, held to depend on the waxing and waning of the moon.

This belief he shared with Alfonsi, who in his *Epistola ad Peripateticos*, written in northern France, points out that 'astronomy is necessary to medicine', as thereby 'are obtained the proper times for cauterising, making incisions, puncturing abscesses, bloodletting or applying suction cups ... giving or taking potions, the day and also the hours in which fevers are to end'. In the prologue to a fourteenth-century copy of his *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*, Cambridge University Library MS li.6.11, he refers to himself as *medicus* to Henry I. Although he had a keen interest in medicine, there is no confirmation of his holding such an office in a formal capacity.

Haskins pointed out, almost a century ago, that the importance of Petrus Alfonsi lies in the critical role he played in the reception and diffusion of Arabic science in England and the Latin west. It was to Alfonsi's 1116 translation of the tables, *Zij*, of al-Khwarizmi that Adelard of Bath turned c.1126. Rejecting Alfonsi's use of solar years, he returned to their original Islamic cycle of lunar years, commencing with the hegira. Tolan suggests that they may have worked together, Adelard the superior mathematician, Alfonsi with better Arabic.

□ Tolan (1993); ODNB, 'Alfonsi' and 'Malvern, Walcher of'; Burnett (1997); S. C. McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in the Early Middle Ages* (1998), 180–7; J. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law* (1999), 201–18; C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (1927), & 'The Reception of Arabic Science in England', *EHR*, 30 (1915), 56–61

**Arch(a)e** see Chests; 1275, Statute of the Jewry

**Archaeology** see Cemeteries; Houses; *Mikva'ot*; Synagogues

**Archpresbyter: 'Presbyter omnium Judæorum totius Angliæ'**

Despite the title, this was a purely secular office. A leading member of the English \*community was appointed by the Crown to assist the barons of the royal exchequer in

the financial administration of the Jewry, especially in relation to its taxation. The term 'archpresbyter' has been applied by historians to distinguish him from local 'presbyters' or 'priests' mentioned in the sources.

The first person recorded in the role is **Jacob le Prestre** (c.1183–1207). Nothing is known of his background, but his successors were all from wealthy families or enjoyed great personal wealth. Two charters of 31 July 1199 record the terms of his appointment. First John confirmed to Jacob 'the presbyterate of all the Jews of England, to have and to hold freely, quietly, honourably and fully, as long as he lives'. He refers to Jacob as 'our royal Jew whom we retain especially in our service'. As to Jacob's own transgressions, 'we forbid he be called upon to plead anything except before' the king or his chief justice, 'as the charter of king Richard our brother testifies'.

In his second charter John describes Jacob as *dilectus et familiaris noster*, 'our beloved and close friend'; a title reserved for the greater offices of the Crown. As the position carried risks as well as prestige, Jacob was assured the same safety and protection from hindrance, hurt or injury 'as for ourselves' and granted the royal promise of 'immediate compensation for any forfeit should anyone transgress against him'.

Further information comes from the memoranda roll of 1199, in which Jacob *Presbitero* declares that he was 'responsible for the great debts of the commune of the Jews of England' and makes it clear that this was 'in the time of King Henry and King Richard'. That Jacob is called *Presbiter* in the 1182/83 \*pipe roll suggests that he had held this office at least a decade before the foundation of the \*Exchequer of the Jews in 1194, following which he was to 'reside there and advise its justices'. Richardson has drawn attention to the fact that 'about the year 1180 there was a change in Henry II's policy towards the Jews: he ceased to borrow from them and resorted to taxation'. This may explain the creation of the office of presbyter, with responsibility for advice on tallaging. The 1185 pipe roll shows that the small, individual, debts were the responsibility of Jacob's clerk, Abraham, second son of \*Rabbi Josce.

Jacob's successor as presbyter was Rabbi Josce's grandson, **Josce son of Isaac**, also known as Josce le Prestre (1207–36), who survived the disasters of the later years of John's reign to serve the Council of Regency and Henry III. The fine rolls reveal that he was dead by September 1236, when \***Aaron of York** (1236–43), wealthiest by far of the thirteenth-century English magnates, took office. The sole provincial to serve as archpresbyter, although appointed 'for life', he held the post for only seven years. With the onset of Aaron's financial difficulties, \***Elias l'Eveske** succeeded (1243–57). He was the eldest son of Benedict Episcopus (l'Eveske), who had ranked second to \*Aaron I le Blund in the 1221 and 1223 \*London tallages. According to his letter of appointment, Elias was to have control of the exchequer rolls in the same way as Aaron of York, and view and testimony of all future records of debt. His brother, Jacob, was appointed clerk to the court, effectively as Elias's deputy. Elias was dismissed in July 1257.

He was replaced the following February by \***Hagin**, son of \*Master Moses (1258–81), who with his brother, Cresse, had ‘laboured much’ for Richard earl of Cornwall, to whom Henry III, his brother, had mortgaged the Jewry in 1255. Hagin faced the invidious task of raising a 6000-mark tallage from the impoverished Jewry to fund Prince Edward’s departure on crusade with Eleanor of Castile in 1270; by the autumn only 4000 marks had been collected. On their return the archpresbyterate became a mere tool in the hands of Eleanor. Embroiled in major scandals and intrigues, Hagin was imprisoned. He was in the Tower of London in 1277 when the \*constable’s accounts record 13s 4d paid ‘from Hagin’s tower’. He was dead by May 1281.

His nephew, **Cok Hagin**, otherwise known as Hagin son of (Deule)Cresse (1281–90), took office in 1281 ‘at the instance of Eleanor, the king’s consort, and with the assent of the community of the Jews of England’. Two months before the \*expulsion of the Jewry in \*1290, Cok Hagin, who had served Eleanor of Castile for some ten years, was granted a licence to sell his London property to any Christian. The proceeds of the sale were to go to the queen. A grandson of Master Moses, he had been excommunicated in 1275 by another uncle, the great scholar \*Master Elias. (*See Herem.*) Crawford suggests that a complicated arrangement in 1286 whereby Eleanor of Castile acquired John de Wauton’s manor of West Betchworth indicates ‘collusion’ between the queen and (Cok) Hagin. The later English archpresbyters thus provide a remarkable example of how, in Stow’s words, their ‘malleability in royal hands’, in England as on the Continent, ‘made such governmentally appointed leaders the foci of intramural friction’. *See also* Jews and the Court.

□ *Rot Chart*, 6b–7; *Memoranda Roll*, 1199–1200, PpR Soc NS 21 (1943), xc–xcii, 69–72; *PpR*, 1182–83, 15, & 1184–85, 41, 149, 198; *CR*, 1234–37, 243, 408, & 1242–47, 51; *CPR*, 1281, 433; Richardson (1960), 117, 119–24; Stokes (1913), 23–43, for documents of appointment 243–7; Hillaby (1993a), 130–4, 137–46; Crawford (2001), 1199; Stow (1992), 159–62 for European context

## Arundel

Here was the principal castle of William d’Aubigny, first earl of Arundel, d.1176. He, his son and grandson had close connections with the Jewry during the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard, at \*Castle Rising and \*Chichester as well as Arundel.

The castle was part of the dower of d’Aubigny’s wife, Henry I’s widow Adeliza. Gervase of Canterbury records that here she welcomed Empress Matilda, her stepdaughter, on her arrival in 1139 to challenge Stephen’s claim to the throne. William, however, was and remained a staunch supporter of King Stephen, who recognised him as earl of Arundel in six charters, of Chichester in four and Sussex in two. D’Aubigny established a small Jewry at Castle Rising c.1145. From there another Jewry was founded at Chichester, probably by his son, who succeeded in 1176. The 1197/98 \*pipe roll records that Solomon ‘Jew of Arundel’ owed 2 marks for his claim of £12 against John of Combe.

There are references to Jews at Arundel in the late thirteenth century. A Sampson son of Aaron enforced a debt in the town in 1272. In this year, however, the \*sheriff

## Astrology

of Surrey and Sussex, commanded to levy 3s on the Jews of Arundel, maintained that they 'have nought except some empty houses, and are not found in his bailiwick'. Later the exchequer clerks had reason to believe that Arundel was a viable Jewry. In \*1287 they summoned 'Samuel, Jew of Arundel' to attend the 'mini-parliament', to discuss the provisions of the forthcoming tallage. It has been suggested that Jury Lane, the alternative name for Mill Lane, at the lower end of High Street, beneath the southern end of the castle, refers to the site of this small Jewish \*community. See Castle Rising, Chichester and \*Lynn.

□ *Gervase of Canterbury*, I, 110; *VCH, Sussex*, 5(1) (1997), 12; Rigg (1902), 69–70; *PREJ*, I, 291; Rokéah (2000), no. 1130

**Astrology** *see* Alfonsi, Petrus

## Attorney

The appointment of an attorney in court, in place of principals, is described in Book XI of *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of England Commonly Called Glanvill*, an account of the law and practice of the royal court at the end of Henry II's reign. Pleas, it tells us, may be prosecuted 'either in person or by an attorney put in his place to gain or to lose. It may be one person only... or two or more jointly or severally. He who thus puts another in his place must, however, be present in court then....' Furthermore, 'the principal may remove such a representative at any stage of the case and may... in the manner set out above, put another to act for him'.

The need for a professional attorney to represent the appellant arose about 1200 in response to the seemingly interminably delay at almost all levels of the legal process. This was due for the most part to the difficulty of imposing attendance on recalcitrant defendants. (*See* Sheriffs.) 'It was the function of the attorneys to watch their clients' causes to make sure that business was transacted at the proper days.' It is notable that on occasions Christians employed Jewish attorneys, and vice versa. Thus in 1220 Peitevin of Eye acted as attorney to Wymar, seneschal. One also finds Christian and Jewish attorneys representing the same person.

## Benedict Crespin of London, d.1252

Jewish attorneys can be found in the earliest plea roll. In 1218 Roger de Haveringham was sued by Benedict Crespin, attorney of Pigone of Norwich, for £81. Shortly after, Roger and Benedict agreed that two Christian knights and two Jews were to be chosen to make concord between them over Pigone's claim. In the same year Benedict represented his brother Jacob in a case brought by William fitz Herlicun against some dozen members of the Jewry. The Crespin brothers were major figures in the London \*community. Jacob was evidently the elder, for he ranked fifth amongst London's 24 contributors to the 1221 tallage, paying £6 5s, some 8% of the total. In 1223 he was sixth of the 35 contributors, with £14 6s 8d, some 7%. Benedict is listed in neither of these

rolls; he held no bonds but made his living, like a number of other young sons, as an attorney. He was evidently very effective, as he acted for \*Isaac of Norwich on a number of occasions.

Benedict's business thrived. Towards the levy of a third, on not only bonds but all Jewish chattels, in \*1239 he was third of 90 London contributors, paying £133 6s 8d, some 16%; only Aaron son of Abraham, with 29.5%, and Aaron I le \*Blund, with 26.4%, paid more; Jacob paid merely £33 6s 8d. In 1238 the Crespin brothers were included in the consortium of wealthy members of the English community who had to find 'necessaries such as robes and other things' for Semayne, the king's \*crossbowman. Both were amongst eight senior members of the English community instructed to enquire into \*coin-clipping that year. Benedict, who owned property in Colechurch Lane, was indicted in the 1244 eyre for 'blocking a lane between the king's highway in Colechurch parish and ... Lothbury', and 'a lane next to the chapel of the Blessed Mary of Coneyhope'. The February 1252 patent roll explains that his sons, Aaron, Josce and Vives, 'shall have the same terms as their father touching his debts'. His lands and goods were restored to them. The family was, however, apparently deeply divided. Some four weeks later the patent roll reports that a fourth son, Isaac, was to have his 'portion of the lands and chattels of his father'. The career of attorney was also a popular choice amongst younger sons of provincial community leaders.

#### Vives son of Bonenfaunt of Gloucester (*see Gloucester, Genealogy 1*)

Bonenfaunt succeeded his mother as leader of the Gloucester community. His upbringing, like that of Sampson below, will therefore have provided Vives with a sound grounding for his chosen profession. Described in the 1244 \*plea roll as 'Jew of London', Vives was acting for Benedict of Coventry. About this time he married Margalicia, granddaughter of the Londoner, Abraham son of Muriel. Next year, however, he is 'Vives of Gloucester, of the county of Oxford'. He took up permanent residence in that city, where Roth describes him as 'playing an important role in the community'. A scrutiny of the Oxford \*chest in 1275 revealed 94 bonds with a face value of almost of £400, of which Vives held merely 4, worth only £10 in total – a clear reflection that his income was drawn primarily from work as an attorney. In 1280 he bought a house, one plot north of the Oxford \*synagogue, in the 'Great Street of the king's Jewry', from Bonamy, son of the wealthy Jacob or Copin of Worcester (*see Oxford*). In the expulsion returns Margalicia is described as his widow, with some £25 invested in bonds.

#### Sampson son of Isaac of Worcester (*see Worcester, Genealogy 8*)

After some 120 years' residence, the Jewish community was expelled from Worcester, one of the queen mother's dower towns, in 1275. Aaron, eldest son of Isaac, the Jewry's leader who had died some years earlier, led his community into exile at \*Hereford; but Sampson, the second son, was already practising as the family's attorney. His career can

be tracked in the plea rolls, which show that in 1267 he had represented his brother in a suit against Ralph Musard. By 1274 he was acting as guarantor that Rose, widow of the Canterbury \*chirographer, Master Moses, would find the 1 \*mark \*relief for her father's chattels. Next year Sampson served as attorney across the country, including Gloucester, Lincoln, Worcester, Devon and York, where he led a case of trespass against the abbot of Evesham and his agents. He also represented Cresse son of Master Moses in Essex and \*Benedict of Lincoln in that city. Thence he went to \*Northampton and back to Devon, and again to Lincoln and Worcester. In June, acting as attorney at Northampton, Sampson was described in the plea rolls as 'Sampson of Worcester, a Jew of London'. Appearing more frequently than any other advocate in the published plea rolls, between Michaelmas term 1275 and Hilary 1277 he represented 23 cases concerning debt in London and 12 in the counties. He even represented the imprisoned \*archpresbyter, Hagin son of \*Master Moses, in 1277.

□ *Glanvill*, G. D. G. Hall (ed.) (1965), 132–6; Pollock & Maitland, I (1898), 212–17, & II, 226–8, 406; *The London Eyre of 1244*, H. M. Chew & M. Weinbaum (eds), London Record Series, 6 (1970), 398–400; Roth (1951), 33, 101, 163–4, 181; Hillaby (1993a), 110–11, 115, 128–30, & (2002), 99–100, & (1990c), 114–15

### **Badge, The**

The so-called 'badge of shame' was a representation of the two tables, *tabulas*, of stone on which Moses received the Ten Commandments. The Third Lateran Council, 1179, forbade Jews (and Saracens) from having Christian servants in their homes. The Fourth, convoked by Innocent III in 1215, promulgated a series of canons to minimise contact between Christians and Jews. Canon 68 dictated that, to prevent immorality between them 'under the pretext of error, Jews and Saracens must be distinguishable from Christians, by a difference in their clothes'. For Jews the mark of distinction was to be the badge. This probably reflected the Islamic insistence that they should wear distinctively coloured dress. In 1215 Isaac ben Veniste, \*physician to James I of Aragon, visited Rome to canvas, unsuccessfully, against the Council's introduction of the badge.

The Jewry thus became a major cause of conflict between Church and State during the minority of Henry III. In March 1218 the Council of Regency, under pressure from the papal legate, Cardinal Guala Biachieri, who was acting on the pope's behalf as an executor of King John's will, commanded the \*sheriffs to ensure that all Jews, whether walking or riding, in or out of town, should wear upon the chest of their outer garment 'the two white tables', made of linen or parchment.

Anxious to restore the financial benefits derived from the English Jewry, the Council arranged that dispensations from wearing the badge could be purchased, by \*communities or individuals. In Richardson's view, by 1221 dispensations were 'so numerous and general that very few seem to have been required thereafter'. He suggests that the sums levied related to the wealth of the applicant. The receipt rolls record the *commune* of \*Canterbury paying a total of £1 2s 10d, \*Stamford 18s 10d, 'Jews of \*London' 13s,



\*Hereford 12s 5d and \*Oxford, 4s 6d. The substantial sum of £2 1s paid by Diaie, leader of the \*Worcester Jewry, was probably for the community. At \*Lincoln there is no communal fine, but a number of individual payments.

At Oxford, \*David 'of Lincoln' paid £1 14s 10d, and at \*Norwich, Moses son of Abraham (Mosse Mokke) £4. Six \*York Jews made individual payments: Samuel son of Josce £2 3s 10½d, probably a group payment, Muriel the widow 5s 5d, Manasser son of Abraham 4s 10½d, Rose the widow 3s, Vives of Pontefract 2s 9d and Amiot of Pontefract 1s 3d. At least two other \*women paid, probably as heads of households: at Oxford, Sarra sister of Mulin' 2s 2d, and at Norwich, Rosa daughter of Jacob 9s 6d. At Exeter, Abraham of Warwick and his daughter Bona paid £1 12s 6d. The 1223 receipt roll includes two further fines: Moses of Bristol at \*Cambridge, 4s 10½d, and Isaac son of Elias at Oxford, 11d. There are two more in 1225, and two in 1226, including the commune of \*Winchester.

The council of the province of Canterbury, meeting at Oxford in 1222, enacted, in vain, that the badge should be two finger-widths broad and four long, and that it should be worn by 'all Jews, women as well as men.' A few years later William de Blois, bishop of Worcester, wrote to Pope Gregory IX, formally complaining that Jews were not wearing the badge. Henry III's \*1233 Statute concerning the Jews made no reference to the badge; only in the \*1253 Statute did the king ordain that 'every Jew wear his badge conspicuously on his breast'. Edward I's \*1275 Statute of the Jewry stipulated that 'each Jew after he (or she) is seven years old shall wear ... the two Tables joined, of felt, six inches long and three inches broad' (15 by 7½ cm); the colour was changed from white to yellow. Edward had to emphasise that 'Jewish women [must] bear a sign on their outer garment as Jewish men do' four years later, and again in 1281. The council of Exeter, 1287, ruled that the badge should be of wool, and a different colour to the clothing. The English design was unique; Jews of other European countries wore a round badge. A number of illustrations, in the memoranda rolls and elsewhere, show Jews wearing the two tables, including 'The \*expulsion of the Jews from England' in BL Cotton MS Nero D II f.183, viewable on the British Library's online gallery.

□ Grayzel, 1 (1966), 59–70, 309; Margolis & Marx (1967), 513; *Rot Litt Claus*, I, 378b; *RR*, 1221–22, & 1223–24; Richardson (1960), 178–84, 191–3; *CS*, III, 121, 318, 466, 473, 561, 651–2, 658, & IIII, 962, 1045; Vincent (1996b), 209–24; *CCR*, 1279, 565, & 1281, 176

**Ban** see *Herem*

## Bedford

County town, situated at an ancient crossing of the river Ouse, *B(i)eda's ford*. A bridge, on which the town later claimed much of its prosperity depended, was constructed between 1179 and 1194. During the twelfth century both borough and castle were held by the Beauchamp family until Henry II re-established royal control in the 1180s. Bedford's first Jews, Solomon and Jacob, are recorded in the 1184/85 \*pipe roll. Seven others are named in the 1194 *Promissum*, when the \*community, paying a mere £1 14s,

ranked eighteenth of 21 Jewries; only \*Exeter, \*Wallingford and \*Coventry paid less. In 1202, Bonenfaunt of Bedford was accused of killing Richard, a Christian boy, by cutting off his mentula; the charge was dismissed.

When William de Beauchamp rebelled in 1215, Falkes de Bréauté, one of John's mercenary captains, seized Bedford castle, thus gaining control of castle, borough and Jews. In consequence the Jewry did not appear in the 1221 and 1223 tallages. In 1224 de Bréauté resisted a command to surrender the castle to Henry III's Council of Regency. It took a two-month siege to re-establish royal control. More than 80 of the castle's defenders, knights and men-at-arms, were refused pardon and hanged, as were those Jews who had assisted them. In the 1226 tallage, Bedford Jewry paid a mere 11s 2d, least of all 21 recognised Jewries. Presumably a \*chest had been granted by this time.

To the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament', Bedford sent three representatives, Manser and Abraham, sons of Benedict, and Ursell, son of Isaac Bonenfaunt. Only \*Dorchester sent a smaller delegation. To the 1239–42 \*tallages, Bedford paid the second smallest contribution, under £15; \*Worcester, at the bottom of the list, paid £12 12s.

The community's fortunes apparently looked up in the mid 1240s, with the arrival of the Winchester financier, \*Belia. Her second husband was Pictavin son of Benedict. The 1244/45 \*plea roll shows that Pictavin secured the dismissal of Bedford's \*chirographer, Manser of Huntingdon, who had refused to register his bonds, and then replaced him. The 1255 tallage assessments indicate this was an era of prosperity for the Jewry which, with \*Bristol, \*Norwich and \*Marlborough, now ranked eighth of 21. Pictavin died in 1261. The \*relief for his bonds and property was almost £500.

Belia continued the family business in partnership with her son, Jacob. A \*starr of 1268, which reveals that they were associated with Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, records that all the bonds in the Bedford chest were 'taken and burned by the king's enemies when the realm was distraught with war'. Of Belia nothing is heard after 1276. Bedford was plundered again in 1275, by William Giffard, former \*sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, deeply in debt to the Jewry. Brother of Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, 1266–79, and Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, 1268–1302, William subsequently attacked Bristol's Jewry. There was a scrutiny of the Bedford chest in 1279.

This small community suffered grievously during the \*coin-clipping crisis; four of its members, Aaron son of Samme, Aaron and Deulecresse, sons of Bonenfaunt, and Cresse, were hanged. Jacob paid 4 marks for Hebrew books, evidently of the condemned. Bedford's delegates to the \*1287 'mini-parliament' were Miles de Luton and the son of Sarah of Windsor.

The sources for the site of Bedford's Jewry are slender. Pictavin's two houses in St Paul's parish were left jointly to his sons. Abrahams, who indicates that they were in the High Street, reports that Benedict was forcibly baptised by the \*Disinherited in the Isle of Ely, following which Jacob held both houses for 12 years until he was hanged in 1285, with his accomplice, Josce Badecock. The property was acquired for £5 by the prior of Newnham.

Hugh of Kendal valued Bedford's Jewish property at £14 6s 8d. Another Pictavin is recorded as holding two messuages in the High Street with the annual value of 13s 4d; he paid 1s 0½d to the farm of Bedford, and 2s 3½d to the prior of Newnham. Royal proclamations indicate the presence of a \*synagogue, but its whereabouts are unknown.

□ Carpenter (1990), 360–70; *PREJ*, I, 76, 106–7; *CPR*, 1261, 192, & 1262, 205, & 1285, 183; E. Jervoise, *The Ancient Bridges of Mid and Eastern England* (1932), 89–92; Rigg (1902), 48–50, 125–7; Rokéah, 3 (1975), 53–4, & (1993), 194, & (2000), nos 130, 188, 360, 524, 1110, 1277; Abrahams (1896), 86

### Bedford, Belia of, d. after 1276, and sons

The second of the trio of \*Winchester's female financiers, Belia was the widow of \*Chera's eldest son, Deulebene, and also worked in the family consortium. She started business on her own account soon after Deulebene's death in 1236, although she failed for some time to pay the \*relief of one-third on his bonds, valued at 600 marks (£400).

About 1245, Belia moved to \*Bedford, leaving two of her sons, Moses and Lumbard, to look after her Winchester interests. There she married Pictavin, by whom she apparently had two sons, Jacob and Benedict. Pictavin died in 1261, leaving them two messuages in the parish of St Paul, Bedford. To inherit his estate of some £1500, Belia was faced with the one-third relief of £490. Patent and fine rolls agree that she paid 400 marks (£266 13s 4d), arranging to meet the balance at 40 marks per annum. Nevertheless, the full amount continued to show as outstanding, for which she was first distrained and in the early 1270s imprisoned in the Tower. Rokéah explains this was not an uncommon problem, arising from a failure to produce receipts for payments made into the wardrobe rather than the exchequer.

Belia's strength of character is illustrated by two incidents. As early as 1258, she sent 'a gold ring' to \*Licoricia of Winchester, her one-time partner, to give to Henry III – no doubt as a *douceur*. In 1262 she took action when two Jews, Isaac and his brother Bonenfaunt, who had not 'hitherto dwelt in the said town', were 'carrying away her bonds and chattels.' The court granted that they be removed from the town for five years; for this Belia paid 93 \*bezants, £9 6s.

Some ten years after Pictavin's death, Belia was still in partnership with Jacob. In 1267 their business encountered serious difficulties when the \*Disinherited seized the Bedford \*chest and burned the \*chirographs. They took Benedict to the Isle of Ely, where he was forcibly baptised.

In 1268 the family's fortunes looked up. A \*starr of that year reveals that Belia and Jacob sold to \*Gilbert de Clare, the 'Red Earl' (see Sudbury), all rights that they had in four debts, totalling some £123, that William de Whiston owed Pictavin. Although the bonds had been destroyed during the late troubles, copies had been enrolled on the exchequer record in 1260–62. The amount now due in \*interest and principal was 1000 marks. They sold another of Pictavin's bonds, for £100, to Godfrey Giffard, then arch-deacon of York, subsequently bishop of \*Worcester.

## **Benedict**

Some of Belia and Jacob's bonds reappeared in 1270 in the hands of John Lovel, former \*sheriff of \*Cambridge and \*Huntingdon, who already faced accusations of failing to pay in the cash that he had collected on the orders of the \*Exchequer of the Jews. The full facts of the case never emerged, but Lovel is later found acting as an agent for Belia and her family. Belia is last recorded in 1276.

Jacob paid 4 marks for Hebrew books, evidently of the condemned. In 1285, accused with Benne of Bedford and Josce Badecock of a complicated fraud upon 'certain foreign merchants', involving plates fused from \*coin clippings, he offered to 'accommodate the King to the amount of 1000 marks.' The three men were imprisoned to await the Crown's judgment. Jacob was hanged that year. The Cok son of Benedict in the expulsion returns may be Belia's grandson.

□ Bartlet (2000), 39–41, 51, & (2009), 44–5; *CPR*, 1262, 205; *PREJ*, I, 194–5, 224, 288, & III, 208; Rigg (1902), 35, 48–50, 125–7; Rokéah (2000), nos 130, 188 & n. 360, 514

**Benedict** *see* Lincoln, Benedict of; Winchester, Benedict of; York, Josce and Benedict of

**Benjamin, Master** *see* Cambridge

**Berechiah** *see* Lincoln, Master Benedict

## **Berkhamsted, Abraham of, d. after 1272**

As financier, Abraham's career was inextricably bound up with that of his patron, Henry III's brother, Richard earl of Cornwall, to whom c.1229 the castles and honours of Berkhamsted, Herts, and Wallingford, Berks, were granted in fee as part of his marriage settlement. Their association commenced soon afterwards, for the earl acted on Abraham's behalf in 1231. Retrospective permission for Jews to remain at Berkhamsted with a \*chest for their bonds was granted in 1235. An Isaac of Berkhamsted is recorded in the 1250s and 1270s.

With Henry's leave, Abraham and the chest were transferred in 1242 to Richard's castle at Wallingford, now the administrative centre of his lordship, on which the earl had spent lavishly. There Richard probably believed both Abraham and the chest would be more secure. In January 1255 the chest was authorised 'during the life of the Jew', Abraham. A Samuel the Jew had been resident at Wallingford in 1194 when he paid £1 towards the Northampton *Promissum*.

Between 1241 and 1247 Earl Richard lent Henry and his son, the Lord Edward, some £40,000. By 1247 he was 'indispensable to Henry III both politically and financially', having taken control of the royal mint and the reissue of the \*coinage. Two years later he strengthened his hold over Abraham, for the \*justices of the Jews were commanded not to act in regard to Abraham and his affairs 'until the King had conferred' with his brother. The close and patent rolls show that in 1246 and 1249 Abraham was appointed a tallage assessor, probably as the earl's agent, with

Aaron of York, Aaron son of Abraham and other magnates representing the English \*community.

Matthew Paris recounts that in 1250 Abraham, whom he describes as 'for some improper reason or other, as was said, intimate with Earl Richard', bought an image of the Virgin, 'handsomely carved and painted, nursing her son in her bosom'. This he placed in his privy. When his wife, Floria, 'secretly washed' the statue, he suffocated her. Abraham was 'thrust into the foulest dungeon of the Tower of London'. Paris adds 'that almost all the other Jews endeavoured to cause him to be put to death'; when the earl spoke for Abraham, they offered him 1000 marks to keep him in prison. According to Paris, the earl's support and a fine of 700 marks secured Abraham's release. In February, the king received him 'into his grace and took his goods and lands into his protection. Therefore he is not to be molested.'

In April 1250, described in the patent roll as 'king's Jew', Abraham was the only one to accompany Philip Lovel, later appointed treasurer, 'to expedite certain arduous business touching the Jewry in \*London, \*York, \*Canterbury, \*Lincoln and \*Nottingham, and all the Jews of the same'. For Roth they were to enquire into 'concealed Jewish property'; for Matthew Paris they were 'sent to examine the amount of money belonging to the Jews'. Abraham, a 'base and merciless Jew', Paris asserts, was there 'that he may accuse all others'; 'lying in his teeth... with great oaths [he] revealed their secrets to the king's Christian agents', declaring that 'they could give twice as much to the king'. Later that year Abraham was arrested on \*coin-clipping charges, probably accused by fellow Jews, and in October all his chattels, including bonds, together with £1000 of the Michaelmas tallage and £500 due from Aaron of York, were put towards the 'king's work' at Westminster Abbey. The following year William Chubbe, king's sergeant, was granted Abraham's house in Colechurch parish.

The patent rolls show that by January 1255 Abraham was granted to Richard, with his chattels and houses. Owing the king 500 marks 'for having his chattels and release of a trespass', he was now permitted to 'lend money in the king's land like the king's demesne Jews'. He was not to be tallaged, nor any debts to him pardoned; distraint for his debts was to be 'according to the law and the custom of the realm, as for the king's demesne Jews'. In March a list was compiled of Abraham's debts, to be put to the earl's use; according to Denholm-Young, these amounted to some £1800. Abraham's son Deudone tried unsuccessfully to make off with some of the money.

In February 1255 Richard had lent Henry 5000 marks on the security of the English Jewry. Master of the community a second time, he now recognised that the sons of \*Master Moses were the real power brokers in the Jewry. Abraham became marginal to his plans. On Elias l'Eveske's dismissal as \*archpresbyter in 1257, he was replaced by \*Hagin who, with his brother Cresse, was declared quit of all tallages for five years 'at the instance of Richard the king's brother', for they 'had laboured much for the said Richard'. In June they are referred to as his \*attorneys. Abraham's downfall is formalised

## Bet Din, 'House of Judgment'

that year by Richard's grant to their brother, \*Master Elias, of his valuable property in Colechurch Lane, a deed confirmed in 1262.

With Simon de \*Montfort starting to raise troops in January 1261, the earl not only strengthened his castles but also called in all the Jewish debts he could, including those of Abraham. With his 'assent' the justices, sheriffs, constables and others were informed of Abraham's right to distrain on all debts 'in whosoever hands his pledges may be... upon reasonable proof given by him'. On the earl's death in 1272, Henry III granted Abraham, 'with his chattels and goods', to Richard's son and heir, Edmund, 'until Michaelmas and the two years following'. Nothing further is recorded of Abraham, other than a few snippets about his son. *See also Jews and the Court.*

□ Paris, II (1852–54), 340–1; Denholm-Young (1947), 22 n. 1, 30, 69–70, 108, 157–61

## Bet Din, 'House of Judgment'

A court, usually of three, that gave judgment in accordance with the law, often acting in arbitration in matters of civil law. In 1206 King John, reaffirming what 'the Charter of our father, King Henry [II], rightfully witnesses', confirmed to the English Jewry that:

the breaches of right that shall occur among them be examined and amended amongst themselves according to their Law, so that they may administer their own justice amongst themselves, except such as pertain to our Crown and Justice, as touching homicide, mayhem, deliberate assault, housebreaking, rape, larceny, arson, and treasure [trove].

That such Jewish autonomy was possible arose from the Talmudic principle, *dina de-malkhuta dina*, 'the law of the land is the law'.

## National

In England the *battei din* operated at two levels. At a national level the most notorious occasion was in 1242 when the English bet din gave judgment on the matter of \*David of Oxford's divorce. The \*Lincoln family of his wife, Muriel, which included the rabbi Peytevin the Great, his son Benedict and Moses de Barbun, rallied to her support and submitted her case to a French bet din, presumably at Paris. Whilst the Talmud had ruled that a husband could divorce against his wife's wish, Rabbi Gershom of Mainz (960–1028) had decreed that the wife's consent was necessary, a ruling now overwhelmingly accepted. An English bet din of Master \*Moses of London, Aaron of Canterbury and Jacob of Oxford, following Gershom and the French bet din, ruled against David's divorce. Such seeking of advice from an external authority proved fatal to their case. The members of the bet din were informed that under no circumstances were they to distrain David 'to keep that wife or any other', and that if they did so they would incur 'grave punishment'. The king's council then ruled that 'no chapters or courts of the Jews shall be held in England'. Furthermore, the members of the bet din had to appear before

the royal council 'to show cause why they sent to the Jews of France to hold a chapter on the Jews of England'.

### Local

There is evidence in the twelfth-century \*pipe rolls of the operation of local *battei din*. Thus in 1185 'Leah, Jewess of Bristol, owes 20 \*bezants for having an agreement between her and her children drawn up in *coram Judeis* [the local bet din], and 40 \*marks for having her fair share of the chattels and bonds of Benedict her husband'. Three years later the Exeter \*community was apparently large enough to pay the Crown a gold \*mark, £6, for the right 'to hear suits within the community', presumably through its bet din.

Amongst the numerous Norwich *shetaroth* published by M. D. Davis are six issued by the three members of the *battei din*. One is a betrothal contract of 1249 whereby the bride's father agreed to give bride and groom weekday and Sabbath apparel, a year's accommodation in his home, and a teacher to instruct the groom for a year after marriage. The penalty payable by either side for breaking the contract was 5 marks. The famous marriage contract of 1271 between Judith, granddaughter of Master \*Benedict of Lincoln, and Aaron, the son of Benjamin son of Josce Jehiel, received a preliminary 'God speed' from a minyan of ten that 'undertook the functions of a bet din'. The partnership deposit of 100s was paid to the bet din. (See Lincoln.)

The other five Norwich examples relate to widows' *ketubot*. Davis no. 3 is a determination in 1243 of a widow's marriage settlement; she sold one half of the lands, the vendor undertaking to pay her a retaining fee of 6d per annum; the other half she granted to her son Joseph. Attached was a formal agreement of the terms by which the latter could exchange the two halves. No. 45 of 1264 relates to a widow's marriage jointure, which she ratified by an oath on 'the Ten Commandments'. She then transferred the property to her son-in-law 'to do with as he pleases'. No. 53 relates to the resolution of a conflict in 1267 between a widow and the executor and guardian of her youthful son; the widow successfully demanded her jointure, having received none of her late husband's property. No. 55, of the same year, is a similar claim for confirmation of a widow's marriage settlement, a brick house with courtyard in Mancroft Street. In No. 66, undated, another claim for a widow's jointure, the appellant was to be put on 'oath of the law'. Many of the other Norwich deeds recorded by Davis related to marriage settlements and widows' rights.

At Norwich in 1251, 'in the presence of witnesses', three evidently reluctant sons declared upon oath their willingness to do 'what the sages enjoin': make adequate provision for their mother, and suitable arrangements for their sister to be married within three years. At Canterbury the bet din considered the plight of the widow of Rabbi Jacob ben Isaac, at whose death she had received a bare pittance, in all £2. It granted

Esther a house and yard in 'Jews' Street', the High Street, with everything appertaining, and permission to deal with it as she deemed fit. *See also* Women.

□ M. D. Davis, 'An Anglo-Jewish Divorce, 1242', *JQR*, 5 (1892), 158–65; *PpR*, 1184–85, 148–9; Davis (1969), nos 3, 15, 19, 45, 53, 55, 66, 156, 180; Roth (1951), 52–3; *Enc Jud*, 1 (2007), 516

### **Bet Tohorah, 'House of Purification' and Little House for Washing the Corpse**

Numbers 19:11–12 states:

Whosoever touches a dead body is unclean with the uncleanness of seven [days] and a man who touches him is unclean with the uncleanness [that passes at] evening. He shall purify himself and wash his clothes and bathe himself in water and shall be clean at evening. But the man that shall be unclean and shall not purify himself, that soul shall be cut off from the midst of the assembly [congregation], because he hath defiled the Sanctuary of the Eternal.

This is developed by the Mishnah (*Ohalot*, 'Tents') and Maimonides' late twelfth-century *Code*. The first treatise of Book 10, *The Book of Cleanness*, is 'Corpse Uncleanness'. Thus the *bet tohorah* was a ritual bath associated with burial.

Evidence from the Diaspora gives some guidance as to medieval burial procedures. A *responsum* of Rabbi Judah the Pious (d.1217) refers to the whole body being washed in heated water. In his will, Eleazar of Mainz (d.1357) commanded his sons to wash between his fingers and toes, wash his rear, wash his hair and comb it, and cut his nails so that he should come clean and pure to his eternal rest. Joseph Caro of Safed's *Shulchan Aruch*, 'The Prepared Table', (1576) gives a brief digest of the Halachic principles of the Sephardic sages. *Mappah*, 'The Tablecloth' by the Krakow rabbi Moses Isserles (d.1572), provides supplementary notes on Ashkenazic custom where he believed it conflicted with Sephardic procedure as recorded by Caro. In northern Europe there are examples of a little building in or close to the \*cemetery, where preparation of the dead took place. At Worms cemetery the *Leichenwasch-häuschen*, 'little house for washing the corpse' with its *Steintafel*, 'stone table', built in 1624 will have replaced a medieval structure. English medieval \*communities used similar burial procedures and buildings, and also required a source of pure water.

#### **\*London**

At London Jewry's Cripplegate cemetery, Honeybourne suggests, this came from the pond by the north-western angle of the city walls where, according to a charter of William I of 1067, 'a rivulet of springs near thereto flows'. Stow refers in 1603 to 'a fayre poole of cleare water';

by S. Giles Churchyard was a large water called a *Poole*, I read in the yeare 1244, that *Anne* of *Lodburie* was drowned therein, this poole is now for the most part



stopped up, but the spring is preserved, and was cooped about with stone by the Executors of *Richard Wittington*.

Post-expulsion records refer to 'a garden with dovecot and pond'. For Honeybourne both are 'highly significant details, for there can be little doubt that the [stone-built] dovecote was the old cemetery building, and the pond had been used for the Jewish burial ritual'. This was either where bodies were washed prior to burial, or the community's *bet tohorah*, for the ritual purification of those who had had contact with the body. It was probably the spring later called Crowder's Well, lying at the centre of the cemetery's eastern boundary, that provided the pure water.

As until 1177 the London cemetery was used by the provincial communities to bury their dead, it would have provided the model for their own burial grounds. At Crowder Terrace and Mews Lane in **\*Winchester** part of the Jewish cemetery was excavated, and over ninety burials found, in 1974–75 and 1995. According to the *OED* 'crowd'; from the Anglo-French *crude*, was an underground vault or a crypt. Thus a will of 1501 refers to a burial 'in the Crowde of the church of St. John the Baptist in Bristow'. In London the crypt chapel of St Faith was 'the Crowdes of the cathedral church of Paul's'. The term is also found in secular use; an inn under St Mary de Crypt in Gloucester was known in 1576 as 'the crowd tavern'. That 'Crowder' is found at London and at Winchester cemeteries suggests that both had an underground vaulted chamber with a spring or well, related to a building in which the bodies of Jewish dead could be washed.

Keene notes that in 1283 land and buildings next to the Winchester cemetery, that had belonged to **\*Benedict** son of Licoricia, hanged for **\*coinage** offences c.1279, were leased by the community from the Crown for an annual rent of 8s. The Winchester expulsion returns record 'a stone on which the Jews washed bodies prior to burial'. This **\*laving** stone, valued at 4s, provides significant evidence relating to the burial rites of the English medieval Jewry.

At **\*York** three documents, of 1290, 1291 and 1301, refer to 'a house' or 'building' as being near or adjacent to the Jewbury. Here ritually pure water was available from the river Foss, on the cemetery's eastern boundary. **\*Oxford's** cemetery was also located near a river, the Cherwell. At **\*Northampton** expulsion records mention the cemetery and 'building belonging to that place'. The dictates of the Mishnah, *Baba Bathra* ii.9, that burial should take place more than 50 paces from the nearest inhabited building, precluded residential use of such structures for cemetery keepers.

At **\*Bristol** Jacob's Well a small rock-cut chamber, entered by two stone steps, gives access to a spring. A very large stone lintel retains traces of a Hebrew inscription, part having been hacked away to provide a surface for modern plaster rendering. A well-preserved *chet*, finely cut with a deep V section, is preceded by what has been suggested is *zayin*, but if so the top of the letter is decidedly off-centre (Figure 1).

Initial interpretation of the chamber as a \*mikveh can be firmly ruled out, due to both the inhospitable site and its remoteness from the Jewry for female members. The only explanation for this Hebrew inscription is in relation to Bristol's medieval Jewish cemetery, just across the road. Jacob's Well offered excellent facilities for washing the



Figure 1 Jacob's Well, Bristol

Source: Richard Sermon.

dead or ritual purification of those who had been in contact with the body. Given this reinterpretation, it was declared a national Scheduled Monument in May 2002. Only excavation can provide the full answer. *See also Cemeteries.*

□ Metzger (1982); Reuter (1984), 49; Stow, 1 (1908), 16; Lilley et al. (1994), 311; Keene, II (1985), 1034; Hillaby & Sermon (2004), & (2007)

### Bezant and 'the royal ten per cent'

The bezant was the west European name for the hyperpyron of Byzantium, production of which ceased in 1204. However, bezants were issued by the successor Nicene emperors, 1222–54. The intervening period may explain the popularity of another gold coin, the \**obol' de musc*'. The bezant was a gold coin with a fineness of 20½ carats, a little over 93%, weighing up to 4.4 grams. As Cook points out: 'In the English context, the silver bezant mentioned in the *OED* never existed.' However, he accepts that 'there is the question of the extent to which the term *bezant* also came to mean a unit of account, worth two shillings'.

More than a century ago, Joseph Jacobs first drew attention to the significance of the bezant in terms of the financial relationship between the Jewish \*community and the Crown. He termed it 'the royal ten per cent'. At 24d, the bezant bore the precise relationship of ten per cent to the pound sterling (20s at 12d a shilling, giving 240d). In the royal accounts, 62 bezants made 1 mark of gold, with allowance for debasement.

The earliest evidence of such payments comes in the one extant \*pipe roll of Henry I's reign, for Michaelmas 1130, when \*Rabbi Josce and his associates paid 10 gold marks (£60) for assistance through the courts to recover loans made to Ranulf II de Gernons, earl of Chester, one of the most powerful men in the realm. However, we have no knowledge of the sum loaned; so it is not clear whether the rate was already established at ten per cent in Henry I's reign. The significant factor is that only with the support of letters royal could the

Jewry be confident that their loans would be repaid. This was a matter in which Crown and Jews had a joint interest, as Chapter 15 of the \*1164 Constitutions of Clarendon indicates.

Certainly the bezant became the standard in Henry II's reign. It thus came to play a major role in terms of Jewish taxation, for the clerks could apply the simple formula of 1 bezant in the £1 for each debt they were confirming. For Cook, 'by about 1200 an official valuation of the bezant for accounting purposes at 2s is in operation'; the term 'bezant' 'may have ceased to refer to an actual [gold] coin but simply referred to this sort of payment': the standard rate paid by Jews for royal favours, especially the confirmation in the royal courts of debts owed to them.

Although no such coin has yet been found, the gold bezant certainly existed. Like the *obol' de musc*, it was offered by Henry II as oblations at Pentecost services. Given that the silver penny was the only alternative, it is hardly surprising that Henry III made them his favoured offering at church festivals. The significance of these two gold coins in the history of the English medieval Jewry lies in the role that Jewish officers played in their acquisition. Indeed the Jewry was a major source of \*gold, whether as coin, dust, leaf or ingots, for Henry III's two royal treasures. In heraldry the bezant has lived on as a gold disc. As such, on a sable (black) background, they formed an appropriate border around Richard of Cornwall's crowned lion rampant.

□ Jacobs (1893), 239–41; Carpenter (1985), & (1987), 107–8; P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (1982), 10–12, 239–41; Cook (1999)

### **Blood Libel** *see* Ritual-Child-Murder Accusations

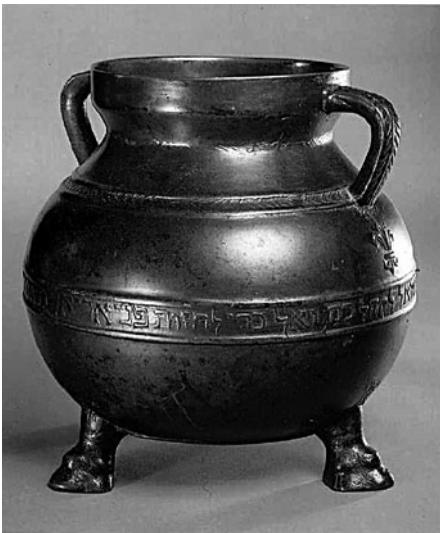


Figure 2 Bodleian bowl

Source: © Ashmolean Museum, AN2009.10.

**Blund** family *see* Hereford, Aaron II le Blund of; London, le Blund Family of

### **Bodleian Bowl**

The most remarkable physical legacy of the medieval Anglo-Jewry is a bronze bowl, some 10 inches high (25 cm). It has two handles, and three hoof-shaped feet. Under each handle is a fleur-de-lis, one larger than the other. On the feet are three different designs: a springing dog or stag; a standing bird with open beak (a stork?); and a circular medallion with rosette or sun's rays. Around the broadest part is a Hebrew inscription.

Dr John Covel, Master of Christ College, Cambridge, 1688–1722, bought the bowl from ‘the man who dug it up [and] suddenly became rich’. On his death it was purchased by Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, and in 1742 it was acquired by Richard Rawlinson, bishop, topographer and one of the greatest of the eighteenth-century collectors. To the Bodleian Library he left not only his collection of 5000 manuscripts, and his charters and seals, but also ‘my metal Jewish vessel’.

The bowl’s origins are far from clear. According to Isaac Abendana, lecturer in Hebrew at Magdalen College 1689–99, who was consulted by Covel, it was ‘taken out of an old mote in Norfolk’. In Harley’s time Tovey reported in his *Anglia Judaica* of 1738 that it ‘was found about forty Years ago, by a Fisherman as he was Dragging a small Brook in *Suffolk*’. The earlier version is now generally accepted. Its function is not evident; its shape and legs indicate that it was not used for purifying utensils.

In 1870 Moses Margoliouth selected an engraving of the bowl for the cover of his *Vestiges of the Historic Anglo-Hebrews in East Anglia*. At the ‘Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition’ in the Albert Hall in 1887 the bowl was given pride of place, as Item 1. Transferred from the Bodleian Library to the Ashmolean Museum in 1932, the bowl was displayed in 1956 at the Victoria and Albert Museum’s ‘Anglo-Jewish Exhibition’. In 1963–64 it travelled to Cologne as a major exhibit at the *Monumenta Judaica* exhibition, celebrating 2000 years of the history and culture of the Rhenish Jews, and in 1997 to the ‘*Voir Jérusalem Pèlerins, Conquérants, Voyageurs*’ exhibition at the Panthéon, Paris.

The Hebrew inscription has led to much debate. Israel Abrahams, whose study of the bowl was published in 1908, was puzzled that letters were missing at both ends of the inscription when ‘the rest of the Hebrew is so excellent in style’. He considered whether ‘the strip of metal containing the Hebrew was added after the bowl had been cast’, but cites Sir Isidore Spielmann, who first suggested the 1887 exhibition, who was ‘perfectly satisfied... that the entire Bowl with its inscription is a casting, that it is of French origin and of the thirteenth century’.

Abrahams’ translation of the inscription still prevails: ‘This is the gift of Joseph, the son of the Holy Rabbi Yechiel, may the memory of the righteous holy be for a blessing, who answered and asked (i.e. directed) the congregation as he desired (or thought fit – [through Responsa?]) in order to behold the face of Ariel [Jerusalem: Isaiah 29:1, ‘the city where David dwelt’] as is written in the law of Yekuthiel (i.e. Moses), “And righteousness delivers from death”’ (Proverbs 11:4).

Abrahams believed that ‘the holy Rabbi Yechiel’ of the inscription was Rabbi Yehiel of Paris, who defended the Talmud in front of Louis XI in the public disputation with the convert, Nicholas Donin of La Rochelle, prior to the burning of 24 cartloads of Hebrew books in the Place de Grève in 1242. Yehiel later left France for the Holy Land, and it has been suggested that he used the bowl to collect alms to take to Palestine, where, at Acre, he established a *yeshiva*. This identification has been accepted by Stephenson and Katz, and perpetuated in the Cologne and Paris exhibition catalogues. No explanation has

been given as to how the bowl found its way from Israel, or France, to East Anglia. One suggestion is that it came 'as part of some Crusader's booty'.

The French catalogue claims that the fleur-de-lis is 'a reference to the kingdom of France'. It is unlikely, however, that Rabbi Yehiel of Paris would have been promoting the French king. Additionally, this was a common motif, as illustrated in the Wallace Collection's 'Treasures of the Black Death' exhibition of 2009.

The year following the 'Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition', M. D. Davis published *Shetaroth: Hebrew Deeds of English Jews before 1290*, in which he transcribed 208 \*starrs. Item no. 201, from \*Colchester, witnessed that 'R. Isaac, R. Joseph and Benjamin, sons of R. Jehiel, ... make over their part of a house in Stockwell Street, with all its appurtenances, left as an inheritance by their grandfather, to R. Samuel [their brother]'. Surprisingly, this starr has been used to support the identification of Rabbi Yehiel of Paris. That the house was bequeathed by the grandfather indicates three generations of the family living in Colchester; that the bowl was found in East Anglia suggests that it was the gift of the Joseph son of R. Jehiel named in the starr and living in that \*community. The 'rustic simplicity' of the bowl, as described in the French catalogue, adds weight to this theory.

□ Abrahams (1908); Katz (1990); Stephenson (1984–85)

**Bolton** *see* Expulsions, Local

**Bonamy** *see* York, Bonamy of

### **Bridgnorth, Shropshire**

Bridgnorth, a small river port on the Severn, was never a formally recognised \*community. The plea rolls record that in 1267 Josce son of Deulecresse and Meyr son of Isaac of Oxford paid Henry III 4 \*bezants (8 shillings) 'to tarry with their wives' at Bridgnorth. The \*sheriff was commanded to 'appoint them a dwelling place in the town, at their own charge', and, if they were 'in imminent peril, to give them harbourage' in the royal castle. This was but one of a number of such \*licences for residence made by Henry III in an attempt to restore the economy of the English Jewry after the traumas sustained during the \*Montfortian attacks.

In 1273 Meyr was detained in Oxford prison for 'divers enormous trespasses and larcenies and clipping of \*coin'. After he was discharged on bail, the sheriff of Shropshire was ordered to 'keep him safe in gaol'. The next year Aaron son of Bonamy le Prestre paid only 1 bezant to 'remove from \*Hereford and reside at the town of Bruges' (Bridgnorth). In June the sheriff was ordered to 'maintain and defend the king's Jews of Brugges ... as the king lately caused his peace to be proclaimed throughout the realm, and observed for all, both Jews and Christians'.

In October 1274, however, the sheriff was ordered 'to cause the Jews to be amoved from the town ... without damage to their bodies or things'. In June 1275 Meyr was

permitted 'to sell his houses and other goods in Bridgnorth, without which he cannot satisfy the king of a great sum of money... as well for tallage... as for other causes'. If he did not sell it he was to be removed forthwith, and his houses and goods taken into the king's hand as forfeit. Shortly afterwards the townsmen were complaining that Jews still repaired there for three or four days a week. This 'caused more damage to town and countryside than their residence'.

□ *PREJ*, I, 150, & II, 64, 101, 145; *CCR*, 1272-79, 130; *CFR*, 1275, 48; Richardson (1960), 12 n. 1, 21 n. 4

## **Bristol**

### **The Twelfth Century**

The first reference to a Jew at Bristol in the \*pipe rolls comes in 1185 with an entry relating to a long-running family dispute. Leah, Jewess of Bristol, owed 20 \*bezants for recognition of an agreement between herself and her children made in *coram Judeis*, the local \*bet din. She also agreed to pay 40 \*marks, £26 13s 4d, to have her fair share of the chattels and bonds of her late husband, Benedict. In 1188 Moses, presumably Leah's stepson, sought his rights as against her 'and her sons'. Eleven years after the judgment in her favour, Leah still owed 20 marks.

The 1191 pipe roll records that Judas, Jew of Bristol, 'owes 2 oz of gold for an enquiry in *capitulo judeorum* [chapter of the Jews] whether a Jew could take \*interest from another Jew'. There is no record of its decision, but the injunction in Deuteronomy 23:19-20, 'To thy brother thou shalt not lend upon \*usury,' applied equally to Christian and Jew. Both ignored the prohibition, but for the Jew, as a \*Norwich \*starr shows, the problem was resolved by using a Christian intermediary. The entry is of interest as probably the first reference to the matter of inter-Jewish loans in English medieval records.

Evidence brought forward for an earlier foundation of the Jewry is illusory. A *Domus Conversorum*, house of \*converts, was not established in Bristol. Further, Roth has shown that the leaf of the famous \*genealogy written by Moses of Northampton, grandson of \*Master Moses, on MS 19533, fol. 289r, in the Schocken Library, Jerusalem, originally read, not 'Moses of Bristol', but Moses of 'Glo...'; evidently \*Gloucester, where a Jewry had been founded prior to the 1159 *Donum*. Jewish colonisation of provincial England was always strongest in the east, in consequence of important trading contacts with the continent. In the west the 1159 *Donum* provides evidence of Jewish settlement only at Gloucester and Worcester, by far the smallest of the contributing Jewries. There is no reference to a Bristol \*community.

This is surprising, as the twelfth century was an era of considerable prosperity for Bristol, with its well-sheltered port, mint and royal castle. The town had flourished on trade with Ireland from the early eleventh century. In 1171-72 Henry II 'gave, granted and confirmed to my men of Bristol my city of Dublin for [them] to inhabit'. Bristol was already beginning to dominate the wine trade of the west of England. Later King

John bought 30,000 gallons of Gascon wine here; by 1257 the bishop of Worcester had bought a similar quantity in one year.

Bristol had its own \*ritual crucifixion story of the late twelfth century, in BL Harley MS 957, entitled *Narratio legendaria seu fabula ineptissima...*. For Stacey it is unique in that it is presented as a dramatic dialogue, with musical settings to be sung by a choir of 'angels' around the tomb of Adam, the child martyr, probably at 'the church of St Mary Redcliffe [just beyond the walls], on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August)'. He suggests that it was composed locally c.1260, but copied c.1310–20.

The first detailed evidence of a Bristol Jewry is provided by the 1194 Northampton *Promissum*. The community, with 14 paying members, contributed a mere £22 15s 2d, some 1% of the total, ranking twelfth amongst the provincial communities. Judas Gabbay paid £11 13s 4d, Samuel le Pointer £1 10s 4d and Isaac *furmager* £1 8s 8d; the other 11, including a woman, Preciose, paid less than £1. The Jewry at Gloucester, its rival port on the Severn, paid some £117, that is 6.5% of the total; its magnate, Moses le Riche, was second amongst the provincial contributors, paying £58.

### The Thirteenth Century

On his return from his successful Irish campaign in 1210, King John imposed the so-called Bristol \*tallage of £40,000 on the English Jewry. Prior to this, to encourage payment, he ordered 'a \*General Captivity of the Jews'. Some were incarcerated in Bristol castle (see Plan 1). However, the city's Jewry appears to have escaped the worst horrors of the last years of John's reign.

In \*1218 Bristol was one of the 17 communities formally recognised by Henry III's Council of Regency. Orders were sent to the constable of the castle to supervise the elections of 24 citizens who were to ensure the safety of the Jewry, 'especially from crusaders'. Bristol's diocesans, the bishops of \*Worcester, Sylvester (1216–18) and de Blois (1218–36), followed the anti-Judaic tradition set by their predecessor, John de Coutances (1196–98), for whom Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, had written, *Contra Perfidiam Judaeorum*. Sylvester had responded quickly to the Lateran Council's 1215 decree against 'excessive interest', and in 1218 the \*sheriff of Worcestershire was ordered to restrain the bishop, 'for our Jews are no concern of his'. (See Worcester.)

With the growth of the Gascon wine trade, Bristol was by the end of the thirteenth century to become England's second wealthiest town, yet its Jewry never reflected the city's extraordinary economic and physical growth. The evidence of its bonds suggests that, as at neighbouring \*Exeter, its principal activity was in serving the financial needs of the people of its rural hinterland, in this case the counties of Gloucester, Wiltshire and Somerset. Of the 16 \*provincial Jewries that paid tallage in 1221, Bristol ranked eleventh. Only seven members are named, half the number that contributed to the 1194 *Promissum*. In 1223 it ranked eighth of 16, but by 1226 was merely fifteenth of 21. At the Worcester 'parliament' of \*1241 it was represented by Lumbard, Bonefei, Isaac son of

Jacob, Milo le Evesk and, notably, Solomon of Ilchester and Isaac of Bath. In terms of tax payments, 1239–42, it ranked thirteenth of 19 communities. Bonefei, its wealthiest member, fled, like Jacob of Exeter, but was apprehended and gaoled in the Tower of London. As the value of his bonds did not cover his commitment to the Crown. His house was sold as the value of his bonds did not cover his commitment to the Crown.

The Bristol Jewry was unusual in that it was not close to the principal marketing area. William of Worcester wrote his *Topography of Medieval Bristol* in the late fifteenth century, partly in contemporary English, and later in Latin. His precise references to the \*synagogue provide clues as to the site of the Jewry. 'From the said Small Street gate as far as St John's Gate [1 on Plan 1], past the high wall of the synagogue and St Giles's church [and gate (2)], measures 110 steps'. The Jewry thus lay within the walls, close to the quay head on the river Frome (3).

This site is of considerable interest, for one of the community's leading families bore the name *Furmager*. In 1305 a London cheesemonger, John Wrytel, is described as *furmager*. Cheese was an important commodity for vessels voyaging any distance. At Bristol Isaac *furmager*'s business eventually became highly successful. His contribution to the 1194 *Promissum* was one of only three over £1. In the 1221 tallage Josce *Furmag* paid £2 6s 8d towards Bristol's contribution of £22 12s 9d. In 1223 his £21 2s was exceeded only by the £37 of Jacob son of Samuel. Jospin *Formage* paid £4 19s, virtually half of the community's tallage, £10 17s, in 1226.

### The Baronial Wars, 1264–67, and the move to a new site

At the outbreak of war Bristol and its castle were under the control of Henry III's son, the lord Edward. When he attempted to impose a levy of £1000 on the town and district, conflict broke out between his mercenaries and the citizens. Threatened with a siege, the prince pretended to come to terms with the townsmen, but fled to Windsor Castle. Probably at this time the Bristol \*chest and its bonds suffered the same fate as those at \*Bedford and \*Canterbury. On the re-establishment of royal authority, the community decided, no doubt as a result of experiences in these years, to seek another site for the Jewry, close to the castle and, it was hoped, the assistance of its royal constable.

The community was certainly established in St Peter's parish by 1275. There relations between Jews and parishioners reached crisis point. A chaplain of St Peter's (4 on Plan 1), on his way to administer the Eucharist to a sick parishioner, was subjected, in the words of Bishop Godfrey Giffard of Worcester (1268–1302), to 'iniquitous insults, blasphemous and injurious upon the most holy body of Our Saviour'. The bishop, having 'excommunicated' the Jews, forbade any traffic between his parishioners and 'such wicked people'.

In the same year William Giffard, former sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk who had already attacked the Bedford Jewry, led 24 locals, including a cleric, Robert le Prestre, and two women, in a night assault on the Jewry. His aim was the destruction of bonds recording his debts to Bristol Jews, totalling over £100. His brothers, Godfrey and Walter, archbishop of York 1266–79, were both involved in the trade in Jewish debts.



The records suggest complicity on the part of the constable, Richard Kingeston. We know from the \*expulsion returns that many of the Jewish houses lay within the royal barton, that is the purlieu of the castle. Instead of assuring the Jewry of the king's 'firm peace', Kingeston apparently stood by while Giffard and his mob plundered its houses of goods to the value of £100 – one report puts it at £1000 – and then set fire to them. Notable also was the lack of support from the '24 of the better and more discreet citizens', for the bailiffs of the liberty of the city did nought to help in the arrest of the malefactors, whose names are all on record. In 1276 Kingeston is described as 'formerly constable of Bristol castle'.

It was in this area, in Peter Street, that E. J. Boore's 1975–76 excavations uncovered an exceptionally well-preserved three-wick copper-alloy lamp, cast as one piece and dated to the late thirteenth century, now on display in Bristol City Museum. On the basis first of its provenance and second that 'oil lamps of this era were usually ceramic', it has been suggested that this is a Sabbath lamp. However, the documentary evidence of 1285 and 1290 makes no reference to Jewish settlement in Peter Street, only in Narrow Wine Street, close to the castle. If it is indeed a Sabbath lamp, it is one of the very few examples of the English medieval Jewry's material culture.

The Jews of Gloucester, one of the four communities \*expelled from Queen Mother Eleanor's dower towns in 1275, were commanded by Edward I to move, with their chest, to Bristol. Conscious of the problems faced by that Jewry, however, they ignored the royal command. Instead they took up residence in \*Hereford, where the community was under the leadership of \*Aaron II le Blund and his Gloucester wife, Mirabelle.

The \*coin-clipping crisis of 1276–79 had a devastating impact on Bristol's Jewry: Moses of Kent, Cressaunt and Hak (Isaac) le Prestre, together with \*Benedict of Winchester, son of \*Licoricia and Abraham, her first husband, were all hanged. The close rolls record that Cresse son of Milo l'Eveske was hanged by 1261, and Rokéah has shown that Mendaunt was not hanged, but converted. His property thus reverted to the Crown. Details of the chattels of Hak le Prestre, published by Adler, show that, especially after the imposition of the Statute of the Jewry in \*1275, \*pawnbroking played a considerable part in Jewish livelihood.

The fate of Aaron of \*Ireland, one of the Bristol Jews who had made their way to Dublin, stands in marked contrast. Accused in 1282 of attempting to sell a plate of fused coin clippings in Bristol, and refusing trial, he was committed to Hereford gaol. With a pledge of 3 bezants, the forfeit of his \*Colchester property, worth 8s a year, and promise to abjure Bristol city, Aaron was released. (See Wales and Ireland.)

### The Welsh Connection

Since the mid century, there had been a small but highly significant Jewish presence on the northern, Welsh, coast of the Bristol Channel, at the formidable marcher castles of

\*Caerleon and Striguil (Chepstow). With easy access by boat, these Jews may well have originated from Bristol. The earliest Bristol Jew with the toponym Caerleon is Isaac, who was serving as \*chirographer in 1253, but the first record of a Jew in Caerleon is to David, who died 25 years later. The relationship between the two branches of the family is unclear. One can only assume that the Bristol branch represented younger members of the Welsh family who, lacking opportunities across the channel, returned to the city to become some of the most prominent members of the community, whilst proudly retaining their distinctive toponym. Cok de Striguil, who held bonds at the expulsion, probably had a similar background.

Isaac's sons evidently had to spread their wings. An Aaron of Carlyun is found in Somerset between 1266 and 1272 but paid some £3 in tallage at Oxford in 1275. Debts of Isaac's son, Abraham of Bristol, referred to as deceased in 1273, are recorded in the Gloucester chest in 1278 and in that of Somerset and Devon in 1281. Isaac of Karliun, the chirographer, and his colleague, Hak le Prestre, were charged in 1274 with 'false and malicious practices,' placing a forged charter in the chest. They eventually paid £10 4s for 'release of the suit'. Isaac is recorded in Bristol in 1276. He and Josce of Karliun were both operating at Gloucester in 1278 and, together with Sampson of Winton, represented Bristol at the \*1287 'mini-parliament'. Here evidently is a third generation, the father-son relationship made clear in the expulsion returns.

The enquiry into the property of the Bristol Jews in 1290 reveals a community in the last stages of decay. The chest returned to the exchequer contained bonds to a total value of £72 10s: £27 7s 8d in cash and £45 2s 4d in grain. This was the lowest total of all the 11 communities for which records exist, even less than \*Devizes, £126 and \*Exeter, £216. There were 13 bondholders, but only five holdings worth more than £5: Solomon son of Hagin, £22; Josce of Caerleon's sons, Aaron £10 in cash and Isaac £6 13s 4d in grain; Hak of Caerleon and Cok of Striguil, £8 10s 4d; and Cok of Striguil £5 6s 8d. Josce held a mere 7s in cash. Moses of Kent had property worth 8s a year, 'more if put in proper condition'. The poor state of repair, a matter of frequent comment, was evidently the consequence of the 1275 attack on the Jewry. At least one Bristol Jew, 'Menrok, a convert', was permitted to remain in the town, but his property was granted to Walter le Menn. (See also Caerleon.)

### The Jewry

Bristol's Jewry occupied two sites. As in other towns with medieval Jewries, remembrance of the community remained for centuries through place names. The first site is described by William of Worcester, writing c.1480, who refers to a road

to the kay, by the lower way of seynt laurens and by the old temple of yewys. where be grete Vowtes ynder the hyghest walle of Bristow and the olde Chyrch of Seynt Gylys was bylded ovyr the Vowtes yn the way goyng by Seynt laurens laane yn to Smalstrete.



- 1 St John's Gate
- 2 St Giles Gate
- 3 River Frome
- 4 St Peter's Church
- 5 Narrow Wine Street
- 6 Colchin Street
- 7 River Avon
- 8 Synagogue (beneath church of St Giles)
- 9 Synagogue
- 10 Synagogue

*Plan 1 Extract from J. Millerd, Exact Delineation of the Famous City of Bristol (1673)*

Source: © Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives.

St Laurence's church, now long gone, lay to the west of St John's, still standing above the northern gate into the city. Worcester's description, whilst ambiguous, places the Jewry in the area between St Laurence Lane, called Bell Lane on James Millerd's *Exact Delineation of Bristol* of 1673, and the quayside (see Plan 1). This site is confirmed by the city chamberlain's accounts for 1556–57 and 1627–28, which give details of the various rents for the 'Ould Jurie'. Millerd, however, some four centuries after the expulsion, marks 'ye Jewrie la' outside the walls.

As a result of the troubles experienced during the \*Montfortian era, the community moved much closer to the castle and its constable. Its new site can be established from a deed of 1285 relating to property on the south side of Narrow Wine Street (5 on plan), which is described as 'opposite the *Judairum*', suggesting that most of the Jewish property, including the *scola* (S), was on the north side. *The Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle* indicates that much of the Jewish property in Narrow Wine Street referred to in the expulsion returns was within the purlieu or barton of the castle. *In vico iuxta castrum*, 'in the street by the castle', Josce of Caerleon had a tenement for which he paid 3s 4d per annum rent. His son Isaac had a house in Narrow Wine Street valued at over £1 per annum, and formerly another on the same street, worth 6s per annum, which he had given to his son, Cresse. On Hak le Prestre's two plots of land, adjoining the *scola*, two properties worth £1 5s were later erected on Edward I's orders. Another of those hanged for coinage offences with property in this street was \*Benedict of Winchester. He was not a Bristol resident, but had interests nationwide, owning Ronceval, one of the principal buildings in \*Southampton, as well as property in Shorten Street, \*Winchester, and Coney Street, \*York. (See Houses.)

### Synagogues (S on Plan 1)

William of Worcester described the site of the first *scola*, which he refers to as a *templum*, on the north of the town, close to 'the head of the quay', on six occasions in his *Topography*. The synagogue wall was 'near the stone entry gate to Small Street' (see Plan 1). The synagogue, he says, was 'situated down in the ancient vaults, directly beneath the former parish church of St Giles'. Elsewhere he refers to the church as 'built over the cellars'. Some 60 years later Leland reported that 'thereby in the same lane [as St Lawrence church] dwellyd the Jewes, and theyr temple, or sinagoge, is yet sene there, and now is a ware howse'.

The site of the second *scola*, held by the community on a 20-year lease from Margaret Toly at a rental of 3s, is identified by Leech as on the north side of Narrow Wine Street, just east of its junction with Dolphin Street (6 on Plan 1). As Leech's plan clearly shows, its position, behind the city wall, would have provided seclusion, and ample accommodation for the \*Jews Court with its communal facilities. As late as 1532 it is referred to as 'the Jewys Scole House'. The site disappeared with the building of Union Street.

The \*cemetery was on Brandon Hill, far from the medieval town. The site was probably chosen, as at \*London, \*York, \*Winchester and \*Northampton, for its proximity to the 'living' water at Jacob's Well, just across the road. This served either to wash the bodies of the dead or as a \**bet tohorah* for the ritual cleansing of those who had been in contact with them. Given its distance from the Jewry, and the remoteness of the site, it could not have served as a \**mikveh*. Indeed, Brandon Hill was sufficiently removed from human habitation to provide a cell for the anchorite Brendan.

□ *AHT*, 2 (1975); Adler (1939), 175–251; N. I. Orme, 'The Guild of Kalendars, Bristol', *TBGAS*, 96 (1978), 32–5; Hillaby (2009); Roth (1949), 34 n. 3; *Rot Litt Claus*, I, 354, 359; E. Boore, 'A Medieval Lamp from Peter Street, Bristol', *TBGAS*, 119 (2001), 179–82; Rokéah, 2 (1974), 74–6, & (2000), no. 1127; Rigg (1902), 120–1, 127; Stacey (2007); Cluse (1995); E. W. W. Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, *BRS*, 4 (1933), 74, 75, 79, 105; D. M. Livock (ed.), *City Chamberlains' Accounts*, *BRS*, 24 (1966), xv, 15, 36, 44, 76, 94–5, 110, 148; Sharp (1982), index: Jews; F. Neale (ed.), *William Worcestre: The Topography of Medieval Bristol*, *BRS*, 51 (2000), nos 46, 200, 270, 320, 353, 369; J. Bettey (ed.), *Historic Churches and Church Life in Bristol*, *TBGAS* (2001), 36–7; R. H. Leech, 'Aspects of the Medieval Defences of Bristol', in *From Cornwall to Caithness*, ed. M. Bowden, D. Mackay and P. Topping, *BAR* (1989), 240–3, & (ed.), *The Topography of Medieval and Early Modern Bristol*, *BRS*, 48 (1997), ix–xxviii, 118–19, 183–4; Causton (2007), nos 1–8; Hillaby (1990c), 85; Leland, 5 (1964), 86–93; Hillaby & Sermon (2004), & (2007); *PREJ*, I, 134, 242, 248, 277, & II, 21, 138–9, 198, & III, 133, & IV, nos 16, 113, & V, nos 716, 717, 796, 882 (xix), & VI, no. 1234

**Bristol Tallage** *see* Tallage and 1210, General Captivity

### Bungay, Suffolk

The \*community here, like that at \*Thetford, was a seigneurial foundation, established during Stephen's reign by Hugh Bigod, first earl of Norfolk, d.1176–77. Castle and borough were situated in a loop of the Waveney, where a strategic road, running north towards \*Norwich, crossed the river. The first castle was probably built by Earl Hugh's father, Roger. In 1140 Stephen assaulted and gained control of it, but shortly afterwards it was back in the hands of Earl Hugh. All Bigod's castles, including Bungay and Thetford, were held by Henry II in 1157. The imposition of royal authority over the Bungay community is reflected in its contribution two years later to the 1159 *Donum*. Its assessment, 22½ marks, equalled that of \*Northampton, but was only half that imposed on Thetford. Of the ten \*provincial Jewries paying the *Donum*, Bungay was the only one in a borough without a mint (*see* Provincial Jewries). This may suggest that Bigod was attempting to boost the economy of his town by transplanting some members of Thetford's highly successful community.

In 1165 Earl Hugh paid £1000 for a royal licence to build a large new stone castle at Bungay. This had a substantial tower, built of flint but faced with sandstone. According to Howden, Bungay's castle was degraded by the king after Bigod's revolts in 1173 and 1174. An uncompleted mining gallery under the south-west corner of the great tower is a remarkable witness to this event. Lacking the protection of a castle, Bungay's Jews apparently obtained Henry's approval for their move to Norwich, where they

## Burton-upon-Trent

established their own Jewry. Some moved to more distant royal Jewries: in 1194 Elias was at Lincoln, Jacob at Northampton, and an Isaac as far away as Hereford.

Details of the Northampton *Promissum* of 1194 show that the heads of four Bungay households – Abraham, Moses and the brothers Isaac and Ursell – survived the 1190 attack on Norwich's Jewry. Their contribution of £12 to the *Promissum* compares favourably with the £3 13s 5d paid by the five Norwich heads of household not members of the Jurnet family. The Bungay Jews developed their own quarter adjacent to that of the local community, on the south side of the Haymarket. This was only a short distance from the great keep. For many years there were numerous Jews with the toponym 'Bungay' in the Norwich community. Lipman provides both a site plan and a table of Jews 'of Bungay'.

□ A. Wareham, 'The Motives and Politics of the Bigod Family, c.1066–1177', *ANS*, 17 (1995), 233–42; Howden, *Gesta*, 1 (1867), 126–7; Brown (1989), 63–4; Hillaby (2003a), 21–5, 30–1; Lipman (1967), 128–9, fig. 13

**Burton-upon-Trent** *see* Expulsions, Local

## Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk

The church of St Edmund at Bury was one of England's greatest monasteries, due primarily to the popularity of its shrine of the East Anglian king killed by the Vikings in 869. The marketplace and chequer-board of streets in front of the Abbey Gate were begun by Abbot Baldwin, d.1097. On 'land under the plough before 1066', 342 houses had been built by 1086.

### Abbot Hugh, 1157–80

The Jewry was established early in Hugh's abbacy, for the 1158 \*pipe roll records a payment of 20 \*marks (£13 6s 8d) *pro judeis*. If this represents its contribution to the 1159 *Donum*, it indicates the presence of a Jewry similar in size to that at \*Oxford. Bury had two major attractions for Jews: an important fair, and an old-established mint. Relations between the moneyers and the Jews were not good. The former, charged in the twelfth century with clipping the \*coinage, accused the Jews. However, the Jews were treated with respect by some of the leading officers of the monastery. Jocelin of Brakelond, the abbey's chronicler, describes how 'during the troubles' of 1173–74, with no castle to which they could flee, the Jews' 'wives and children were sheltered in our pittance [almonry]'.

Jocelin provides an eye-witness account of the abbey's financial problems in the 1170s. These arose from the inability in his later years of the gentle and now virtually blind Abbot Hugh to exercise effective control over his subordinates, in particular his cellarer, who were contracting unofficial loans. Jocelin describes silk copes, gold vessels and other church ornaments being pawned without the convent's permission. When the cellarer's debt to \*Jurnet of Norwich had grown to £60, the king himself pressed

the convent for repayment. The cellarer was deposed, but William the sacrist, anxious to rebuild his treasury, was more nefarious. Borrowing 40 marks from Jurnet's brother, Benedict, he used the seal of the shrine of St Edmund to confirm the bond. When the sum had risen to £100 a further royal letter disclosed the sacrist's secret. The aged abbot's solution was to allow yet another bond to be sealed. By 1177 the debt to Benedict had risen to some £1200. Jews were not alone in lending large sums. Jocelin saw a £1040 bond made out to William son of Isabel, \*sheriff of \*London 1176–77 and 1178–87.

### Abbot Samson (1180–1211) and the expulsion of the Bury Jews in 1190

On Abbot Hugh's death in 1180, the election of his successor split the convent into two camps. The pro-Jewish party was led by William the sacrist, described by Jocelin as

father and patron of the Jews, for they enjoyed his protection. They had free entrance and exit, and went everywhere throughout the monastery, wandering by the altars and round the shrine [of St Edmund] while Mass was being celebrated. Their money was deposited in our treasury, in the sacrist's custody.

Six Bury Jews are identified in the twelfth-century pipe rolls: Sancto, the earliest, who was fined 5 marks in 1183 for taking as pledges 'vessels used for service at the altar'; Isaac, who was killed whilst at Thetford, probably in the Easter 1190 riots; Slema and her son, Copin; Leo, and Seigneuret.

The anti-Jewish party was led by Samson of Tottington, the sub-sacrist, whose overriding ambition was the completion of the abbey's west front, with its three great towers. His enemies and opponents in the chapter persuaded the king's custodian to prohibit all new building work during the interregnum, and order all money to be saved for debt repayment.

In 1181 the body of a boy, Robert, was found in a well. Samson shrewdly used this incident to turn the tables on the pro-Jewish party, paving the way for his election as abbot in February 1182. He persuaded Jocelin to write a *Life*, promoting the cult of the young saint. The *Life* has been lost, and in his *Chronicle* Jocelin refers merely to 'the saintly boy martyred and buried in our church, where happened many prodigious signs'. The cult can have provided only minimal funds for Abbot Samson's magnificent west front.

According to Ralph de Diceto, dean of St Paul's d.1199/1200, Bury witnessed the slaughter of 57 Jews on Palm Sunday, 18 March 1190. Virtually within sight of the great abbey, it led to a confrontation between Samson and Richard I's ministers, who insisted that the abbot should have protected the Jews as the Crown's serfs. Samson maintained that, by tradition since Anglo-Saxon times, everything within the borough and its \*liberty belonged by right to St Edmund; unless the king accepted the Jews as St Edmund's men, they should be banished from the town. To this Richard's ministers agreed, but they insisted that the Jews retain the value of their houses and lands. Samson responded by threatening to excommunicate any of his burgesses who offered Jews hospitality. The Crown lawyers later won the right for Jews to attend the abbey's courts to prosecute

their claims for debt repayment, to lodge in Bury for just two nights, and on the third day leave in freedom. Gottfried suggests that the grammar school founded by Abbot Samson in 1291 may have been accommodated in one of the houses vacated by the Jews.

There is a tradition, first recorded in 1771, that Moyse's Hall, dominating the northern end of the Great Market, was built by a Jew. An upper-hall house, with a solar to the west, its hall was lit by a pair of windows on the south, originally similar to the bifora windows of the Lincoln Jew's House but later modified. Beneath the hall is a splendid vaulted cellar, carried on short, circular piers that divide it into six vaulted bays. However, the hall dates from the period when Abbot Samson is recorded as building stone houses in the town, c.1190, and is of the same Barnack stone as his west front. The only hint of a Jewish origin is the name but, as Gottfried points out, Moses and Moyse are common Suffolk names. Two of those who participated in the town-versus-abbey riots of 1327 bore the surname Mose. It is probable that the hall was named after a thirteenth-century tenant, Robert Mose, a butcher.

The Jewry was in Hatter Street, not far from the Great Market. By 1316 this was known as *Hethenmannesstrete*. At \*Canterbury, Stour Street was *Hethenmannelane* in 1180, and the term is found as late as 1796 at \*Thetford. The frequently used terms Jewry and Jewry Lane can be of post-expulsion origin, as in \*London.

### **Vestiges of the Jewish Presence?**

Of the 28 Hebrew \*manuscripts discussed by Olszowy-Schlanger, nos 22 and 23 originated from Bury. Pembroke College Cambridge MS 59 is a fragment that was used to line the front board of a Latin bible. 'The date of the binding tells us the fragment was at Bury at the end of the twelfth century,' and for Beit-Arié 'the inner pricking... is evidence of its English provenance'. This is well preserved, but its partner inside the back cover is obliterated. The leaf consists mostly of *selihot*, penitentiary prayers. As Abrahams points out, it is 'no hazardous suggestion' that this formed part of a twelfth-century *siddur*, prayer-book, in use at Bury synagogue until the expulsion in 1190 when it passed into Christian hands. M. R. James records that it was given by William Smart of Ipswich to Pembroke College.

The second, Bodleian MS. Laud Or. 174, is a Hebrew psalter of 58 folios, containing all 150 psalms. Its English origins are confirmed by the style of illuminations, including a floral motif and griffons, and the late thirteenth-century cursive handwriting of Latin annotations. An inscription records that *hoc psalterium hebraicum est de bibliotheca venerabilis monasterii st edmundi*, from whom it was borrowed in 1502 (but evidently not returned) by Richard Brinkley, Professor of Theology at Oxford and later Provincial of the English Franciscans. It later came into the hands of William Laud, who proudly inscribed it, 'Book of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of Oxford University. 1633' (Figure 3).





Figure 3 MS. Laud Or. 174, fol. 1v

Source: © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

For the Cloisters Cross *see* Synagoga and Ecclesia.

□ *Jocelin*, 4–15, 41–2; Richardson (1960), 43–4, 80–1; Bale (2006), 105–43; A. P. Bale, “‘House Devil, Town Saint’: Antisemitism and Hagiography in Medieval Suffolk”, in *Chaucer and the Jews: Sources, Contexts, Meanings*, ed. S. Delany (2002), 185–210; Hillaby (1997), 86–90; R. S. Gottfried, *Bury St Edmunds and the Urban Crisis 1290–1539* (1982), 31–2; Eaglen (1998); Samuel (1975); A. R. Edwardson, *Moyse’s Hall Museum* (n.d., St Edmundsbury BC booklet); M. Abrahams, ‘Leaf from an English Siddur of the Twelfth Century’, *Jews’ College Jubilee Volume* (1906), 109–13; Beit-Arié (1993), 129 n. 12; Olszowy-Schlanger (2003), 34–5, 262–70, pls 24, 25

## Caerleon

Caerleon was a river port on the Usk. On the west bank stands the castle’s great motte, some 200 ft (60 m) in diameter. In 1217 the earldom of \*Gloucester and the great marcher lordship of Glamorgan, with Gwynllwg (Wentloog) to its east, between the Rhymney and Usk rivers, passed to the de Clare family. After the death of Gilbert I de Clare, according to the *Brut y Twysogyon*, Iorweth ab Owain ‘burned the borough of Caerleon completely’ in 1231, but was unable to take the castle. Two years later Morgan son of Howell, who claimed to be lord of Gwent, was ordered by Henry III to return Caerleon to the earl of Pembroke and his heirs. In 1248 Richard de Clare drove the Welsh out of his marcher lordships.

For R. L. Penrose, it was Richard who embarked upon ambitious plans for urban development at Caerleon and Usk. The former had a considerable advantage in that it lay at the head of marine navigation on the Usk, giving it rapid links with \*Bristol. It was probably at this time that a grid of streets was laid out between church and port, and a Bristol Jew, or Jews, introduced. By the late thirteenth century there were some 208 burgages.

With Cardiff and Newport, Caerleon was the site one of the three central courts of the lordship, which conducted business that in England was normally reserved for the royal courts. The need for ready money to pay fines may explain the presence of David, Richard’s personal Jew in the March. David’s origins were evidently in Bristol, where later a number of Jews bore the toponym. They were probably relations of David who, disappointed by business opportunities in \*Wales, had returned to their roots. Isaac de Caerleon was a Bristol \*chirographer in 1253.

That the de Clares should have a personal Jew at Caerleon is hardly surprising, for it was in the \*Welsh March, which had its own laws, part English, part Welsh; here the English king’s writ did not run. On the death of Earl Richard in 1262, Henry III assumed control of his vast English, Welsh and Irish estates. Richard’s heir, the Red Earl, Gilbert II de Clare, was involved in an attack on the \*Canterbury Jewry, but later changed his tactics, working through the Jewry to acquire land. By 1266 he had his own personal Jew in England, Moses de Clare (*see* Sudbury).

The fine rolls reveal that the \*sheriff of Gloucester was commanded by Edward I in 1278 'to go in person to Caerleon and receive from the bailiffs of Gilbert de Clare the goods late of David de Kaerleon, Jew deceased'. These 'the king had ordered should be kept safely and delivered to the sheriff when he required'. Times had changed. Determined to complete his conquest of Wales, Edward was acting contrary to the law of the Welsh March. He was impatient of political claims, even of the redoubtable Red Earl who, as a young man had played a prominent role during the de \*Montfort rising and the subsequent disorders associated with the \*Disinherited.

After 1271 Caerleon castle became merely an outwork of Caerphilly, 12 miles (20 km) to the west, where Gilbert built 'the finest castle in the English realm', and the largest in Britain after Windsor. Testimony to the strength of de Clare's political interests in south Wales, this castle ultimately led to his downfall. *See also* Bristol: the Welsh connection.

□ T. B. Pugh (ed.), *Glamorgan County History*, 3 (1971), 45–60; D. Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', in *Gwent County History*, 2, ed. R. A. Griffiths et al. (2008), 1–45; J. A. Bradney, *Montmouthshire*, 3 (1993, repr.), 186–97; *CFR*, 1278, 93; Brown (1989), 67–9; R. L. Penrose, 'Urban Development in the Lordships of Glamorgan, Gwynllwg, Caerleon and Usk under the Clare Family, 1217–1314', PhD thesis, University of Wales (1997)

**Cahorsins** *see* Usury; *also* Interest; London

## Cambridge

William I's decision to build a castle (1 on Plan 2) just north of the bridge indicates the strategic importance of the site. Simon II of Senlis, earl of \*Northampton, d.1153, held Cambridge, with Northampton and \*Huntingdon, for Stephen. In each of these towns he had a mint that issued baronial coins. Henry II resumed control of the mints in 1154.

A major river port on the Cam, with four important fairs, Cambridge had one of the earliest \*provincial Jewries. 'The Jews of Medieval Cambridge' was the subject of Barrie Dobson's 1990 presidential address to the Jewish Historical Society of England in 1990, delivered, as he pointed out, 'more or less seven hundred years to the day since the last persecuted survivors of the once substantial medieval English Jewry were crossing the channel into involuntary exile'. He commented on the paucity of the documentary evidence for this Jewry, which stands in marked contrast to the wealth available for Oxford. The Jewry had previously been examined by H. P. Stokes in his *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History*, published by JHSE in 1913.

The \*community is first referred to in 1144, when 'Theobald, once a Jew amongst Jews, at Cambridge' gave evidence at the enquiry into the death of 'St William' at \*Norwich. He told Thomas of Monmouth that the lot cast at the annual assembly at Narbonne had fallen on Norwich. (*See* Ritual-Child-Murder Accusations.) There is further evidence of the Jewry in the second half of Stephen's reign (1135–54). Bishop Nigel of Ely (1133–69), who had served Henry I as Treasurer, was one of Stephen's principal opponents and 'incurred the king's great displeasure and a very large fine'.

Noted for his addiction to 'the vanities of this world', he had seized his cathedral's relics, including the golden crucifix given by King Edgar (959–73), and pledged them to 'a Cambridge Jew'. Given the devastation that Cambridge, an unwallled borough, suffered during the early, anarchic, years of Stephen's reign, such early Jewish settlement is surprising. The explanation probably lies in the commercial opportunities offered by its fairs and port facilities.

The river Cam, a tributary of the Great Ouse, gave access to Wisbech and the Wash. In the thirteenth century, a new channel linked Cambridge to the seaport of \*Lynn. Between 1120 and 1131, Henry I granted Cambridge the monopoly of water-borne traffic within the county. Barges could be loaded only at its hythes, where tolls were taken. The Great Hythe (2 on Plan 2) was on the southern bank of the Cam, immediately downstream of the Great Bridge. The Corn and Dame Nichol's Hythes (3) were opposite what is today St John's College Meadow. Thus local produce was exported and Baltic timber, exotic Mediterranean goods, and Low Countries' bricks and tiles imported. The Jewry had access to four major fairs by the thirteenth century: St Radegund's August fair, granted by King Stephen (1135–54); the burgesses' Rogation week fair at Reach, already well established in 1207, when it was confirmed; Barnwell Priory's four-day Midsummer fair, established in 1211; and the two-day September Stourbridge fair of the leper hospital, founded c.1211.

Despite the sacking of the town by Geoffrey de Mandeville in 1142, the Jewry prospered. The evidence is provided by the 1159 *Donum*. Amongst the ten provincial communities, it shared third place with \*Winchester, paying 50 \*marks, twice as much as \*Northampton; \*Oxford was assessed at a mere 20 marks. Only \*Lincoln, at 60 marks, and \*Norwich with 66½, paid more. Shortly after, Richard of Anstey borrowed £2 from Vives at a groat, 4d, a week per £1, and later £4 10s from Contessa, Jewess of Cambridge, at the same rate. He kept it 'for nine months and rendered 54s for usance'. (See Interest.) The \*pipe rolls record that in 1168–69 Contessa was fined 7 gold marks, £42, because her son had married a Lincoln Jewess without the king's licence.

The 1194 *Promissum* shows the Jewry had been overtaken by \*Canterbury, \*Northampton and \*Gloucester, and now ranked fifth. Its 18 members contributed £97. Five paid less than £1; but \*Master Benjamin, the exegete, a pupil of Rabbi Tam, paid more than a third, £35. His \*responsa included matters relating to libel and dowry rights. One of his students is known to us as \*Master Moses of \*London.

### The Thirteenth Century

Cambridge was one of the 17 towns where the Council of Regency commanded that the Jews were 'to have their own community and that we have granted them our firm peace' (see 1218). It was to have its own *archa*, \*chest. Thus it was one of the 17 communities contributing to the 1221 'Aid' (see Tallages). The returns provide a grim picture of the financial circumstances of the Jewry: of the eight members tallaged, five paid less than £1; Master Benjamin's son, Diaie, paid only £1 7s 6d, and Samuel son of the Master a mere 12s 6d.

The total was £16 6s 9d, with Cambridge ranking thirteenth. In 1226, when 6000 marks had to be raised, Cambridge ranked tenth.

This might suggest that little business was passing through the local chest, but in his Appendix IV Stokes provides details of debts between 1223/24 and 1239/40 that show otherwise. Many are for small amounts, but \*Aaron of York, whose local agent, the \*plea rolls show, was Saulot Mutun, had nine bonds totalling over £605. Other major figures with bonds in the chest include Leo of York and the Londoners Aaron son of Abraham (*see* London, Abigail and Family of) and Jacob Crespin. Stokes' Appendix III is mistitled 'Tallage receipts in Cambridge (1219)'; there was no tallage in that year. What he gives are details of arrangements for the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament' and the sureties and hostages for the subsequent tallage. Cambridge sent six representatives to Worcester: Isaac son of Samuel, Jacob son of Deulesault, Aaron son of Isaac Blund, Josce of Wilton, Diaie son of the master, and Levi son of Solomon. To the taxation of 1239–42, the community paid less than 1% of the total contribution yet ranked eleventh of 19 Jewries.

The Cambridge Jewry was facing increasing competition on the loans market, not only from burgesses but from ecclesiastical institutions such as the Hospital of St John the Evangelist (later St John's College), part of the Cambridge credit system since its foundation by 1204. Dobson, however, has observed that, although in close proximity to the Jewry in All Saints parish, the clerks of St John's 'hardly saw the redemption of Christians from their indebtedness to Jews as one of their most urgent problems'. Their real interest was in the land market. Such competition from hospitals and other minor ecclesiastical institutions was not restricted to Cambridge (*see* Hereford for St Katherine's Hospital, Ledbury). For Rubin the Jews' debtors were a sound investment. Once the initial payment was recovered, subsequent rents would be collected by the hospital 'forever'.

The migration of a body of scholars from \*Oxford in 1209 led to the formal foundation of the university by 1226, and the introduction of a radical element into the borough. This became particularly acute in 1249 and 1260, when commissions were established to enquire into the riotous behaviour of the clerks. Four were caught red-handed burgling a house, and the \*sheriff took their decapitated heads back to the castle. An attempt by a group of Cambridge students to establish a rival institution at \*Northampton in 1261–65 was suppressed by Henry III, who feared their support for de \*Montfort. Whatever the reason, by 1260 the value of the Jewry's bonds in the *archa* had collapsed to one-tenth of their value in 1240. Such evidence as to the health of the community has, however, to be treated with a degree of caution, for Cambridge bonds are found in the Huntingdon and at least three other chests.

The Waverley annalist describes how in August 1266, the Montfortian \*Disinherited sacked the Jewry, slaughtered its members and carried off the chest, with its contents, to their base in the Isle of Ely. A number of citizens were held to ransom. The full impact of the events of 1264–65 and the plundering of the area in 1266 is starkly reflected in

the county's payments into the royal exchequer: from £217 in 1255, it fell to £26 in 1265 and nil in 1266. This supports the annalist's judgment, that the Disinherited 'spoiled and plundered the whole county, perpetrating many enormous evils on every side'; but there is record of the death of only one Jew, Saulot Mutun. \*Aaron son of Vives of London was appointed guardian of his son, Josce.

Cambridge was one of the four communities \*expelled by Edward I's mother, Queen Eleanor, from her dower towns in 1275. The Jews did not move to \*Norwich, as commanded by Edward's writ, but took up residence in nearby Huntingdon. The two counties were under the authority of the same sheriff, who evidently supported this move. The New Chest was to be at Huntingdon.

### The Jewry

The site of the Cambridge Jewry is of particular interest. Unlike those at \*Hereford, \*Gloucester and \*Nottingham, it was away from the town's marketplace (4 on Plan 2), closer to the Great Hythe and the bridge over the Cam to the north, and to the Corn and Dame Nichol's hythes to the west. The general site of the Jewry is confirmed by Walter of Merton's purchase in the 1270s of Jewish property around St John's church (5), which he intended to convert to a chapel for his new college. In the 1279 hundred roll both All Saints (6) and the round church of St Sepulchre (7) are described as *in Iudaismo*. Today *vicus judeorum* (J), linking the two churches, is known as All Saints Passage. The hundred rolls even refer to a Jew who lived in St Clement's (8) parish, which served the area close to the port. The close rolls show that in 1277, after the community was expelled from Cambridge, Josce son of Saulot Mutun obtained leave from the barons of the exchequer to reside just beyond the borough bounds, across the Cam at Chesterton, 'to conduct his business there and repair the houses that he had in the town'. His Bridge Street (9) property was subsequently acquired by John But, a mayor of the town. The 1314–15 subsidy returns confirm there was a strong Jewish presence in Bridge Street, within easy reach of the port. As Lobel points out, 'the great preponderance of wealth in the south bank wards as a whole is striking'. The Jewry was eager to participate in the rich trade of this great river port.

The evidence suggests that the original \*synagogue (S) lay to the rear of Master Benjamin's house, as it did behind the property of Jacob *le Vieil* at Canterbury, Diaie at \*Worcester and, in all probability, Hamo at Hereford. After Benjamin's death the house escheated to the Crown, from whom it was bought in 1224 for the considerable sum of almost £27, to serve as the borough gaol. The Franciscan friars, according to their historian, Eccleston, were granted the structure to the rear. Such a site, however, suffered a severe handicap: one entrance had to serve gaolers and brethren alike. The liberate rolls show that in 1238 Henry III gave the borough financial support to build a new gaol. He then granted Benjamin's house, the former prison, to the friars as an extension to their property. This provides a clue as to where house and synagogue were situated, for the



Plan 2 Plan of Cambridge, from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611)

Source: © University of Bristol Library Special Collections.

Franciscan friary lay on the east side of Bridge Street, within the parish of All Saints, its extended plot now occupied by Sidney Sussex College. House and synagogue were thus not far from the eastern end of All Saints Passage. As to the site of the later synagogue there is no evidence.

The Huntingdon chest returned to the exchequer at the \*expulsion contained bonds of seven members of the former Cambridge community, with a total value of £284 16s 8d: £188 in cash, £10 3s 4d in grain, and £86 13s 4d in wool. Only two had considerable holdings: Moses son of Deulecresse, £84 16s 8d, almost entirely cash, and Manser of Huntingdon, £80, all in wool.

In 1782 a tombstone was discovered when foundations for a new guildhall were being dug by the marketplace. Now lost, it had an imperfect Hebrew inscription that apparently read, 'the gravestone of Israel [?] ...died ...'. Quite evidently a reused piece, similar to the six found in \*London at Aldersgate, Ludgate and Moorgate, it provides no clue, as was once believed, as to the site of the medieval \*cemetery. To comply with the 1177 edict, this will have been beyond the borough limits, and had an adequate supply of running water for ritual purposes. For the thirteenth-century \*coin hoard found on the site of the Dolphin Inn see *Treasure*.

□ AHT, 2 (1975); T. Eccleston, *de adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, ed. A. G. Little (1951); Dobson (2010), 101–26; Stokes (1913), 105–204, 248–80; Roth (1949), 29–32; VCH, *Cambridgeshire*, 3 (1959), 95–6; Moore (1985), 143 n. 4; CR, 1238, 61; CLR, 1238, 338; PREJ, I, 126, 138, & II, 71; Cam (1963), 1–48; Rubin (1987), 108–10, 218–26; Rokéah (2001), 86, n. 8

### Cambridge, Rabbi Benjamin of, d. after 1204

There has been considerable debate as to whether \*Cambridge or \*Canterbury was the home \*community of Master Benjamin. This is due to the similarity of the two names in Hebrew. Heinrich Graetz's translation of *kntbrjja* and *knubrja* as Canterbury was accepted by a number of the standard reference works. Roth, however, has shown that it should read Cambridge. This is corroborated by English documentary evidence. The Northampton *Promissum* of 1194 records that, of the £98 10s paid by the 'Cantebrug' community, more than a third, £35, came from *Beniamin*. None of the 14 contributors from *Cantuaria* is called Benjamin; the earliest Jew of that name mentioned by Adler in his detailed study of the Canterbury community is in a 1260 \*tallage roll.

The 1204 \*pipe roll for Cambridge gives Master Benjamin his full title. He probably died during John's reign. Two of his children, 'Deaye son of Master Benjamin' and Samuel son of the Master, contributed to the 1221 'Aid to Marry' at Cambridge. Benjamin's great house, bought from the Crown in 1224 by the townsmen for 40 marks, the fine rolls record, evidently had the communal \*synagogue to its rear (*see* Cambridge). There can therefore be no doubt as to the identity of the Rabbi Benjamin whom the Polish authority, Solomon Luria, 1510–73, in his scholastic chronology of the more famous sages of medieval Europe, described as one of the distinguished disciples of Rabbenu Tam (1100–71), Rashi's grandson and 'greatest of the Tosaphists and one of the most renowned French sages of all times.' As Olszowy-Schlanger points out, when Tam's *Hakra'ot*, 'Decisions', was under attack by Joseph Kimhi in his *Sepher ha-Galui* of 1165, 'Tam was in turn defended by his pupil,' Benjamin of Cambridge.

This is particularly significant, for amongst Benjamin's students was Moses ben Yom Tov, later \*Master Moses. Thus cultural influences in the latter's early years were not restricted to his father, author of *Sepher ha-Tenaim*, 'The Book of Conditions'. Olszowy-Schlanger draws attention to Benjamin's strong interest in grammar, as proved by his defence of the *Hakra'ot*, in which Tam examined issues raised by Dunash ben Labrat's attack on Menahem ben Saruk's Hebrew dictionary, *Mahberet*, 'A Joining of Words'. Master Moses will have transmitted Master Benjamin's enthusiasm to his own students, including his sons \*Master Elias and \*Benedict (Berechiah) of Lincoln, as well as \*Moses ben Isaac ha-Nessiah, author of *Sepher ha-Shoham*.

We have record of only three of Benjamin's halakhic decisions. Roth draws attention to a thirteenth-century German source that provides details of the first, in which Benjamin forbade the drinking of milk bought from a Christian unless a Jew had been present when the cow was milked. This ruling was later modified by Joseph of Lincoln on the basis that, in England, Christians rarely milked unclean animals, as cows, goats and sheep ruminant and have cloven hooves. Benjamin's second opinion, reported by Master Elias, concerns a wife's dowry rights under the conditions of her



marriage contract. A third, found in an Italian codex of 1523, relates to damages in a libel action.

□ Roth (1949), 29–32; Adler (1939), 51–111; Chew (1928), 100, 105–6; Dobson (2010), 108–10; Mutius (1995), 10–11; Grossman (1996), 311; Olszowy-Schlanger (2011), 395

**Canisters** *see* Coin Hoards

## Canterbury

This Jewry was the subject of a paper read to the JHSE by Michael Adler in 1911, which he incorporated in his *Jews of Medieval England*. Although the seat of the primate, site of a major royal castle, and athwart the principal route to the channel ports, Canterbury was not amongst the ten \*provincial Jewries listed in the 1159 *Donum*.

The first reference to a Jew comes at Whitsun 1160, when Deulecresse lent £2 to Richard of Anstey, who borrowed a further £2 in 1163. (*See* Interest.) Following the murder of Thomas Becket in 1170 the archbishop's mint was closed, but Henry II maintained four moneyers at the royal mint. In 1180 Teoric the goldsmith and Robert son of Richard were granted 500 marks to build a royal exchange (1 on Plan 3) on the north side of High Street, almost opposite Jacob the Jew's house (V) and the entry to *Hethenmannelane*, now Stour Street (H).

Canterbury appears to have been an outpost of the London Jewry. The first and last witnesses to the deed of c.1180 granting Jacob the plot on the corner of High and Stour Streets, discussed below, were Isaac and Mosse. Both are described as 'cousin of [le] Brun', one of the wealthiest members of the London \*community, whose arrears for the extraordinarily heavy 1186 Guildford \*tallage were £1000 in 1191. The arrears of three provincial Jewries – Canterbury, \*Chichester and \*Colchester – are also provided by the \*pipe rolls for 1191–98. At Canterbury 12 Jews owed a total of some £195: Benedict Crespin 200 marks (£133 6s 8d), Jacob £52, Benedict of Faversham £4 6s 1d, Belia £1, and the remaining eight 10s each.

The custom of two great ecclesiastical institutions, Christ Church Cathedral (2 on plan) and St Augustine's Abbey, the burial-place of the early archbishops of Canterbury, no doubt explains Jacob's extraordinary wealth. Writing c.1410, Thomas of Elmham made extensive use of papal records in his history of the cathedral's great rival, St Augustine's, outside the city walls. He describes how, in 1179, Pope Alexander III sought to persuade Henry II to protect St Augustine's from its Jewish creditors.

Gervase of Canterbury, in his much earlier chronicle of Christ Church Cathedral, reports that in 1187, when its monks were encircled by the forces of Archbishop Baldwin, who was trying to starve them into submission, the Jews not only smuggled sustenance in to their clients in the cathedral, but even prayed in the synagogue for their safety. On \*Aaron of Lincoln's death in 1186, Baldwin was £150 in his debt. That cathedral and abbey were both clients of the Jewry may explain the willingness of the cathedral's monks to lease their urban plots to Jews. By contrast, a number of other

## Canterbury

English boroughs empowered their townsfolk, through their charters, to transfer their burgages 'to whomsoever they pleased – except to Jews and religious houses.' For 'The Indebtedness of Canterbury Cathedral Priory 1215–95', see Mate.

The Northampton *Promissum* of 1194 confirms both the outstanding wealth of Jacob *le Vieil* and the prosperity of the community which, paying £242 14s 4d, only £35 less than \*Lincoln, now ranked second amongst the provincial Jewries. Jacob paid £115 6s 8d, virtually half the Canterbury total and by far the largest contribution nationally. He was followed by Deulesault Episcopus of London, £97 10s 8d, and Moses *le Riche* of Gloucester, £58 6s 8d. Isaac *le Gros* of Canterbury was fourth, paying £55 13s 4d, more than \*Jurnet of Norwich and Jacob son of Samuel of \*Northampton, leaders of their respective communities.

Jacob was dead by 1206, when his sons, Isaac and Samuel, were responsible for the ground rent of his house. Isaac, one of the wealthiest members of the English Jewry, was hanged in 1210, to put pressure on other magnates to pay the \*Bristol tallage. The fine rolls record that in 1223

Peitevin, Vivard and Angevin, the sons of Isaac the Jew of Canterbury, have made fine with the king by 20m[arks] for having the houses formerly of Isaac, their father, in Canterbury, which were in the king's hand by reason of the general seizure of the Jews at Bristol [1210] in the time of King John... because Isaac was hanged.

The \*sheriff was ordered to give them 'full seisin of the houses with their appurtenances without delay'. John's attacks on the Jewry in 1210–15 ruined Canterbury's magnate families. The community's contribution to the 1221 'Aid' was £52 8s 10d; Isaac's three sons' combined payment was a mere £3 5s 9d. To the 1223 tallage the Jewry paid £81 16s 3d, its ranking down from fifth to eleventh, below \*Stamford at £84 14s 10d.

By \*1239–42, however, Canterbury ranked fourth. This reflected not so much the wealth of its members as the remarkable size of the community; 56 people are named in the levy of a Third on chattels and bonds, compared with 98 at London. The highest payment, £13 18s, came from Master Aaron of Canterbury, who with \*Master Moses and \*Jacob of Oxford formed the \*bet din that in 1242 deliberated the legality of \*David of Oxford's divorce proceedings against his wife Muriel. Only two other payments were over £8: Solomon, otherwise known as Salle, £13 6s 8d; and Josce son of Aaron, £13 5s. The third impacted on all but the very poorest; 37 paid under £1, four 2½d or less. Amongst the lowest was Jurnetto *carnifice*, at 2½d, evidently an assistant of Pictavin *carnifice*, who paid 2s 4½d. Applying a multiplier of 4 to 5 for an average household, as opposed to family, we arrive at some 224 to 228 Jews in Canterbury.

### The Era of Solomon (Salle), 1240–69

'Solomon son of Josce' was the dominant member of the Jewry for virtually three decades. He led Canterbury's five-man delegation to the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament',

and was \*chirographer in 1249, an office in which he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Benedict. Salle's real power was as the leading member of the *kahal*, the ruling group. His wife, Abigail, bore him five sons: Josce, Isaac, Aaron, Moses and Abraham. Like other Canterbury Jews, he lent money to the cathedral. The £1 1s interest on his 20 marks was termed 'usury' by the treasurer, whereas 'profit' or 'grace' was applied to loans from Christian Italian merchants.

Reginald Cobham, sheriff of Kent, listed 87 payments, totalling over £329, made between 1250 and 1253 by the Canterbury Jewry and its members, in return for a wide range of favours. These provide a rare insight into the dynamics of the community and relations between the sheriff, as the Crown's local representative, and the Jews, as individuals and as a community. It also throws valuable light on Salle and his family. From Josce of \*Leicester, the sheriff received a cup worth £1 5s for 'helping him over the £40 that his son Salle wished to thrust upon him'; from Josce and his son, Aaron, 5 marks for 'delaying the men whom Salle had 'set upon' them. How far the two incidents were related is not known, but the quarrel was soon made up, for Salle and Aaron paid £6 13s 4d when 'they tallaged together'. From Salle came £1, that his son-in-law 'might be keeper of the *archa*', \*chest; from Benedict, £2 'for letting him have the key of the *archa*'.

A further £2 came from Salle for 'appointing a date for the marriage ceremony' of his daughter; from his wife, Dame Abigail, £2 for allowing her, presumably Christian, nurse 'to eat lamb at Easter', and 10 marks (£6 13s 4d) 'for the ten days when her husband was overseas and she lay in childbed'. In 1253, having failed to pay his tallage by the appointed day, Salle was ordered to travel with all speed to Dover with his family and 'depart our realm, never to return'. All his lands, rents, chattels, houses and bonds were to be confiscated. The threat worked. However, the close rolls show that next year Salle managed to persuade Henry III, in Bordeaux, to command the justices of the Jews to moderate his tallage. The sheriff's role in these events is not clear.

Payments from the *kehillah*, the community, provide interesting evidence as to its role, and its concern to maintain good relations with the king's local representative: £5 'for our festivities and conveying the king's commands'; £3 'that Moses, Samekin and Floria do not burden the commune with their tallage'; 12s 'for distraining Moses the priest to pay his tallage'; £4 'for the seizure of all the contents of a Jew's house'; £2 as the commune did not want John of Northwood as constable; 2 marks (£1 6s 8d) 'for removing John Alexander, constable, twice', although later Salle (on behalf of the community?) paid the sheriff 10s to make Benedict of Thorne John's associate; and £2 for grinding the community's corn at the sheriff's mill at \*Ospringe. Money changed hands for late payments of fines and \*queen's gold. Thus Solomon gave £1 'for delaying a summons to pay £30'. There are also references to tallage imposed when the king passed through the town. The sheriff's final item, totalling £40, was 'taken from the commune in small amounts, which we do not now remember'.

In 1261 locals, both laymen and clerics, attacked the Jewry, setting fire to houses. The Jewry was sacked again in April 1264. When Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, took Canterbury, 19 of his men entered the house of Simon Pabley, the Christian chirographer, and 'by force of arms then took and carried away the king's chirograph chest'. Salle, who had fled abroad for safety, lost many of his bonds. Despite exhaustive enquiries, the sheriff failed to apprehend the culprits; nor were the contents of the chest found. Henry III, anxious to sustain the resources of his plundered Jewries, gave Salle, and many others, authority to collect those loans for which they had written record. Salle recovered £35 on the basis of his charters 'outside the chest'. In 1266 two of the city's Jews each fined 1 mark, one to reside at Sittingbourne, the other at Ospringe.

Rigg has published the unique English example of the 1267 Hebrew settlement ban, *\*herem ha-yishuv*. The first to sign was \*Master Moses, followed by Salle son of Josce, and 15 other members, all named. 'The community (*kehillah*) of the Jews of Canterbury whose seals are attached acknowledge by this \*starr that no Jew of any other town shall dwell in this town, to wit no liar, improper person or slanderer.' If such a person possessed a royal licence, the community undertook to give the king, for his expulsion, such money as Salle son of Josce, Abraham son of Leo and Vives of Winchester (the *kahal*?) 'shall lay upon' it. Any member opposing would be expelled. The ban received royal approval.

When Salle died in 1269, the \*justices ordered 34 of his better and more secure bonds, with a total value of £127 15s 10d, to be removed from the chest. These were to provide the \*relief, one-third the value of his 'goods moveable and immoveable inside and outside the chest', due from Abigail and her sons.

### A New Era?

The appointment by 1274 of Aaron son of \*Benedict of Winchester as chirographer appears to herald a new era. He was joined in the town by his brother, Cok (Isaac), and sister, Belaset. This apparently led to an influx of Winchester Jews, three more of whom appear as bondholders at the \*expulsion.

From the 1279 charter rolls we learn that at least seven members of this community were hanged for \*coinage offences: three of Salle and Abigail's five sons, Josce, Abraham and Aaron, with Moses of Bedford, Solomon of Stamford, Aaron son of Josce Grubbe, and Hagin son of Hagin. Their houses, with a total annual value of £7, were purchased by the financier, William de Sommerfeld, 'robe-maker of Queen Eleanor'.

At the \*1287 'mini-parliament' the Jewry was represented by three new leaders: Aaron son of Benedict of Winchester, Leo son of \*Master Elias of London, and Moses *le Petit*. Their status is confirmed by the value of their respective bondholdings in 1290: some £56, £84 and £83. The New Chest returned to the exchequer at the expulsion contained 95 bonds with a total value of £534 10s 4d: almost all, £529 3s 8d, in grain, with £5 6s 8d in wool; none in cash. Of the six Jewries for which details are available, Canterbury ranked third, after \*Hereford and \*Lincoln.

## The Jewry

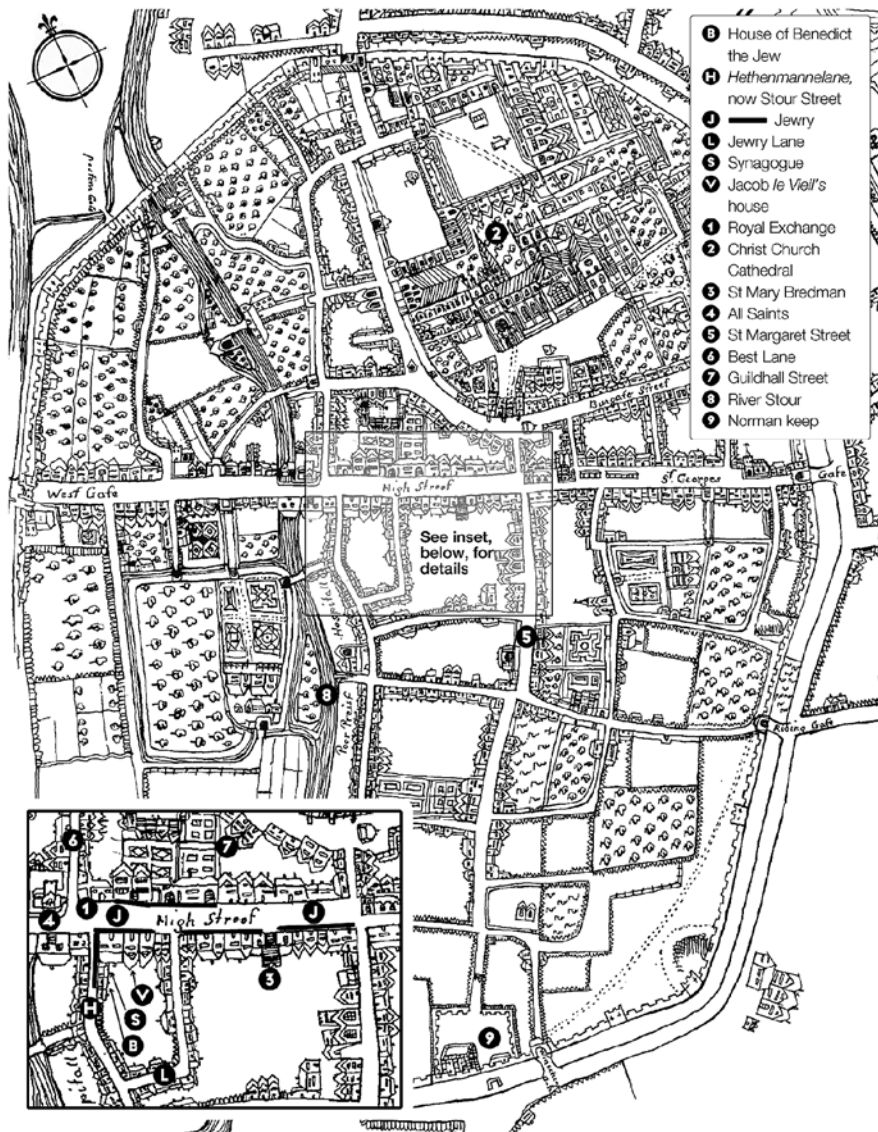
A wealth of evidence preserved in the cathedral and other ecclesiastical archives gives us a more detailed knowledge of the topography of Canterbury's medieval Jewry than of other provincial communities, except \*Oxford and \*Norwich. The cathedral was particularly active in the urban property market. Jewish houses were on land let or sublet to them, in many cases from the cathedral estates.

Adler provides a plan locating Jewish houses in the thirteenth century, giving further details in Appendices 11 to 13. Most of the community resided in the High Street, either on the south-east in St Mary Bredman (3 on Plan 3) parish, where property is described in Davis starr 177 as 'in the Jews' quarter', or in All Saints (4) to the north-west. On the south the houses extended from Jacob's great stone mansion to St Margaret Street (5); on the north, between Best Lane (6) and Guildhall Street (7). Jews were also resident in the street 'which in English is called' *Hethenmannelane* and in Jewry Lane (L), branching off to the east, together with its northern extension, now called White Horse Lane, which returns to the High Street. The term *Hethenmannelane* also occurred at \*Bury St Edmunds and \*Thetford.

Jacob *le Vieil* built a house in *magnum stratam* (High Street), at its junction with *Hethenmannelane*. This was at the heart of the city's financial centre. Across the High Street to the north was the new Royal \*Exchange, built c.1180. On the other side of *Hethenmannelane* was the even grander house of Luke the Moneyer. Just beyond, on the banks of the Stour (8 on plan), Eastbridge Hospital, founded 1175, is still standing.

William Urry identified the site of Jacob's great stone house from the charters and rentals preserved in the cathedral's *Cartae Antiquae*. It spanned three plots of land, which he acquired c.1180. Cathedral charters show he first leased the plot on the corner of High and Stour Streets, later adding two adjacent plots to the east. The last is described as 20 paces from west to east, giving some indication of the overall length of the house. Cathedral rental D informs us that Jacob had built his great stone house on these plots by c.1200. The house was subsequently modified. The expulsion records show that in 1290 it was divided into two: one part, valued at 28s 5d, was in the hands of Cok Hagin, the \*archpresbyter 1281–90, and the other, at 10s, in those of another Londoner, \*Aaron son of Vives.

Today the site of Jacob's house is 30–33 High Street, where a fine three-gabled timber building of the seventeenth century stands; formerly the Saracen's Head, then the County Hotel, it is now the Abode. In his *Antiquities of Canterbury* of 1640 William Somner described the Saracen's Head as having 'a stone parlour mounted on a vault and ascended by many stone steps, as the Jewish Synagogues and schools were always built aloft. This', he believed, was 'the remains of a good part of that which was our Canterbury Jewes School or Synagogue.' However, the description more closely fits an early medieval upper-hall house, such as the Music House at \*Norwich, than a synagogue.



*Plan 3* Canterbury, Map 123, The City of Canterbury and its environs, possibly surveyed by Rowley, datable to about 1642

Source: © Canterbury Cathedral Archives.

Margaret Wood, writing in 1965, reported that the County Hotel ‘preserves in its cellar (and above ground until 1927) a very thick wall of the great house which [Jacob] built just before 1200’; four years later John Newman, in Pevsner’s *North East and East Kent*, found ‘Not much left’ but ‘his worn back doorstep’. Urry, writing in 1967, was more explicit: ‘Below the County Hotel there are footings and a worn back [sic] doorstep which can be hardly anything but the remains of the stone house of Jacob the Jew.’ This being the case, where did the step lead? Urry indicates a rear doorway on his plan.

Cathedral rental Z of c.1230 states that Jacob’s great house was *inter scolam Judeorum et magnam stratam*. Following early diaspora practice, many medieval \*synagogues were associated with the wealthy and powerful members of the community, as at \*Cambridge and \*Hereford. Not to inflame public opinion, the *scola* was usually situated to the rear of the community leader’s house, after the example of the *magna scola* in London. A synagogue (S on Plan 3) to the rear of Jacob’s great stone house at Canterbury is therefore only to be expected. By the mid thirteenth century, however, it is described in starr no. 184 as ‘the Communal Synagogue’. To the south of the synagogue was the house of Benedict the Jew, for which he paid 12d. This fronted *Hethenmannelane*, suggesting that access to the synagogue was from that street.

As noted, William Somner describes a ‘stone parlour mounted upon a vault’, which he believed was the remains of the ‘Jewes School or Synagogue’, as in the Saracen’s Head. However, Urry’s plan shows two vaults: one behind Jacob’s house, ‘of the 12th century’, for which he presumably had documentary evidence; the other, built east–west across the southern end of his three plots, which he labelled ‘synagogue’ and described as ‘here till the 17th century’, based, one assumes, on Somner’s report of 1640. It is tempting to conclude that Somner’s ‘stone parlour’ was part of Jacob’s house, and that there was but one vault, which served the *scola* behind, to which Urry’s ‘worn back doorstep’ gave access.

Canterbury’s three-storey early Norman keep lay within the walls, some 600 yards to the south of the Jewry. This will have served as a refuge for the Jews in times of danger, as in 1264; on other occasions as a place of confinement. At \*Winchester \*Licoricia’s son, Sweteman, left his mark on the castle. An inscription at Canterbury was the subject of correspondence in 1766 between E. M. da Costa, Secretary of the Royal Society, and the Kent historian, Edward Hasted, who referred to ‘some few versicles of the Psalms ... written on the walls of one of the stone staircases’. These were first noted in 1674 by the antiquary, Robert Plot, who wrote of ‘Ancient Inscriptions on ruinous Buildings – such as the Hebrew exquisitely written on the old walls of the Castle at Canterbury.’

### Expulsion Returns

Hugh of Kendal’s valuation of Canterbury’s Jewish property in 1290 totalled £85 13s 4d. This placed it fourth amongst the 16 provincial communities he had assessed, after \*York, \*Lincoln and \*Oxford. Four houses are noteworthy: Elias ‘of London’ had a

house worth 30s a year; Leo son of \*Master Elias, one valued at 25s 1d; Moses *le Petit*, the wealthiest member of the Jewry, owned two houses, one valued at 20s ½d and a messuage by the King's Exchange at 19s 8d. Adler identifies this as 'the stone house of Jacob', but his house was on the other, southern, side of the road.

The *scola* was valued at 11s 8d, for which the community paid Margaret Poldre 4s 2d and Richard le Jovene 10d. In 1320 the city bailiffs were still accounting to the royal exchequer for 'the house that was the school of the Jews'. The expulsion returns refer to the community also holding a *vacua placea*, measuring 40 perches (220 ft) by 15 ft (some 67 by 4.5 m). At \*Northampton the term is defined as '\*cemetery'. However, the dimensions are hardly appropriate, unless this refers to a late extension. It is not located.

□ Adler (1939), 49–124; W. Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (1967), 119–20, 150–2, 302–3, 306, 424–6, map 2b sheet 5 central area west; Mundill (1998), 158–65; Rigg (1902), 35–6; D. Cohn-Sherbok, 'Medieval Jewish Persecution in England: The Canterbury Pogroms in Perspective', *Southern History*, 3 (1979), 23–37; Wood (1965), 4–5; *PREJ*, I, 134, & IV, 139–47; Davis (1969), nos 170–84; Causton (2007), nos 9–75; Baron, 11 (1960–69), 57–8; *Gervase of Canterbury*, I, 405, & II, 235; Thomas of Elmham, *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, ed. C. Hardwick (1858); *CFR*, 1223, 183; Stacey (1985), 210–12, & (2007); *CR*, 1252, 225, & 1254, 318; Rabinowitz (1937); J. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literary History of the 18th Century*, 4 (1822), 645–6

**Canterbury, Benjamin of** *see* Cambridge, Rabbi Benjamin of

### **Caricatures**

It is now well nigh obligatory for publications relating to the English Jewry to include one of the caricatures penned by the royal clerks in the margins of their documents. In the twelfth-century Winchester Psalter, BL Cotton MS Nero C IV, is a miniature of the Passion where the onlooking Jews are shown as 'hideous monsters of iniquity with grotesque faces, sharp teeth and enormous moustaches'. For Wormald they are predecessors of a long line of caricatures found throughout all English illumination. From here it was taken up by the royal clerks.

Most famous is that of \*Isaac of Norwich, at the head of the Michaelmas 1233 tallage roll (TNA/E401/1565), which can be seen on The National Archives website. A range of figures is shown above gathered curtains and the castellated walls of a medieval city. As Roth suggests, the scene is apparently set out as in 'a contemporary miracle play'. In this respect, a comparison can be drawn with the fable of Adam of \*Bristol, a dramatic dialogue with musical settings of hymns and antiphons.

Isaac is in the dominant position, wearing Henry III's distinctive crown with three trefoils. His three-faced image shows him full-face in the centre, and in profile, looking to the left and right. Below, to the left, wearing a spiked metal helmet, is Isaac's principal agent, Mosse Mokke, who was hanged in 1240 on a charge related to the alleged forcible circumcision case in \*Norwich. To his right is his wife, Avegaye (Abigail). Associated with these three figures are several devils, with horns and hooked noses; two



are named, Dagon and Colbif. Sara Lipton presents an interesting new interpretation of this cartoon.

Another caricature that has achieved a certain fame, sketched on the 1277 Essex Forest Eyre roll (TNA/E32/12, rot. 3d), is that of Aaron son of Leo, here described as '*fil' Diaboli*', 'son of the devil'. Aaron provided bail for Isaac 'the chaplain' (*hazan*), who had joined the group of \*Colchester citizens chasing a doe through the streets of the town. He wears the pointed hood and \*badge.

Less well known is the female head, drawn in the margin of the 1217/18 fine roll (TNA/C60/9, m. 7), illustrated in \*Gloucester. As this records William the Marshal's response to Mirabelle's plea for justice, it probably portrays that resolute \*woman (Figure 7).

□ Roth (1962), 22–5, figs 5–8; Wormald (1943), 41–3; BL Cotton MS Nero C IV, [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton\\_ms\\_nero\\_c\\_iv\\_f5001r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_c_iv_f5001r) (accessed 27 January 2013); Rokéah (1972); Stacey (2007); S. Lipton, 'The Jew's Face: Vision, Knowledge, and Identity in Medieval Anti-Jewish Caricature', in *Late Medieval Jewish Identities: Iberia and Beyond*, ed. M. E. Alfonso and C. Caballero-Navas (2010), 259–87, & 'Isaac and Antichrist in the Archives', unpublished manuscript; Lipman (1967), fig. 1, & 'The Roth "Hake" Manuscript', in Shaftesley (1966), 49–71; The National Archives, 'A Medieval Mystery', <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/lessons/lesson12.htm> (accessed 11 January 2013)

## Castle Rising, Norfolk

The remarkably preserved, and very picturesque, keep, based on that of Henry I at \*Norwich, was built by the young William d'Aubigny, a loyal supporter of Stephen, to celebrate his marriage in 1138 to Henry I's widow, Queen Adeliza. His principal castle, however, was at \*Arundel, and he had another at \*Chichester, both in Sussex. Toponymics indicate the presence of an early Jewry at Castle Rising, the progenitor of that at \*Lynn and, in all probability, of those at Chichester and Arundel.

Rising castle was surrounded by banks and ditches, defending an area of some 20 acres. Here in 1138 d'Aubigny founded a small town. With Stephen's agreement, he established a small mint c.1145. This issued coins of Stephen's types 2, 6 and 7. The mint possibly explains the presence of Jews in the town. As dealers in silver, they had a particular role in English society, where foreign coin was not legal tender. At the great Rhenish fairs of Cologne, Mainz and Worms continental Jews were exchangers of coin. The thriving port of Lynn, only 4 miles (6 km) to the south, offered Rising's Jews considerable opportunities. Their clients would have included traders from the Baltic and Scandinavia, needing to exchange coins. With such silver for sale, the Jews could seek out the best price from the Rising moneyers.

After Stephen's death, d'Aubigny's relations with Henry II were good, but the king was determined to re-establish royal control of the currency. Castle Rising was one of a number of baronial mints that he closed shortly after his accession in 1154. This led to the collapse of Castle Rising's Jewry, despite the return of political stability. Many of its

## Cemeteries

members established themselves at Lynn. This can be explained by their close links with the d'Aubignys, who held Snettisham, the neighbouring manor to the north, and with it rights in Lynn. The port offered profitable commercial opportunities, but lacked the security of a castle.

Jews with the toponym Rising are to be found at Chichester in the \*pipe rolls of Henry II's and Richard I's reigns. William d'Aubigny, the first earl of Arundel, died in 1176. He was succeeded by his son, William. Evidently not sharing his father's affection for Rising, he seemingly persuaded a number of the more wealthy Rising Jews to take up residence at Chichester, with its castle. The 1187/88 pipe roll shows a Benedict de Rising at \*Gloucester.

The *Red Book of the Exchequer* c.1188 provides interesting evidence of the impact of the second earl's debts to the Jewry on his demesne tenants and on his burgesses of Rising. The men of his demesne at Snettisham gave 11 \*marks 'to relieve his debts', of which 5 marks were paid to the Jews of Rising. Later the chamberlain paid 20s to Deulebene the Jew, with a subsequent 8½ marks. 'Of their good will', 39 named burgesses of Rising gave over £12 to 'quit his lands of debts to the Jews'.

In \*1241 Diaie of Rising was one of the \*Norwich Jewry's six representatives to the Worcester 'parliament'. Toponyms suggest that a number of other Rising Jews took up residence in Norwich. Samuel is referred to in 1253 and 1275; Diaye in 1268 and 1270; his widow, Henna, was hanged in 1279 on \*coinage charges; and Isaac son of Abraham of Rising, a property-owner in the expulsion list, had commodity bonds dated 1288–90 in the Norwich New \*Chest.

□ *PREJ*, I, 122, 177, 256; Blackburn (1994), 153–61; Brown (1989), 80–2; R. Liddiard, 'Castle Rising Norfolk: A Landscape of Lordship?', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 22 (2000), 169–86; M. Beresford & H. P. R. Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs: A Handlist* (1973), 139; H. Hall (ed.), *Red Book of the Exchequer*, II (1896), cclxvii; Lipman (1967), index; Rokéah (2000), no. 1137

## Cemeteries

The first priority for a medieval Jewish \*community was not the \*synagogue, for which any room in or attached to a private house could serve, but the cemetery. For the dead rest in one place had to be found: the cemetery, *bet 'olam*, 'house of eternity' or *bet hayim*, 'house of life', from Job 30:23 'the house appointed for all living'. For Haverkamp, 'as places of remembrance [they] were the strongest element of continuity for Jewish existence: a *stabilitas loci*, as it were, of the dead that tied the living to the local generations of the faithful'.

The cemetery was frequently referred to as the '\*Jews' Garden', *hortus judeorum*, from the wealth of trees and shrubs found there. This can still be seen at Worms, where the earliest dateable gravestone is of 1076–77. Cemeteries are the only areas where archaeology, as opposed to the welter of documentary evidence, has thrown major light on England's medieval Jewry.

Following classical tradition, Jewish cemeteries were outside the town defences. The \*London cemetery was outside the north-west corner of the city wall, just beyond

Cripple Gate and the church of St Giles. The Mishnah *Baba Bathra* ii.9 stipulated that cemeteries should be at least 50 paces from the nearest residential property. Thus any buildings on the cemetery site can be assumed to relate to burial practices. Another important requisite was the proximity of water for the Jewish practice of washing the dead before burial, on a \*laving stone as found at \*Winchester, and of pure or 'living waters' (Number 19:17) from a spring or *mayan*, for ritual cleansing of people after contact with a corpse. See \**Bet Tohorah*, 'House of Purification'.

In response to the 1096 events in the Rhineland, Pope Calixtus II issued the bull *Sicut Judaeis*, probably in 1120: 'In opposition to the wickedness and avarice of evil men ... we decree that no one shall presume to desecrate or reduce the cemetery of the Jews, or, with the object of extorting money, to exhume bodies there buried.' The bull was repeated by later popes, including Innocent III in 1199.

### London's Cripplegate Cemetery

Marjorie Honeybourne published a detailed description, with plan, of the cemetery in 1961. Called *Juewengardyn* in 1405, two centuries later it was described by John Stow as 'faire garden plots and summer houses for pleasure'. Also known as *Leyrestowe*, 'lying' or 'burial' place, until \*1177 it had to meet the needs of all the English communities. Tovey describes provincial Jews 'being oblig'd to carry their dead Bodies, from every Part of the Kingdom'. For every Jew buried at London, the city imposed a toll of 3½d.

The cemetery was bounded on the east by Red Cross Street, on the west by Aldersgate Street, and on the north by what are now Jewin Street and Jewin Crescent. The principle entrance was a gate in Red Cross Street, but a path 'one ell [45 in or 1.15 m] in width' led from Aldersgate Street. At no place did the cemetery extend to a main road. Like other Jewish cemeteries, it would have been surrounded by a high stone wall such as at \*Northampton and \*Winchester. Honeybourne notes that the Cripplegate wall is mentioned in two documents. She believed that the dovecote referred to by Stow was 'the old cemetery building', and that the 'poole', with its running water, 'had been used for the Jewish burial ritual'. (See *Bet Tohorah*.)

With financial support from the Jewish Historical Society of England, W. F. Grimes excavated the site of the cemetery prior to redevelopment after the end of World War II. His full report still awaits publication. The site was so seriously disturbed by nineteenth-century development and German air attacks 1939–45 that he found neither bodies nor \*tombstones. West of the city ditch, close to St Giles's churchyard, was evidence of seven graves in a regular line, 9 ft (some 2.75 m) below present street level. They were aligned east–west, but gave no indication as to the position of the head. 'There could be no doubt that' all had been 'deliberately and carefully emptied and backfilled with garden soil', suggesting removal by Jewish hands at the general \*expulsion in 1290, probably prompted by the fear of desecration similar to that carried out by baronial forces in 1215. (See *Tombstones*.) Although Grimes found no tombstones, fragments of six have been

discovered, reused elsewhere in London. Further north, between the two entrances, he found only 'traces' of burials.

### Administration

Documentary evidence indicates how the cemetery was administered. Responsibility for maintenance rested with the community. Funding came from a communal levy. In 1250 Henry III granted that the 'Masters of the Law... may publish sentence of excommunication, \*herem, against all Jews who promised a subsidy for the maintenance of their London cemetery, and have not paid it.' Characteristically, 'the king and not the Jews' was to receive the amends, the ultimate penalty being seizure of the defaulter's property by the Crown.

In 1257/58, whilst \*Master Moses was its principal warden, his son, \*Master Elias, purchased a large area of land adjacent to Red Cross Street on the east. Honeybourne has shown that between 1267 and 1285 the Jews bought 'something under half an acre [some 2000 m<sup>2</sup>]' north of the main gate. In 1267/68 Elias, who apparently succeeded his father as principal warden, bought some 3000 ft<sup>2</sup> (280 m<sup>2</sup>). The next year, acting for 'the entire community', Jacob the Clerk, brother of Elias l'\*Eveske, added some 12,500 ft<sup>2</sup> (1200 m<sup>2</sup>). This sale was confirmed by the dean of St Paul's as it was in the soke of his Chapter; as chief lord of the fee he received ⅓ mark (1s 8d). The land was to be held by the community for ever, to bury there at will 'even those condemned to death'. This probably refers to the episode when Abraham Pinch, hanged in 1236, was refused rights of burial in \*Winchester's communal cemetery. In 1282–83 Aaron son of Vives paid £20 for a further extension of about 4500 ft<sup>2</sup> (420 m<sup>2</sup>). In February 1289 yet another extension, of some 10,000 ft<sup>2</sup> (930 m<sup>2</sup>), was quitclaimed to the last \*archpresbyter, Cok Hagin. The total area of the cemetery was some 2½ acres (1 hectare). The *Calendar of Wills* refers in 1432 to '*le Jewen gardyn* in the parish of S. Botolph without Aldrichgate', indicating how far west the cemetery had stretched.

The London cemetery also benefitted from individual grants and covenants. Thus Abraham Motun gave the annual rental of a house in Wood Street, St Michael's parish, to 'the place where the Jews (of London) are buried', and Josce ben Solomon of \*Norwich affirmed on oath that his transaction with a York Jew was genuine by covenanting 'in the event of any proven dishonesty on his part to forfeit to the King one gold mark (£6) and one silver mark (13s 4d) to the Jewish burial ground in London'.

### Provincial Cemeteries

Roger of Howden records that in 1177 Henry II granted the Jews the right to purchase ground for the burial of their dead, outside the town walls. This grant represents the coming-of-age of the English \*provincial Jewries. According to Howden, the earliest reference to a provincial cemetery is at Northampton where, he reports, \*Benedict of York was refused burial by both Christians and Jews in 1189.

The expulsion returns refer to cemeteries at \*Lincoln, Northampton, Winchester, \*York and possibly \*Canterbury. Other sources identify medieval cemeteries at \*Bristol, \*Norwich, \*Oxford and possibly \*Stamford, \*Hereford and \*Worcester. In many cases the land was leased or purchased from ecclesiastical organisations. At York the canons of the cathedral, who held adjoining land, were paid 2s a year rent for part of the Jewbury. The Winchester cemetery was held of the cathedral for 2s a year. At Northampton ½ mark (6s 8d) was paid to the Cluniac priory of St Andrew. As at London's Cripplegate, there is evidence for running water at the York, Winchester and Northampton cemeteries, and of a spring at Bristol, Jacob's Well, just across the road from the medieval Jewish cemetery.

The first firm evidence of a provincial cemetery is in the 1202 curia regis roll, which records that, as a community in law, the **Norwich** Jewry sued the burgesses for breaking into their cemetery, despite *Sicut Judaeis*. Its site is unknown. A reference to a *hortus scolae Judeorum* is not, as Lipman held, to the cemetery, but to a garden, often used as a promenade, about the *scola* or synagogue. This he identified as close to the present Lamb Inn. Such a town centre site for the cemetery would have contravened the 1177 ordinance, to which all other known English Jewish medieval cemeteries complied. Confirmation comes from a deed of 1293 that refers to 'the garden of the Jews' School' adjacent to the messuage of Geoffrey de Bungeye.

The Jewish cemetery at **York**, the Jewbury, was probably established soon after 1177, as it was already 'the ancient cemetery' in 1230, when John le Romeyn, sub-dean of the cathedral, sold a garden with trees to 'the community of the Jewry of York' for an extension. Six witnesses represented the Jewry: Isaac of Northampton, Leo Episcopus, Aaron son of Josce, Benedict Episcopus, Josce of Kent and Samuel son of Josce, evidently in order of seniority. Christian witnesses included the Dean and Treasurer of the cathedral, Hugh de Selby, mayor, and five city bailiffs.

Beyond the city walls, between Monk Bar and Layerthorpe postern, the cemetery was bounded by the river Foss on the south; Barkergate, now St Maurice's Road, and the city wall on the west; and Jewbury Lane on the north. 'The present multi-storey car-park (for Sainsbury's store) is aligned very closely within the bounds of the cemetery.' The second element of the term 'Jewbury', *biri*, in the sense 'town' or 'fortified place', is probably derived from the wall that, as at Northampton, originally surrounded it.

The findings of the 1982–83 Jewbury excavations, undertaken by the York Archaeological Trust, are of great interest for the light they throw on English medieval Jewish burial practices, especially given the limited nature of the archaeological evidence from Cripplegate, and that Grimes' excavation reports remain unpublished. The Trust's 300-page report by Lilley et al. describes the chronological development and layout, distribution of sexes, alignment of burials, burial types and positions, coffins and their fittings, shrouds and grave goods. The anthropological analysis has been described as 'unparalleled in Europe'.

The total area excavated was some 2000 yd<sup>2</sup> (1700 m<sup>2</sup>). Of the 497 bodies found, 366 were adults, with approximately equal numbers of males and females, and 131 children up to 13 years. As about half the Jewbury was excavated, this suggests an overall total of 900–1060 burials. These figures have been extrapolated to indicate an average \*population of the York Jewry in the thirteenth century of some 260 people. As the historical evidence indicates, this varied considerably in relation to economic factors, with a much lower number after the mid century. The average height of adult Jewish males was 5 ft 6 in (1.67 m), compared with 5 ft 7 in (1.71 m) for Christians. The distribution of child burials, as with the Mews Lane excavations, Winchester, was ‘distinctly non-random’.

Jewish graves were traditionally believed to have been buried with the head facing east, towards Jerusalem, but as Lilley observes in his discussion,

with regard to burial alignments it would again seem there was no set rule in the medieval period. Burials at Winchester, London, Ennezat and Barcelona were aligned east–west, those at Worms were north–south, whilst at Jewbury they were roughly north–east/south–west, veering to north/south,

with heads to the south. Positioning of heads was apparently random: 86 faced east, 93 west and 75 north.

Intercutting and overlapping of graves, common in Christian burial grounds, were carefully avoided and very slight where they occurred. As Lilley points out, this ‘suggests the graves must have been marked in some way’, but no tombstones were found. This is not surprising as, except at Bristol, most seem to have been plundered after the expulsion, but that there was no trace of tombstone footings is; the archaeologists are unlikely to have overlooked such evidence. Five burials, however, did have evidence for wooden markers, and Lilley suggests that ‘evidence of other wooden markers was machined away at the start of the excavations’.

The ‘overwhelming majority’ of burials were in coffins, all ‘simple rectangular boxes’, but a few definitely not. Given the damp conditions, survival of wood was not good, but evidence of coffins comes from iron nails in 441 burials, and corner brackets in 16 others. This conflicts with the belief that in Jewish burials metal nails were avoided, wooden pegs being used instead. Also notable, in line with Jewish practice, was the lack of grave goods. The excavation report concludes by pointing ‘to the distinctive cemetery layout, the disciplined maintenance and the remarkable consistency of mode of burial’.

The York property returns of 1290 state that ‘in common with the Lincoln Jews they had a piece of land called *le Jewbury* which they used as a cemetery’. Given the distance between the two cities, and the transport difficulties presented by the Humber and its tributaries, this appears an unlikely arrangement, especially as Lincoln was one of the largest and wealthiest of the provincial communities. Moreover, the *originalia* rolls refer to ‘that *placea* with appurtenances in [Lincoln] which was the burial-place of the Jews’.

This is confirmed by a charter of Edward IV. There is no clue as to its location other than the usual requirements, that it was outside the walls and had flowing water.

A similar claim to a shared cemetery was made at **Northampton**, where Rokéah quotes TNA/E370/2/19: '4s from annual rent in Stamford towards the maintenance of the burial ground'. However, a rental of tofts and houses in Stamford (TNA/SC11/426) records that Matilda de Wakerle owed 6s for the *scola Judeorum* and for a certain *placea* that was next to St Martin's cemetery. In the Northampton *originalia* rolls 'the *placea* ... outside the north gate was the cemetery [*sepultura*] of the Jews'. St Martin's, south of the river Welland, was the only church outside the town walls. As Stamford had its own cemetery, the 4s rent probably relates to an earlier arrangement, as has been suggested for Lincoln and York.

**Oxford** also had an early cemetery. Prior to 1231 the community had acquired the meadows on either side of the road between East Gate and the bridge over the Cherwell as a burial ground. In that year, however, Henry III, having re-established the hospital of St John the Baptist, granted it the land on the north side of the road, reserving a 300 by 90 ft (90 by 27 m) plot on the south side for the Jews' Garden. Magdalen College was founded in 1458 on the site of the hospital. After the expulsion, the cemetery became the hospital graveyard, and later the Botanic Garden, whose gateway and principal wall were built 1621–33. A stone set into the Danby Gate 'marks the place of the Jewish Cemetery until 1290'. Excavations beneath the construction deposits of the thirteenth-century hospital's infirmary annex exposed seeds of black mustard, *brassica nigra*, and strawberry, *fragaria vesca*. Both 'would have found suitable habitats in the Jewish garden which preceded the hospital on the site'.

The **Winchester** expulsion returns note that the annual rent for the cemetery had been 2s, payable to the prior of the cathedral. They also refer to a 'laving stone, valued at 4s. From Godson's 1750 survey, it has been argued that the cemetery lay immediately outside the West Gate and castle ditch, a short distance from the Jewry. It was bounded on the north by Romsey Road, and the south by St James Lane. Abraham Pinch, hanged in 1236 and refused rights of burial in the Jewish cemetery, had to be interred under the gallows in *Scowrtenestret* (see Ritual-Child-Murder Accusations).

The east end of the site was disturbed in the nineteenth century by a wide railway cutting and the building of houses along St James and Crowder Terraces. Excavations in 1974–75 by Crowder Terrace revealed six graves. Associated pottery was dated to the thirteenth century, but 'no direct archaeological evidence confirming the burials as Jewish was found'. Further excavations in March 1995, at Mews Lane at the southern end of Crowder Terrace, led to the discovery of 85 coffin burials. As at York, these were 'represented by iron nails and fittings recovered from each grave fill'. All but one were aligned west–east, with heads to the west. Some graves contained thirteenth-century pottery. Age at death was established in 72 instances: 54 infants, 15 adolescents and only 3 adults. This confirms the Jewbury conclusion, that child burials were 'distinctly

non-random'. Again, neither grave goods nor signs of intercutting of graves were found. The bones were reburied in a Jewish cemetery at Manchester by the local *Chevra Kadisha* (charitable society for the burial of the dead).

Recent work on the documentary evidence and an archaeological discovery have helped to locate the site of **Northampton's** cemetery. A. J. Collins has drawn attention to a charter of 1259, in which the prior of St Andrew's granted the community the right to bury 'our dead whether of our own city or of other cities [Stamford?] in a plot outside the North gate', a position confirmed in the expulsion returns. However, 'our Lord King Henry (long may he live!) came against this city, seized it and threw it into confusion; so we lost the charter'. A further charter, granted by Prior Guy and his convent in 1271, records the lease of a plot of land to Samuel Hazan, son of R. Aaron, Benedict son of Isaac and Sampson son of Sampson, on behalf of the community. Using Pierce's *Plot and Description of the Ancient Demesne Lands of... The Priory of St Andrews* of 1632, Marcus Roberts has identified a triangular plot, outside the north gate, as the site of the cemetery. The 1271 grant included an adjacent house, for which the rent was raised from 3s 4d to 6s 8d, half a mark. This was probably used for burial purposes.

In October 1992 repairs to a partially collapsed Victorian brick culvert in Temple Bar, close to its junction with Maple Street and near the southern end of Roberts' suggested cemetery site, revealed three fairly complete adult skeletons, one female and possibly two males. Two were aligned east-west, one with the head to the west, the other to the east. Two possible further skeletons were observed but systematic recovery could not be achieved.

As Rokéah points out, the 1318-19 \*pipe roll record that 'the stones of the wall enclosing the burial ground and the moveable stones inside the plot [tombstones?] would be worth 30s if sold'. This is the only English record of the wall that French and German sources show to have been a normal feature of Jewish cemeteries. Northampton Museum has the unique fragment of an Anglo-Jewish medieval \*tombstone, found in Princes Street, Stamford (Figure 18).

**Bristol's** cemetery is referred to in the accounts of the constable of the castle, who in 1290/91 received '2s for sale of herbage' from the cemetery. By 1294 he was renting the site out for 3s 4d a year. A deed of 1325-26 describes a croft at Clifton as 'against the Jews' cemetery'. Only recently, however, has its precise location been established. A corporation lease of 1788 refers to a 4-acre close as the 'Jews Church Yard'. Brandon Hill lay to the east, the 'Jews Acre' to the south, and what is now Jacob's Well Road to the west. In 1842 the trustees of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital bought the Jews Church Yard for their new school. Two years later, when building work began, tombstones bearing Hebrew inscriptions were found. Such preservation *in situ* is unique in England. It was due, no doubt, to the remoteness of the site from the medieval town. However, the tombstones were reused in the new building works, with no record being made of their



inscriptions. The choice of Brandon Hill for the Jewish medieval cemetery will have been dictated by the proximity of water at Jacob's Well.

Of **Worcester's** cemetery there is but a hint. In 1866 John Noake wrote of a 'piece of ground forming part of Pitchcroft still called "The Jews' Patch"'. A plan of c.1824 shows this immediately west of the junction of Croft Road with Castle Street. Outside the city walls, and with a supply of pure water, this would have provided the two requisites for a medieval Jewish cemetery. At **Hereford** evidence indicates the cemetery lay beyond the city's east gate.

□ A. Haverkamp, 'Jews and Urban Life: Bonds and Relationships', in Cluse (2004), 65; Metzger (1982), 79; Reuter (1984), 44–50; Bönner (2004), 449; Parkes (1938), 211–12; *Enc Jud*, 4 (2007), 538–9; Honeybourne (1961); W. F. Grimes, unedited papers at Museum of London Archives; Howden, *Annals*, 1 (1853), 458; Tovey (1738), 8; *Liber Albus* (1861), 205; Lipman (1967), 123–5; Abrahams (1981), 77; Stenton, 1 (1953), 155; *Records of the City of Norwich*, ed. W. Hudson and J. C. Tingey, 2 (1910), no. 27; Lilley et al. (1994); Durham (1991); Keene, 1 (1985), 384, 1034; P. Bright & P. McCulloch, 'Excavation at Mews Lane, Winchester', *Winchester Museum Service, Newsletter*, 22 (1995), 3; Collins (1946) includes photograph of charter. *Northampton, Temple Bar: Archaeological Salvage Report October 1992*, by G. Cadman, Northamptonshire Archaeology Unit, unpublished report, HER 1160/43/1; RCHME, *County of Northampton, V. Archaeological Sites and Churches in Northampton* (1985), 54, pl. 7; Blair et al. (2001); Hillaby & Sermon (2004), & (2007); Sharp (1982); Noake (1866), 64; Hillaby (1990a), 474–5

**Chard** *see* Expulsions, Local

**Chepstow** *see* Caerleon

**Chera** *see* Winchester, Chera of

### **Chests**, L. *Archae*

The burning of the Jewish bonds in \*York Minster by Malebisse and his associates in March 1190 led Richard I's justiciar, Hubert Walter, to regulate loans, as outlined in the \*1194 Articles about the Jews. The original intention was to establish *archae*, communal chests, at 'six or seven places', where \*chirographs recording Jewish bonds were to be deposited. At each centre the chest was to be administered by 'two lawful Christians, two lawful Jews and two lawful scribes', each pair to hold the key to one of the three locks. To be enforceable in the royal courts, every loan had to be registered on a roll kept by the chirographers.

In \*1218 seventeen Jewish \*communities were formally recognised: \*Bristol, \*Cambridge, \*Canterbury, \*Colchester, \*Exeter, \*Gloucester, \*Hereford, \*Lincoln, \*London, \*Northampton, \*Norwich, \*Nottingham, \*Oxford, \*Stamford, \*Winchester, \*Worcester and \*York. Here chests were established, and tallage was levied in 1221 and 1223. Further chests were added at \*Bedford, and probably \*Wilton, in 1226, \*Warwick, c.1241, \*Leicester in 1244, \*Devizes c.1258, \*Marlborough by 1261, and \*Sudbury, 1261; \*Berkhamsted, c.1235, was replaced by \*Wallingford in 1242, at the request of Richard earl of Cornwall. \*Huntingdon had a chest by 1275, and an *archa* was returned to the exchequer from \*Ipswich at the \*expulsion.

The first two sections of the \*1233 Statute concerning the Jews sought, ineffectually, to replace the use of \*tallies by three-part chirographs. There were further attempts to tighten up the administration of the chests in \*1239, to prevent fraudulent and clandestine transactions. This was never achieved. As late as 1279 the close rolls refer to 'chirographs, bonds, tallies, charters, feoffments, stars and all other instruments' in the chests.

The exchequer sought to monitor the financial activities of both communities and their chirographers. In 1239 royal clerks from Westminster began to scrutinise and enrol the bonds within the chests, which were closed for this purpose. When Jews failed to meet royal tallage demands, the exchequer would command the \*sheriffs, or chirographers, to extract their 'better and sounder debts', so that their Christian clients could be distrained directly from Westminster. For the system to work effectively, the exchequer was dependent on the full support of its local representatives, the sheriffs, who not infrequently had their own agenda (*see* Canterbury, Winchester and Worcester).

The chests and their records became principal targets of Simon de \*Montfort's supporters during the baronial wars, 1264–66, and subsequently of the \*Disinherited, as at Bedford, Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Lincoln and Worcester.

Following the \*1275 Statute of the Jewry the chests were again closed for a general scrutiny. Although \*usury was banned, sums due on existing loans remained. The chests therefore remained open, and there was a further scrutiny in 1279. As Richardson explains, New Chests were opened c.1283 for bonds that complied with the Statute. Next year the close rolls carried a command, that all chests should be closed on 28 January until further orders, and all Jews living in cities or boroughs without a chest should be removed. In February 1286 'all the chests of Jews' in London, and probably other communities, were to be opened and examined. The order to close all chests in June 1290 thus gave no hint of the general expulsion that was to follow.

The contents of the New Chests, listed in 1290, included bonds in grain and wool; but the overall evidence suggests that usury was not eradicated. At Hereford 47.5% of loans were to be repaid in grain, and 16.5% in wool, but 36% was still in cash; at Nottingham, 48 of the 60 bonds were for cash; and at \*Huntingdon, all but 5 of the 36. A debate continues as to how far such commodity payments were merely a cover for financial transactions.

At the expulsion local officials, particularly the Christian chirographers, were ordered to seal and transport the chests to London by 26 November 1290. Chests of 20 communities were received. The contents of 9 – Bedford, Colchester, Ipswich, London, Northampton, Stamford, Warwick, Worcester and York – have been lost, but the bonds in the other New Chests provide valuable evidence as to the economic circumstances at that time of 11 communities: Bristol, Cambridge with Huntingdon, Canterbury, Lincoln, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford and Winchester; from Devizes, Exeter and Hereford the Old Chest was also returned. Abrahams provides details of the contents, combined in the case of these last three. These, together with the scrutinies of 1275–76, are analysed by Mundill. *See also* Chirographs.

□ *EHD*, 3 (1995), 303; Richardson (1960), 14–19, 145–8, 194, 224, 228; Abrahams (1896); *PREJ*, I, 168; *CLR*, 1240, 482; *CCR*, 1279, 41; Rigg (1902), Ixi; Mundill (1998), table 4, 153–208

**Chevage** *see* Poll tax

## Chichester and Sussex

Cathedral city, seaport and county town. The Jewry was an offshoot of that at \*Castle Rising, and probably that at \*Lynn. The evidence comes both from toponymics and from the patronage, in each case, of the d'Aubigny earls of Arundel. The close relationship between the d'Aubigny family and the Jewry, established at Castle Rising, lived on in Sussex. William I d'Aubigny was recorded as earl of Chichester in four of Stephen's charters, and of Sussex in two. Confirmed in this earldom by Henry II in 1154, he gained control of the city. In 1176 he was succeeded by his son, William, who recovered his mother, Queen Adeliza's, dower lands, including \*Arundel, only after some ten years.

The earliest reference to a Chichester Jew is in the 1179/80 \*pipe roll, where Benedict owed the Crown 3 marks for respite in his plea against Moses, a fellow Jew. The context is given as Bosham, Chichester's major outport.

A considerable Jewish \*community is recorded in 1186, when it was one of the three \*provincial Jewries assessed for the Guildford \*tallage. Of the 11 members named, two stand out. Benedict of Chichester and Deulebene of Rising each had some 200 marks outstanding in Richard I's reign. Benedict's son-in-law, Elias, and Solomon both owed some £25; the remaining 7, including Esther, three daughters of Antera, and Elias's scribe, Vives, owed £1 or less. Total arrears amounted to nearly £320. This compares with £465 for \*Colchester and £195 for \*Canterbury.

The 1191/92 pipe roll provides valuable details about Benedict and Deulebene. Both had acted as agents for \*Aaron of Lincoln, who died in 1186. Towards Aaron's debts, Benedict owed £100 and Deulebene of Rising 100 marks, both on the security given by William, second earl of Arundel. Such guarantees indicate the value of the two men to the earl. A Leo de Chichester occurs in the 1187/88 pipe rolls, and again in 1190, with Deulebene of Rising.

In 1194 the Jewry was assessed at £26 for the Northampton *Promissum*; the heirs of Benedict and Elias paid £16, Deulebene £7 and Manasser £3. Although only four individuals are named, Chichester ranked twelfth of the 21 Jewries assessed, ahead of \*Bristol, £22 14s 2d, \*Hereford, £11 1s 8d, \*Nottingham £5 6s 6d and six others.

This Jewry evidently suffered severely in the later years of John's reign, for in the thirteenth century there are only spasmodic references to Jews. In 1244 the town bailiff accosted Robert, a Christian, who was carrying clipped coins. He explained that he had received them in change from Bona, wife of Diaie, to whom he had pawned a mazer with silver fittings. This proved to be 'a malicious contrivance' of another Jew, Jacob of Coutances, who was then arrested as a suspect.

## Chirographs and Chirographers

Small parties of Jews were subsequently to be found elsewhere in Sussex. L. F. Salzman, in his *History of Hailsham* (1901: 35–6), throws valuable light on one such transitory Jewish settlement. At the 1263 Sussex Assize the jurors of Thille presented that:

Benedict the Jew dwelling at Hailsham [near Eastbourne] is a clipper of coin; and Capmus and Simon, Jews, who are clippers and receivers of stolen property, have gone away under suspicion; so let them be outlawed; their property is unknown as they are travellers.

Later, at the opening of the \*coin-clipping crisis in 1276, Abraham and his wife, Besse, were arrested in Chichester, having tools of the trade as well as ‘two great pieces of silver’ made up from clippings, weighing £6 6s 8d.

In 1272 the \*sheriff of Surrey and Sussex was commanded to levy 3s on the Jews of \*Guildford, in Surrey, Chichester and Arundel, and 2s on those of Hatcham, also in Surrey, Lewes and Seaford. The Jews of Chichester, he reported, were now ‘in the liberty of Earl Edmund, son of Richard of Cornwall’; those of Seaford and Hatcham ‘belong to the liberty of our Lady the Queen’. In each case, the bailiff who had the return ‘did nought’. At Guildford the community had paid 3s to the former constable, who now ‘is not found in the country’. In 1278 the sheriff accounted for 24s from the goods of Vives and 12s from ‘a certain Jew’. Five years earlier Jews were expelled from Winchelsea as there had been no previous settlement. (See Expulsions, Local.)

Despite the report in 1272 that the Jews of Lewes and Arundel ‘have nought except some empty houses, and are not found in his bailiwick’, ‘Samuel, Jew of Arundel’ represented his community at the ‘mini-parliament’ in \*1287.

□ VCH, *Sussex*, 3 (1935); Rigg (1902), 8–9, 69–70; *PREJ*, III, 119, 124, 209

## Chirographs and Chirographers

The chirograph originated as an Anglo-Saxon instrument, a charter divided into roughly equal parts, the word CYROGRAPHUM having been written across the line of the cut(s). It was introduced at the \*Exchequer of the Jews by the \*1194 Articles about the Jews, which stipulated a two-part ‘deed’ to describe Jewish loans. This was an attempt to replace the system of \*tally sticks, which continued to be used at the royal exchequer as receipts for the annual accounts of the \*sheriffs. The earliest example of such a Jewish chirograph, dated 1201, is in two parts: the Jew to retain that with the borrower’s seal attached; the other to be deposited in the \*chest. In \*1218 Henry III’s Council of Regency established chests in 17 towns with recognised \*communities. The receipt roll for 1221 records that 3, \*Exeter, \*Hereford and \*Northampton, paid fines of £1 for the right to continue to use tallies.

The \*1233 Statute of the Jewry ordained that ‘no loan may be contracted with Jews by tally, only by chirograph’. This was to be in three parts. The parchment was to be divided by a horizontal line drawn parallel with the base and a vertical line going up from it. Details of the loan agreement were to be copied into all three sections. The chirograph was then cut into three, with a wavy line. The Jew was to retain one part, sealed by the Christian, who was given the second. ‘The third part, the foot or *pes*, shall be placed

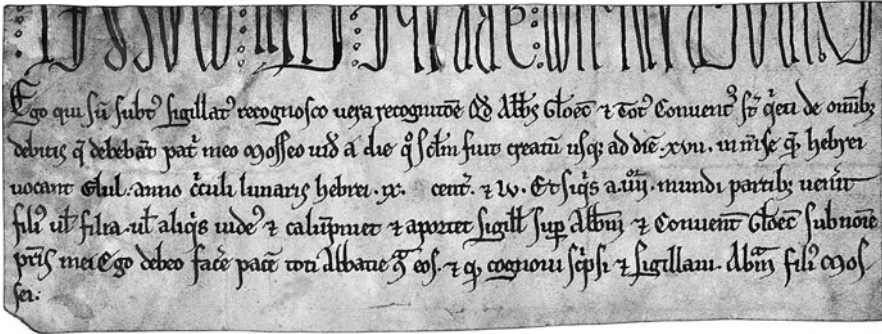


Figure 4 Chirograph: Hereford Cathedral Charter 1323, dated 1195

Source: © Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral.

[presumably unsealed] in the chest to be kept safely by the chirographers, Christian and Jew.' Forgery, it was believed, could be detected by aligning the three parts to check the handwriting. The whole process was supervised by the officially appointed chirographers, who were responsible to the justices of the Jews at Westminster. As early as 1230 Manasser of \*Nottingham was removed as chirographer as *insufficiens* for that office, and replaced by Manasser son-in-law of Ivette, who was deemed suitable, *idoneus*.

Despite the 1233 regulations, the justices of the Jews continued to encounter serious problems, as Christian debtors made allegations of fraud and unfair treatment. As new chicaneries appeared, procedures were revised. The Nottingham chirographers were ordered c.1234

to replace no chirograph in the chest unless two Christian and two Jewish chirographers are present, never to receive one unless from the hands of the debtor and beware of leaving any chirograph out of the chest for more than [five] days.

In November \*1239 chirographers were replaced, and new regulations introduced to combat fraud in the preparation and custody of bonds. In the same year mandates were sent to the sheriff of Essex and constable of \*Colchester informing them, 'because of the unrest in the realm', the chirographers and clerks of the Colchester chest were to be 'replaced by two new and upright Christians and two new Jews...and two new clerks'. 'That part of the writ with the seal attached' was to be deposited in the chest within ten days of the deal, in the presence of the borrower and lender. 'The first part of the writ shall remain the property of the Christian and the foot shall be the property of the Jew. Penalties for delaying... shall incur for a Christian our grave displeasure and for a Jew forfeiture of his goods.' The sheriff of Nottingham received a similar order, 'for the improvement of the realm and the suppression of the wickedness of the Jews'. The evidence suggests that most, if not all, the 'keepers and key-holders' of the chests, the Jewish and Christian chirographers, and their clerks were replaced.

By 1244 the Nottingham chirographers, Christian and Jewish, had to be informed that 'according to the assize and law of England they should make no charge for their own benefit from either Christian debtor or Jewish moneylender when chirographs or

tallies [*sic*] are replaced in their chest'. Another, undated, order forbade the Nottingham chirographers to replace loan agreements in the chest if \*interest of more than 2d per £1 per week was charged, as 'the former assize of 3d per £ is no longer valid'.

The procedure to elect a chirographer is outlined in 1244–45 when the sheriff of Northants, 'by the oath of twelve men', had to 'cause to be chosen two Christians proper' to have charge of the chest, as Robert de Leicester was dead and Ralph Passelewe 'unfit'. He was to 'take safe pledges for their fidelity, and notify the names of them when chosen, and of their pledges'.

Jewish chirographers had likewise to be supported by Jewish pledges. The \*plea rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews nevertheless continue to provide examples of chirographers being dismissed as unsuitable.

The case of Abraham Russell at \*Wilton is indicative. In 1253 he was found guilty of clipping and 'exchanging old money for new'. On paying an unspecified fine he was 'quit thereof forever'. Three years later he and William Isembard, the mayor, were dismissed as chirographers for 'fraudulent practices'. The mayor was hanged but Russell fled, with his wife, 'beyond the seas'. There he died, but subsequently, for a fine of 40 gold \*bezants paid to Queen Eleanor, Gyna was permitted 'peaceful residence in England'. In 1273 the plea roll records that Wilton's Christian and Jewish chirographers sent charters to the king in 'a sealed pix, by a boy'.

Scrutinies of chests showed that fraud continued. At \*London in 1272 Abraham son of Josce was imprisoned for irregularities, and the prior of New Hospital without Bishopsgate quit of his debt, which had not been found on the rolls at the last scrutiny. At \*Stamford in 1274–75 Hugh de Torrington 'received divers charters without the concurrence of his Christian colleague and kept them outside the chest against his oath'; and in Essex Josce Bundy was found to have 'lent money to Christians by blank tallies'. Four years after the \*1275 Statute of the Jewry, the close rolls record chirographers of the 19 Jewries at \*York, \*Lincoln, Northampton, \*Warwick, Nottingham, \*Winchester, Wilt[on], Devon (\*Devizes?), Exeter, \*Bristol, Hereford, \*Gloucester, \*Worcester, \*Norwich, \*Huntingdon, \*Bedford, \*Canterbury, \*Oxford and London were commanded to be intendant to the royal clerks carrying out a scrutiny of the chests. Some of the bonds returned to the exchequer in 1290 from six recognised centres – Bristol, Devizes, Exeter, Hereford, Nottingham and Oxford – were still recorded on tally sticks.

□ *Starrs*, I, 24–6; *Clanchy* (1993), 68–72, 87–8, 307, pl. 7; *Cole* (1844), 301; *Richardson* (1960), 147–8, 157, 193, 264; *Rigg* (1902), 11, 67, 82, 83; *CR*, 1256–59, 357; *PREJ*, III, 211; *Causton* (2007), nos 81, 183, 191, 192, 197, 243

**Clare, Gilbert de**, 'Red Earl' of Gloucester and Hertford *see* Bedford, Belia of, and sons; Caerleon; Disinherited, The; Sudbury, Moses de Clare of

**Clare, Moses de** *see* Sudbury, Moses de Clare of

### **Coin Hoards and Hoard Canisters**

As early as the late tenth century Rabbi Meshullam, son of Rabbi Kalonymos, stated in a \*responsum that 'for better security money should be buried in the ground', for

it was 'not well hidden in a house'. Such hoards were not unknown in thirteenth-century England. In \*London there is reference to £1000 worth of gold and silver coins, cups, and other items buried in a curtilage adjoining the house of Cok son of Aaron, 'most famous Jew in the city and richest', who was slaughtered in 1264 (see London, Abigail and Family of). They were thus of particular interest to the authorities. Hence number 9 of the Articles Touching the Jewry of c.\*1276 refers to '\*treasure trove underground in houses of Jews, or elsewhere, after the death of Jews'.

Two coin hoards, amongst the largest medieval hoards found in Britain, and a third lead coin container, have been attributed to members of \*Colchester's Jewish \*community. Discovered in three adjacent properties on the south side of High Street in St Runwald's parish, they throw valuable light on the means employed by English Jews to store coins.

The first Colchester hoard was found, in its container, at 25 High Street in July 1902, when foundations were being excavated on the premises of what was then the London and Counties Bank, now the NatWest. The precise number of coins is not known, as its discovery was accompanied by 'the usual scramble', with many coins 'passing into private hands'. Most 'seem to have been recovered by the police'. What we have is a record of at least 10,926 silver pennies. These were mostly short-cross pennies of Henry III but, as with the second hoard, not all the coins were English. There were 168 Scots pennies of the reigns of William the Lion (1165–1214) and Alexander II (1214–49), 160 Irish coins of the reign of John and 23 foreign sterling pennies. The date of deposition is believed to have been 'shortly before Henry III's long-cross issue of 1248'. The canister was badly damaged, having been ripped apart by the workmen when they realised what it contained.

The second hoard was discovered on a building site at 24 High Street in 1969. Its lead container, including lid, was in almost perfect condition. The hoard was subjected to a much more rigorous examination than its predecessor, benefitting from the considerable advances made in numismatics since 1902. It consisted of some 14,065 silver pennies and 11 laminated forgeries, in two parts: the lower was made up of 12,160 English long-cross pennies (£50 13s 4d, that is £50 plus 1 mark) of the reign of Henry III, class I to Vc, indicating a closure date prior to the end of 1256. Almost all were *exquisitissimi denarii*, suggesting they were carefully selected pennies; clipping is confined to just two or three pieces, and only about 0.5% of the coins are of poor quality. Part 2 was made up of 1916 coins, just 4d short of 12 marks, £8, all struck from the same pair of dies by Ion, moneyer to the abbot of \*Bury St Edmunds. Forming a layer on top of the Part 1 coins, they were added between 1268 and 1278.

A third lead canister was uncovered in 2000 at 23 High Street, less than 20 ft (6 m) from the 1969 site, and some 45 ft (18 m) from that of 1902. This canister was empty. Severely damaged, its precise dimensions are uncertain, 'but it appears to have been similar in form to the canister found in 1969'. Brooks cites Archibald and Crummy's

view that it 'certainly once contained a coin hoard, which has been removed from it (and the canister reburied)', and that the single Henry III long-cross class 1b penny, found close by, is 'probably an unrelated casual loss'.

The lead container, with some 8000 to 12,000 coins, found buried at Beauworth, Hants, in 1833, appears to have been similar in form to Colchester's canister 3. There are a number of examples of the use of lead containers in classical times for the burial of coins and treasure. Being malleable, impervious and durable, lead is ideal for this purpose.

All three Colchester containers were clearly designed to hold a round value in silver pennies. They each hold more than a peck, 2 gallons in volume, but less than 2 pecks, half a bushel. The capacity of Colchester 1 was 12,000 pennies, £50 worth; of Colchester 2, like Beauworth, 16,000 pennies, 100 marks in value. Such canisters would not have been used by the average householder anxious to hoard a few hundred coins. They must have belonged to somebody concerned professionally with large sums of money. The exchequer clerks, for example, used forels with a capacity of 24,000 pennies, £100 worth. These cost 20d each, compared with 1½d for a canvas sack.

Brooks et al. point out that:

the evidence of the medieval boundaries shows that 23 and 24 High Street may have been, as now, on the same plot and therefore the 2000 empty canister and 1969 hoard were buried on the same property, and the 1902 hoard in an adjacent one, now 25 High Street.

What evidence is there, as Stephenson asked in 1985, to support the belief that the coin hoards were Jewish? Two undated \*Westminster Abbey deeds concern the acquisition of property in 'Colchester market', about the High Street. The first relates to an exchange between Master Richard of Peldon and Aaron son of Samuel of a house, in length from Colchester market to Colver Lane (parallel to and south of the present High Street) in return for a house of Aaron's in Stockwell Street, on the north. The second is a quitclaim of William of Peldon, Richard's brother, of all the stone houses in Colchester market sold by Richard to Aaron son of Samuel. In 1274 Aaron's sons, Samuel and Josce, 'not able to make full payment of the tallage now assessed upon them', sold houses and



*Figure 5* Canister found at Colchester

*Source:* Photograph reproduced by permission of Colchester and Ipswich Museum Service.



rents ‘in the parish of St Runwald, which had belonged aforetime to Master Richard de *Peltdun*, from whom Samuel and Josce’s father had purchased them’.

On the basis of this evidence Stephenson concluded that ‘whilst absolute proof of Jewish origin for the hoards is lacking... this seems the most likely explanation of them’. If they belonged to Aaron’s family, it is puzzling that Samuel and Josce did not remove the hoards before selling the houses. Possibly Aaron died suddenly, and they were unaware of the hoards or their location.

□ Agus, I (1965), 64; H. A. Grüber, ‘A Find of Silver Coins at Colchester’, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 45 3 (1903), 111–76; G. A. Rickword, ‘The Colchester Hoard’, *BNJ*, 1 (1904), 113; D. T.-D. Clarke, ‘The 1969 Colchester Hoard: I. Discovery and Site’, *BNJ*, 44 (1974), 41–3; M. M. Archibald & B. J. Cook (eds), *English Medieval Coin Hoards, I*, *BM Occasional Paper*, 87 (2001), 67–142; H. Brooks, N. Crummy & M. Archibald, ‘A Medieval Lead Canister from Colchester High Street’, *Med Archaeol*, 48 (2004), 131–42; H. Brooks, ‘Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief, Colchester, 2000’, *J Colchester Archaeol Trust* (2005), 62–85; Causton (2007), nos 83, 84; *PREJ*, II, 235–6, 276; D. Stephenson, ‘Colchester: A Smaller Medieval English Jewry’, *Essex Archaeol & Hist J*, 16 (1984–85), 48–52; *CPR*, 1274, 42

### Coinage and Coin-Clipping Crises, 1238–47 and 1276–79

The coin of the early years of Henry III’s reign (1217–72), the short-cross penny, was introduced in 1180 for a society whose only requirement was the silver penny, last reformed in 1205. Its cross design facilitated division into halfpennies, \*obols, and quarters, farthings, but as it did not reach the rim the coin was vulnerable to clipping (see Figure 6a). The \*1194 *Capitula Iudeorum* required every Jew to ‘swear upon his roll that he... shall secretly disclose... forgers of deeds and clippers of money, when he knows of such persons’. Coin-clipping was not a new problem. The *Dialogus de Scaccario*, written c.1178 by Richard fitz Nigel, royal treasurer and later bishop of London, discusses in detail problems relating to forgery and clipping of the coinage. The author declares that at the exchequer ‘money is not lawful if the pound [of 240 pennies] when tested falls short by more than sixpence from its proper weight’, that is 2.5%.

As early as the twelfth century moneyers of the abbot at \*Bury, charged with clipping coins, in turn accused the local Jews. The close rolls record that three Jewish couples were sent to the Tower for this offence in 1230. The leaders of the English Jewry, anxious about the implications of such accusations for the \*community, decided to intervene. \*Aaron and Leo of York, \*David of Oxford, Benedict Crespin, Aaron le \*Blund, Aaron son of Abraham (see London, Abigail and Family of), Jacob Crespin and Elias l’\*Eveske joined the justices of the Jews in 1238 to investigate

most cautiously and subtly touching Jews who are clippers of coin. All Jews convicted should be ejected from the realm, never to return. All the houses, lands, rents and chattels of such Jews shall fall and remain to the king.

Some members of the group were possibly conscious of the prophetic warning as to the dangers of shearing the coinage given by Judah of Regensburg, d.1217, in the *Sepher*

*Hasidim*, 'Book of the Pious': 'those who clip coins or cheat by weight or measure will lose their property in the end... their children will lose each other in a foreign land as beggars.'

The fundamental problem, as Mate points out, was that 'there was simply not enough good silver to satisfy the needs of goldsmiths and merchants, who went to the Jewry and offered to buy plate made of coin clippings or inferior metal'. This, as we shall see, implies considerable Christian complicity. Thus John de Dowey, goldsmith, charged with fraud, 'placing a copper plate as though of silver in the \*London Jewry', was pardoned 'abjuration of the realm or city of London for the same'. The first documented action following the investigation ordered in 1238 comes five years later, when Manser son of Ursell was imprisoned in \*Winchester for clipping. The following year Jacob de Ludelawe was likewise gaoled at \*Lincoln and, according to the \*sheriff of Warwickshire, clippings were found in a pit under the house of Elias son of Isaac Lombard.

By 1247, as Matthew Paris reported,

the English coin was so intolerably debased by money-clippers and forgers that neither the natives nor foreigners could look upon it with other than angry eyes and disturbed feelings, for it was clipped round almost to the inner part of the ring, and the border which bore the letters was either entirely destroyed or enormously defaced.

The culprits were 'certain Jews and notorious Cahorsins and also some Flemish wool-merchants'.

In that year the sheriffs were commanded that public criers should proclaim in the king's name, in towns, fairs and markets, that none should accept a penny not of legal weight and circumference; nor should these be used in exchange. All such coins were to be pierced, and all who uttered such money arrested. Henry III did not follow



*Figure 6* Short- and long-cross silver pennies of Henry III's reign. (a) Short-cross pennies of 1223–42. Obv: HENRICUS REX; Rev: ROGER ON CANT[erbury]; (b) Long-cross pennies of 1248–50. Obv: HENRICUS REX III; Rev: HENRI ON HEREF[ord].

Source: © Hereford Museum and Art Gallery 9430/4 and 8000/56.

the example of the French king, who ordered all violators and falsifiers found in his kingdom 'to be exposed to the winds, suspended on gibbets'. Only some eight Jews were convicted of clipping, most of whom were not 'ejected', but fined.

### The First Recoinage: the Long-Cross Penny

In 1247 Henry III ordered a recoinage, placing control of this considerable project in the capable hands of his brother, Richard of Cornwall, who by 1261 had minted £1 million worth of pennies. According to Matthew Paris, he made a profit of some £20,000. The arms of Richard's new, long-cross, coin extended to the rim (Figure 6b), and the use of any coin on which the four ends of the cross were not visible was declared illegal. Nevertheless clipping continued. In 1253 Abraham Russell, a leading \*Wilton Jew, was indicted before the \*Exchequer of the Jews for clipping coins and exchanging old money for new. For an unspecified fine to Henry III, he was 'quit thereof forever'.

Archaeological evidence indicates that a considerable part of the coinage was made up of halfpennies and, to a lesser extent, farthings. By cutting a penny off-centre the parings could be reused. Thus light-weight halfpennies presented a particularly serious problem. Abraham de Gelosye, 'alleged to have paid a light halfpenny in the fish market', was fined 10s. For trespasses concerning halfpennies Abraham of Germany was fined £2 4s 8½d and Joppe of Marlborough £2 4s 10d.

The \*Constable of the Tower's accounts in the \*plea rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, June 1275–78, also show that exchanging 'lawful money for a greater number of clipped coin' had become widespread. A London goldsmith, alleged to be exchanging, was fined 15s; a Christian woman found exchanging in the Jewry fled, leaving behind her money, £5; another Christian was arrested by the mayor and sheriffs of London. A number of Christian women were suspected of exchanging or arrested for being in the Jewry by night.

### The Second Coin-Clipping Crisis, 1276–79

On Edward I's return from crusade in August 1274, he found clear signs of a financial crisis. The annalist, Thomas Wykes, believed that coinage was worth, by weight, only half its face value. Growing inflation was a further concern. Rokéah provides a thorough introduction.

A case at \*Chichester in 1276 illustrates the wider implications of what was evidently a cottage industry. Discovering Jewish clippers at Chichester, the sheriff took from Abraham and his wife, Besse, 'a pair of large scissors and two small scissors for clipping money', 'one seal of copper and one of steel', and 'two great pieces of silver' made up from clippings, weighing £6 6s 8d, the equivalent of 1520 pennies. They were not the only beneficiaries of the enterprise. When the sheriff returned to make further investigation, he was resisted by Roger Germeyn and 24 other Christians, all named, 'with

force and arms'. He was ordered to gather a sufficient posse of the county to arrest the said Roger and the others. No further information is forthcoming.

Another incident, reported in the plea rolls that year at Southwark, indicates the complicity of goldsmiths. Fluria, a Jewess, came to Peter the Goldsmith's shop, offering pieces of silver for sale. Peter sent his servant, Gilbert, to Fluria's house, where he paid £3 for silver. However, a jury of 24 declared that Fluria 'has long been a clipper ... both at Kingston, which she had left, and at Southwark, where she now lives. There they saw a pot where she was wont to melt down the clippings with some silver left in the pot.' Gilbert was found not guilty, and Peter had recovery of the silver as his legal chattel.

In December 1276 a special commission was appointed to hear and determine charges of coin-clipping in London and Nottingham. Subsequently, Edward I appointed three more such commissions to visit the south-eastern, western, and midland and northern counties. Arrests were followed by searches 'above and below ground' of the property of those charged. Plundering by locals often ensued. This ushered in some of the most tragic years for England's medieval Jewry. Edward's first parliament was no longer satisfied, as Henry III had been, to settle such matters with a fine. In 1275 the penalty for coinage offences had been raised to the category of a major crime, a capital offence.

In November 1278, according to the Bury chronicler,

all Jews in England of whatever condition, age or sex were unexpectedly seized...and sent for imprisonment to various castles throughout England. While they were thus imprisoned the innermost recesses of their houses were ransacked...Later the goldsmiths and officials of the mints were suddenly seized all over England, put in safe custody and their premises thoroughly searched.

Similar statements were made by Thomas Wykes and the monastic chroniclers of \*Dunstable, Waverley and \*Worcester. Rokéah has shown that thirty foot-sergeants were paid for keeping custody of 600 Jews in the Tower.

In January 1279 special commissions of oyer and terminer were despatched to London and 17 \*provincial Jewries to enquire into 'clippers of coins, as well Jews as Christians, and their accomplices and abettors touching those who exchange lawful money for a greater number of clipped coin or who buy the clipping'. They were also 'to inquire of those who entered the houses...of the Jews lately detained in prison and carried away treasure and goods found therein'.

The Bury chronicler continues that in 1279 'the king caused all the Jews, and some Christians, who had been convicted of clipping to be hanged. In London 267 Jews were condemned to death'; the Dunstable chronicler states 280, the London annals and French chronicle 293. Richardson, writing in 1960, believed that these two estimates 'are not to be taken seriously... both derive from the same rumour'. Rokéah, however, in a detailed examination, has vindicated the chroniclers, by showing that the sheriffs of London and Middlesex received special allowances for hanging 269 Jews, as opposed to

29 Christians. If one accepts a Jewish \*population of some 3000 in England in the reign of Edward I, executions in London alone represent almost 10% of the Jewry, the great majority of whom would have been male. Arrests were made, and Jews charged, on flimsy evidence. The 1277 plea roll refers to Josce son of Bonamy being arrested because a young girl found a portion of a clipped coin near his house; however, as the girl was not of lawful age, and could not be found, the case was dismissed.

Rokéah has shown that the arrival of the special commissions led to a trail of executions: at \*Norwich 11, \*Canterbury 7, \*Winchester and \*Oxford 6, \*Bedford 5, \*Bristol, \*Stamford and \*York 4, \*Lincoln and \*Wiltshire (Chippenham, \*Devizes and \*Marlborough) 3, \*Northampton 2, and others at Buckingham, \*Hereford, \*Leicester, \*Warwick and Sussex. Lipman has calculated that at Norwich at least 16 Jews, possibly half the heads of household, were 'either executed, [their messuages] forfeit or had to flee' in 1278–79. Not only were there many executions but the families and dependants of the victims were ruthlessly fined. \*Meir ben Elijah of Norwich expressed the horrors suffered by his community in his poem, 'Put a Curse on My Enemy'. The Worcester hundred rolls record accusations of falsification and clipping against Isaac Lung and his son-in-law Moses, Manasser son of Josce and his wife, Cok son of Ursell and Legum (Leo) le Leve.

Jews with patrons at court, however, were able to negotiate pardons – at a price. \*Master Elias had to pay 1000 marks for 'all trespasses and excesses touching the king's money or the clipping thereof'. He was therefore granted licence, despite the \*1275 Statute, 'to sell his houses in the city of London', and later £500 worth of his debts. Others weathered the storm more successfully. They included \*Aaron son of Vives of London, personal Jew of Edmund duke of Lancaster, the king's brother, who in 1279 was granted that 'he shall not be molested by reason of any trespass touching the clipping of the coin'; and Moses de Clare of \*Sudbury, whose patron was Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester.

Not all the more prominent members of the Jewry were so fortunate. \*Benedict of Winchester, son of \*Licoricia, with property interests in Winchester, \*Southampton, Bristol, York and London, was hanged in 1279, as were his son Abraham and colleague Deudone. In 1281 the convert, Sir Henry de \*Dernegate of Winchester, was fined 1000 marks 'for the concealment of the goods of Benedict of Winchester, who was hanged'. The evidence suggests that Henry had a hand in providing the evidence for a number of these prosecutions, including that of Benedict.

Few are recorded as having converted to save either their lives or their property. The close rolls record one such case, that of 'Agnes and Barnabas, formerly Jews of Northampton and now converted to the Christian faith', who in 1280 were granted 'all their goods and chattels for the maintenance of themselves and children', and restitution of 'the house that Agnes had held in that town, which was taken into the king's hands before her conversion.'

On 7 May 1279 Edward I ordered that ‘all Jews not accused by the first of that month who would...be ready to fine with the king should not be charged’. Fines for coinage offences, concealing property and avoiding coinage charges, together with sales of forfeited houses and possessions of both Jews and Christians, brought at least £16,500 into Edward’s coffers. The totals derived from different Jewries are indicative: from Lincoln, still one of the most affluent communities at the \*expulsion, came £950, Northampton £452; York, already impoverished, a mere £376.

Amongst the possessions sold at Lincoln were ‘the books of its condemned members’, for which the community paid £9. For those of the condemned Oxford Jews, including books ‘of the Laws’, \*Aaron son of Vives of London gave Queen Eleanor £126. Other items sold included ‘part of a chest of the Jewish Law’ and *vestibus judeicis*, possibly prayer shawls or *tallits*. Smaller articles accepted as security for small loans provide evidence of \*pawnbroking. The Norwich community had to pay 5 marks to retain its *scola*, \*synagogue.

Possibly the last word on the matter comes in a \*responsum of Rabbi Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg. Certain Jews, forced to take an oath on the Scroll of the Law that they would not clip coins, made mental reservations to their verbal statement that they believed invalidated the oath – and continued to clip coins. Rabbi Meir is reported to have responded, ‘concerning coin clippers...cut their hands right off when you punish them... It is because of them that our brethren in France and England have been destroyed.’ This could not be taken literally; mutilation was contrary to Jewish penal practice, but he believed they should be ‘properly flogged’.

### The Second Recoinage, 1279–81

The royal council ordered a second recoinage, for which half the proceeds of the fines and sales were used. Two new coins were introduced, obviating the need for division: the round farthing in 1279, and round halfpenny in 1280. Later, a groat, worth 4d, was added. This was to be the last full reminting of the English coinage.

Recoinage did not solve Edward’s problems. The purity and stability of his new coins were such that, as Mate points out, foreign traders took them out of the realm. The export of English coins was prohibited in 1283. Edward also had to wage an unending and unsuccessful battle against continental, especially Flemish, merchants, ‘long implicated in coin-clipping and counterfeiting’, who were importing pollards and crockards, foreign imitations of long-cross pennies of inferior assay.

Enquiries into allied matters continued. In 1283 Hamo Hauteyn was commissioned

to enquire touching certain Jews who are dealing with foreign merchants and others in sheets [*platis*] made out of clippings of the king’s money, and also in false sheets of tin silvered outside, and to arrest the same and put their accomplices in mainprize.

The problems of clipping remained. For ‘concealing goods’ of Jews condemned for coin-clipping, three major Italian bankers – Bartholomew Marchi of the Buonsignore

of Siena, Duracius Huberti and Bartholomew Bardi, both of Florence – were fined a total of £1000, to be paid to the keeper of Queen Eleanor's gold, as the 1285 patent roll shows (*see* Queen's Gold).

□ *Dialogus*, 58–61; *CLR*, 1240–45, 187, 242; *PREJ*, III, 124–5, 209, & IV, 171–94; Rigg (1902), 11; Paris, II (1852–54), 262–3; *CPR*, 1238, 228, & 1253, 184, & 1272–81, 236, 318, 320, 322, 338, 392, & 1281–92, 56, 86, 128, 173; *CR*, 1230, 304, & 1247, 8–9; *CCR*, 1279, 529–30, & 1280, 28; *CFR*, 1279, 114; *AM*, II, 390–1, & III, 279, & IV, 96, 278; Gransden (1964), 66–7; Rokéah (1973–75), & (1990), esp. p. 108 n. 71, & (1993), (2000), no. 1162; Adler (1935a); Hundred Rolls, 2 (RC, 1812–18), 282; Allen (2004), 33–45; Mate (1972), 34–58; Brand (2000), 1146–53; Stacey (1992a), 276–9; Skemer (1999), 1–12; Denholm-Young (1947), 58–71; Richardson (1960), 217–24; Lipman (1967), 168–76; Owen (1953), 75–7

**Cok Hagin** *see* Archpresbyter; *Herem*; Jews and the Court; York, Bonamy of

## Colchester

County town of Essex, Colchester had a major royal castle, much of which still stands. Its mint was closed in 1180, but St Mary's fair was founded 1189. Situated on the river Colne, in 1204 it ranked nineteenth amongst the coastal ports of the south and east in terms of overseas trade. By 1229, however, silting had become a serious problem. The vast stone keep, built on the orders of the Conqueror and similar in design to the White Tower in London, will have provided assurance to the first Jewish settlers, c.1180. The \*community's origins may have been as part of \*Aaron of Lincoln's widespread network of agents, for at his death in 1186 his debtors included the Cluniac prior of Prittlewell, near Southend, and Richard Foliot, archdeacon of Colchester.

Isaac of Colchester was one of the most prominent Jewish financiers of his day. In 1182, he was associated with Aaron of Lincoln, Abraham son of the Rabbi of London and \*Josce of York in the purchase of the chattels [bonds] of Benedict, brother of \*Jurnet of Norwich. In 1189, with Abraham and his brother, Isaac, he stood as surety for the payment by le Brun of London of a £400 fine. However, the Guildford \*tallage of 1186 imposed a ruinous assessment on Isaac. The \*pipe rolls show his arrears in 1191 were £390, a sum exceeded only by those of \*Rabbi Josce's sons and le Brun; it represented 84% of the total for Colchester, £464 17s. Of the eleven other members of the Essex community, Isaac's brother, Deulecresse, owed £2 10s 4d; at Berdefeld (Bardfield, about 20 miles (32 km) west of Colchester) Deulecresse owed £64 3s 4d; his sons-in-law, Benedict £2 13s 4d and David £1 1s 8d; and Isaac, the master of his children, 10s. The six others, including two \*women, also owed £1 or less.

The 1194 pipe roll records that the men of Colchester were fined 50 marks because malefactors who had attacked the Jews were released on bail, and not subsequently prosecuted. Towards the Northampton *Promissum* of that year Isaac of Colchester paid £24 19s 4d, 60% of the total contribution of the Jewry's eight taxpayers, £41 13s 4d. By 1209 he was dead, and his bonds were in the hands of King John.

The community just weathered the storms of John's reign. In the 1221 tallage its contribution, £2 8s 9d, was the smallest of all 17 Jewries: Abraham paid £1 5s, Benedict, bailiff of the Jewry, 18s 9d, and Deulecresse 5s. It was sixteenth of 17 in 1223, and seventeenth of 23 in 1226. Bonds in the \*Westminster Abbey archive, 1220–28, provide a more detailed hierarchy: Benedict was owed £71 9s 8d, his son Aaron £36 19s 6d, Abraham £52 0s 10d, Deulecresse £28, Aaron son of Samuel £12 15s 4d, Samuel son of Aaron £11 6s 8d, Ursell son-in-law of Samuel £10 8s, and Tercia daughter of Deulecresse £10 5s.

In November 1239, as part of a national campaign to combat fraud at the \*chests, the \*sheriff of Essex was commanded by the exchequer to replace Colchester's Jewish and Christian \*chirographers and ensure that bonds, with seals attached, were deposited in the presence of the Christian borrower and Jewish lender within ten days of completion of their deal. The Jewry's four delegates to the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament' were Aaron, Ursell, Isaac son of Benedict and Jacob son of Vives. Its contribution to the 20,000-mark tallage was some £15, a mere 0.2% of the total. It ranked seventeenth of 19, above \*Bedford and \*Worcester.

In 1255, when two of its principal contributors were widows, it fared little better; only \*Nottingham and \*Warwick paid less. In 1262 eighteen bonds worth £130 4s were removed from the chest for non-payment of tallage; one, for £60, belonged to \*Abraham of Berkhamsted, not a member of the community. By the end of 1275 Colchester's fortunes had apparently improved; a scrutiny of the chest revealed 44 bonds, worth £584 3s 4d, held by eleven Jews, not all of Colchester.

The famous \*caricature of 'Aaron *fil*' Diaboli', Aaron son of Leo, was sketched in the 1277 Essex Forest Eyre roll, TNA/E32/12, rot. 3d. It relates to an incident in 1268 when a combined party of Christians and Jews chased a doe with great clamour into the town, suggesting that relations with the citizens were good. The deer broke its neck trying to escape over the town wall. The bailiffs confiscated the carcass.

The evidence suggests that Colchester avoided the worst of the \*coin-clipping crisis of 1278–79. Fines for Essex totalled only £47 15s 8d. No Colchester Jews were summoned to the \*1287 'mini-parliament'. The 1290 list of bonds is lost, but nine Jews were still living in the town, seven holding property valued at £38 13s 4d.

## The Jewry

Other Westminster deeds relate to the community's property in the town. Its houses lay predominantly in St Runwald's parish, either side of High Street (the marketplace) between and including parts of East and West Stockwell Streets. The church, now demolished, was at the west end of the Middle Row, in High Street. At least one house, acquired by Aaron son of Samuel in an exchange with Master Richard Peldon, was of stone. Another, described as 'beneath the upper storey of the messuage called Toll House', faced the houses of Benedict and Ursell on the north of the High Street. One



Jewish holding included both a garden and a vineyard. The \*synagogue was within this quarter. The 1293 patent roll records that ‘the school of the Jews’, valued at 7s, was granted to William son of Jordan of Brokesburne, together with six houses, none valued at more than 5s. There is no reference to a \*cemetery.

Although one of the smallest of the recognised communities, Colchester is of especial interest in the history of the English medieval Jewry for two reasons. First, it was almost certainly the home of the Ashmolean Museum’s thirteenth-century bronze \*Bodleian Bowl, the most spectacular example of medieval Jewish material culture in England. Its East Anglian find site, coupled with the inscription, suggests it refers to Joseph, son of the Colchester Rabbi Jehiel, rather than, as claimed in the Cologne and Paris exhibition catalogues, a son of Rabbi Jehiel of Paris. Second, two \*coin hoards, amongst the largest from medieval Britain, were discovered at 23–25 High Street in 1902 and 1969, both possibly concealed by a local Jewish family. A further lead coin container was found in 2000.

□ *PpR*, 1191–92, 32; Causton (2007), nos 76–102; Davis (1969), nos 201–2; Katz (1990); Mundill (1998), 152; Rokéah (2000), no. 1323 & n. 41; Stephenson (1984–85); VCH, *Essex*, 2 (1907), 329 n. 2, 617, & 9 (1994), 27–8, 59–60

### **Community**, *L. communitas*; Hebrew *kehillah*

As Levine has demonstrated, the *archisynagogue*, leader of the ancient \*synagogue, also had a communal function. In late antiquity the synagogue was the major expression of the community within the Diaspora, in social as well as physical terms. The study of 594 Jewish epitaphs in the Roman catacombs provides firm evidence of the importance of the Jewish community there in the third and fourth centuries. A fifth of these epitaphs refer to community-related office-holders, eight times as many as found amongst the non-Jewish inscriptions.

### *Kehillah*

\*Responsa indicate communal authority at Rheims, Troyes and elsewhere by the end of the tenth century. In the medieval world, although the family was the basic unit, Jewish life was organised around the community, with duties to each other and to God. In practical terms, it supplied the primary needs of Jewish life, including synagogue, school, kosher food, circumcision and \*cemetery. The *kehillah* was thus the means by which the north European Jewry secured its identity and integrity, both at an Ashkenazic-wide level, and at a multitude of local levels. For Grossman, ‘The early Sages of Ashkenaz strove to consolidate the rule of the individual community and to strengthen its authority.’ This received formal acknowledgement by both secular and ecclesiastical authorities.

As Parkes explains, whilst Jews in the ninth century required ‘passports’ as travelling merchants from local rulers, those of the eleventh century required communal statutes.

## Community

The earliest to survive are those that established a Jewish commune within the city of Speyer in 1084. In Bishop Rudiger's foundation charter, chapter 6 explains:

Just as the mayor of the city serves among the burghers, so too shall the Jewish leader adjudicate any quarrel which might arise among them or against them. If he be unable to determine the issue, then the case shall come before the bishop of the city or his chamberlain.

This was confirmed six years later in a lengthier and more explicit charter by the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV. For Parkes such communal autonomy was 'the most priceless possession of European Jewry'.

## England

Founded from Normandy, the English Jewry spoke \*Judeo-French, and was part of the Ashkenazic community of France and Germany. Thus the basic principles of the *kehillah* were established well before the first \*Rouen Jews landed in England. For Rashi obedience to the decisions and by-laws, *takanot*, of the *kehillah* and its institutions was a religious imperative. For the Jewish people as a whole, life according to the Law was dependent on the freedom to control the internal lives, and institutions, of their communities. The *kehillah* was therefore far more than a symbolic reference to the era when the Jews, as a free people, lived in their own country. Although Ashkenazic Jews shared interests, friendships and animosities with their Christian neighbours, in no way was the integrity of their local community, the *kehillah*, allowed to be diminished. It sought to preserve its religious, social and charitable aims through its *takanot ha-kehillah*.

In England, communities were restricted in one significant respect as, according to the Laws of Edward the Confessor of \*c.1136, 'the Jews themselves and all their possessions are the king's'. French and German communities were subject to the numerous Ordinances of the Sages in their synods. The model of meetings between federations of communities referred to by Rabbi Gershom, d.1028, for the Rhenish Jewries provided the stimulus for the first synod of the French communities at Troyes. Their most important ordinances were well known in England, having been brought from Normandy, but the English Jewry could not resort to an authority outside the realm.

Fundamental in European medieval law was the concept of *communitas*. In the Ashkenazic world, the Jewish community thus became a fusion of two quite different concepts: the ancient and powerful Jewish religious, cultural and social community, the *kehillah*; and the medieval, legal concept of *communitas* as a 'juridical person with a capacity for holding property and incurring common burdens'. In England this included any group with which the Crown found it difficult to deal as individuals, such as the vill, hundred, shire, borough and commune of the realm. For the Crown it was both convenient and profitable to regard the English Jewry as a community with privileges of self-regulation. This was possible because the *Commune ludeorum Anglie*, following the

other Ashkenazic communities, adhered to the Talmudic principle, *dina de-malkhuta dina*, 'the law of the land is the law', and thus offered no threat to the state.

Henry II evidently issued a formal charter, no longer extant, to the English and Norman Jewries, for Richard I's \*1190 charter granted 'all customs and all liberties, just as the Lord King Henry our father granted and confirmed in his charter to the Jews of England and Normandy'. In 1199, shortly after his accession, King John confirmed Jacob of London as *presbyter* (\*archpresbyter) of the English Jewry, 'responsible for the great debts of the commune of the Jews of England'. Confirmation and clarification of their status as a legal community comes in John's \*1201 Charter of Liberties. It granted to

our Jews in England that the breaches of right that shall occur among them be examined and amended amongst themselves according to their Law, so that they may administer their own justice amongst themselves, except such as pertain to our Crown and Justice, as touching homicide, mayhem, deliberate assault, housebreaking, rape, larceny, arson, and \*treasure [trove].

### Local Communities

Until the reign of Stephen, the English and \*London Jewry were synonymous. With the development of provincial communities after 1135, the Jewry operated at two levels, as the *Commune Iudeorum Anglie* and as local communities, in London and the provinces. Both had financial obligations to the Crown, receiving in return rights of self-government between Jew and Jew.

A *kehillah* could be founded anywhere by ten adult males, thus facilitating the successful formation of England's network of \*provincial Jewries, where life could be lived according to the Law. The fundamental aim, as in France and Germany, was the observance of Judaic law. To achieve this, the *kehillah* sought to maintain its autonomy and security through a sound relationship with the secular power (the Crown). Allied to this was a determination to maintain internal discipline, without undue resort to the Crown or its local representative, the \*sheriff.

According to Rabbi Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg, 1215–93, the majority principle should apply when electing communal leaders, setting up the alms box, building, extending, remodelling or demolishing the synagogue, community hall or bake-house. 'In short all communal needs should be done according to the will of the leaders [elected by the majority].'

The imposition of \*tallages by Henry II and Richard in 1159, 1186 and 1194 provides the first evidence relating to English provincial communities, excluding \*Bury, which was within the liberty of St Edmund until 1190. This involved some development of Rashi's ruling, as clearly there had to be negotiations with the provincial communities, whose interests had now to be taken into account as well as those of London. In 1159 ten provincial Jewries – \*Norwich, \*Lincoln, \*Cambridge, \*Winchester, \*Thetford, \*Northampton, \*Bungay, \*Oxford, \*Gloucester and \*Worcester – paid 63% of the total

sum demanded. In 1194 London paid 27%, the twenty provincial communities 73%. However the *Commune ludeorum Anglie* found great difficulty in fulfilling the tallage demands made by John in 1210. The result was the serious diminution of a number of the provincial communities: Gloucester's Jewry was subsequently led by three widows.

Henry III's Council of Regency sought to restore the Jewries to the status and prosperity they had enjoyed in the reign of Henry II. Indeed, the curia regis rolls record that, as early as 1200, the Norwich Jewry, as a community in law, had sued the burgesses for breaking into their cemetery. Strong, well-supported local communities, the Council believed, were fundamental to such a policy. Thus the provincial Jewries were confirmed in their own communes. Seventeen Jewries were formally recognised in \*1218: \*Bristol, Cambridge, \*Canterbury, \*Colchester, \*Exeter, Gloucester, \*Hereford, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, \*Nottingham, Oxford, \*Stamford, Winchester, Worcester and \*York. All but York and Stamford had contributed to the 1194 *Promissum*.

All 17 communities, except Stamford, were afforded protection by royal castles. Here the sheriffs and constables were to 'proclaim throughout all your district that we have assured the Jews of our peace', and to secure them from any violence. At Gloucester, Lincoln, Bristol and Oxford, twenty-four of the most prominent citizens were commanded to 'protect the Jews from molestation, especially from crusaders'. A special mandate was sent to the sheriffs responsible for the ten cathedral cities where there were Jewries:

no action taken to the contrary by the bishops was to be of any effect, for our Jews are of no concern to them. You shall not permit Jews to be impleaded in any church court on account of any debt. All these things you shall do as they were done in the days of our father, John,

a reference to the 1201 Charter of Liberties. One of the first actions of some newly established communities was to respond to the imposition of the \*badge of shame, the two tables. In 1218 the *kehillot* at Hereford, Canterbury, Stamford, Oxford and, later, Winchester purchased communal dispensations.

However, the system of recognised communities established in that year did not provide the rigid framework for the effective control of the English provincial Jewry that the Crown and its justices of the Jews had anticipated. \*Bedford, \*Huntingdon, \*Southampton and \*Wilton were recognised in the tallage of 1226. In \*1241 Henry III called representatives from 21 communities to the so-called 'parliament' at Worcester. There he broke the tight control that the English magnates, representing the *Commune ludeorum Anglie*, had hitherto exercised, in their own favour, over tallage assessments. Two counties were accepted as communities: 'Dorset', apparently \*Dorchester, and 'Wiltshire', that is \*Wilton and \*Marlborough, which was replaced in 1275 by \*Devizes. The English community was able to maintain an adequate response to royal tax demands – at least until 1254, when \*Elias l'Eveske, as archpresbyter, made his impassioned plea for the English Jews to be allowed to depart the realm.

In 1235 Henry III's brother, Richard of Cornwall, was granted permission for a 'private' Jewry at \*Berkhamsted, with its own \*chest, *archa*. This was transferred in 1242 to \*Wallingford, now the administrative centre of his lordship. Although chests have come to be regarded as the symbol of an autonomous Jewish community, formally recognised by the Crown, for Richardson their existence 'does not necessarily connote the continued existence of a Jewish community'.

Whilst tightly knit, England's medieval Jewries were not ghettos. Christian and Jew lived side by side, almost invariably close to the town's principal trading area; at London in Colechurch Lane (Old Jewry), Ironmonger Lane, Milk and Wood Streets, all at right angles to the great market of Cheapside. In the provinces they were either in or adjacent to the principal street, usually, as at Canterbury, Colchester and Worcester, called High Street, at Southampton English Street, and York Coney Street. At Norwich the Jewry faced the wheat, sheep and hay markets, but at Gloucester and Oxford, where the principal streets formed a cross, the Jewry was away from the workaday area, in the more salubrious Eastgate and St Aldates, with the patrician class – town bailiffs, goldsmiths and moneyers.

After Henry II's \*1177 edict, provincial cemeteries were founded outside the town walls. There is documentary evidence of cemeteries at 8 of the 17 recognized communities, and possibly 3 others; none to suggest that they were lacking elsewhere. The cemetery was followed by the establishment of a \*synagogue and, within the adjacent \*Jewish court, such other communal facilities as school, bathhouse, \**mikveh* and oven. Each community had a slaughter-house for the \**shohet*. A feature of the larger Rhenish and French Jewries was the *Tanz-* or *Hochzeithaus*, community hall for weddings and other celebrations. A communal *hospitium* is recorded in London.

With a deep sense of responsibility for all its members, the medieval *kehillah* sought to provide social welfare for widows, orphans, the poor and refugees. At \*Stamford in 1242 the community paid tallage 'for paupers and refugees', presumably from its community chest. In places there was health care and \*herb gardens, and at \*London, probably a Jewish \*leper house. Whilst the *kehillah* regulated the lives of its members, each individual had the right to resort to 'the stopping of the services', to bring prayers to a halt in the synagogue, if he considered he was suffering an injustice.

In England, where the sources for the Jewry are overwhelmingly the royal taxation records, it is not easy to penetrate the workings of the ruling group, 'the good men of the city' or 'the important ones'. The problem of identifying the elected leadership of the English provincial communities has been discussed by Lipman, who concluded that in Norwich the governing body was 'more than three, possibly seven'. In a number of communities one can find reference to the appointment of Jewish bailiffs to assess and take responsibility for specified tallages, such as that of 20,000 marks in 1241–42. Stacey names many of the communal leaders of the 21 communities represented at the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament', and the \*plea rolls give similar information for 1244/45.

Also of considerable importance was the ability of the local leadership to maintain a sound working relationship with their sheriff. This can be illustrated most clearly at Canterbury in the era of Salle, 1240–69.

Here, the curtain is lifted for a brief time to show how the ruling group sought to maintain its objectives. In 1266 they exercised their right to refuse residence to undesirable Jewish incomers by the *\*herem ha-yishuv*, the ban on settlement, to exclude any ‘liar, improper person or slanderer’. The ultimate sanction, *\*herem*, excommunication, was rarely required, as the social consequence of non-conformity, exclusion, ‘brought irresistible pressure upon the transgressor’. However, there were at least two examples in the later thirteenth century: Sadekin of Northampton and Cok Hagin, later archpresbyter, 1281–90. Resort to the Crown was exceptional, but in 1250 Henry III granted that ‘the Master of the Laws of the (London) Jewry may publish sentence of excommunication against all Jews who promised a subsidy for the cemetery’s maintenance and have not paid it’; ‘amends paid’ were to go to the Crown.

The last formal recognition of England’s medieval Jewish community came in \*1287, when 15 sheriffs, and the constable of Bristol castle, were commanded to send nominated Jews from 18 communities to attend what Zefira Rokéah has termed a ‘mini-parliament’, to consider the forthcoming tallage of £12,000. No Jews were summoned from London, Essex or Warwickshire, but delegates were sent from Gloucester and Cambridge, two of the four Jewries expelled by Queen Eleanor in 1275.

For Chazan the ‘well-developed communal structure that buttressed Jewish life on the corporate and individual levels’ was a ‘major area of Jewish achievement in medieval western Christendom’. Of the 16 provincial communities recognised in 1217, all but 2 were county towns, with the economic and political benefits that conferred. Of the exceptions, Bristol was a major port and, more than Exeter, the economic centre of the south-west; Stamford was the southern centre of the great wool-producing county of Lincoln. Proximity to the marketplace and the mutually beneficial relations between community leaders and sheriff have been noted. As Chazan points out, the community ‘provided a wide range of services’ to its members, ‘affording necessary internal social services for the indigent, the elderly, the ill and the wayfaring; creating and maintaining the institutions of religious life and education required by the communities’. These included not only the synagogue but also meat, bread, cheese and \*wine, which had to be prepared under appropriate Jewish supervision. For those acting as moneylenders, access to a \*chest in a recognised community was essential.

This raises a fundamental question in relation to Jews with toponyms of English settlements without a recognised community, such as Hagin of Weobley, 10 miles (16 km) from Hereford; Amiot and Vives of Pontefract, 25 miles (40 km) from York; or Isaac of Dorchester, 40 miles (65 km) from Wilton. Bracton, d.1268, quotes ‘the saying of the elders’, that 20 miles (32 km) was a reasonable day’s marketing, consisting of three parts: the outward journey, buying and selling, and the return. By horse one could travel

40 miles a day without trouble. Richardson emphasises ‘the distinction between permanent residence (*demure*) and resort for purposes of business (*repeyr*)’. He concludes that it is ‘inconceivable that individual Jews lived isolated in the country without liens that connected them with the larger urban communities, with which their business activities and social and religious duties were bound up’.

□ Levine (2000), ch. 11; L. V. Rutgers, *Jews in Late Ancient Rome* (1995); Parkes (1938), 103–4, 156–64, 239–66; Chazan (1980), 57–63; *Enc Jud*, 5 (2007), 101–8; Grossman (1996), 309; Baron, 6 (1960–69); Agus, I (1965), 174–82, & II, 421–553; Katz (1993), 65–102; Abrahams, (1981), 35–61; Stow (1992), 91–4, 157–95; Y. Guggenheim, ‘Jewish Community and Territorial Organization in Medieval Europe’, in Cluse (2004), 71–89; Bönner (2004), 451–2; Metzger (1982), 75–9; Asaria (1959), 79; Stenton, 1 (1953), 155; *PR*, 1218, 157; *CPR*, 1250, 72; *Rot Litt Claus*, I, 354b, 357, 359b; Stacey (1987), 241–7; *PREJ*, IV, 177, 178, 188, 190, 193, 194; *CCR*, 1281, 176; Hillaby (1990a), 468–75, & (2002), 87–94; Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Thirteenth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (1892), 294; Stacey (1985), 210–12; Rigg (1902), 35–6; Lipman (1967), 142–61; Rokéah (2001); Chazan (2010), 236–7, 244–5; *Bracton on the Laws and Customs of England*, ed. G. E. Woodbine, trans. S. E. Thorne, 3 (1968–77), 198–9; Richardson (1960), 14–22, 134

### Conversionary Sermons, 1280 *see* Sheriffs

#### Converts, House of, L. *Domus Conversorum*

The first recorded conversion of an English Jew to the Christian faith is found in Abbot Gilbert Crispin’s dedicatory letter to Anselm in his *Disputation of a Christian and Jew*, written prior to Anselm’s consecration in 1093 as archbishop of Canterbury. Crispin refers to a \*London Jew who made a public profession of his new faith, was baptised and became a monk of Westminster Abbey.

Another early convert is referred to by Anselm as archbishop, in his letter to his prior, Ernulf, and archdeacon, William, in 1105–06:

I instruct and beseech you of your piety to take care of Robert with that cheerful duty which all Christians should assist anyone fleeing from Judaism to Christianity. Let him not regret that for the sake of Christ he gave up his parents and their Law. His want of food and clothing wounds my heart. Act that my heart may cease burning from the wound.

Anselm copied his letter to Bishop Gundulf of Rochester, ordering him, if Ernulf and William failed, to ‘supply dutifully and cheerfully whatever is lacking’.

The charter roll for 16 January 1232 records that Henry III had

granted to the church of converts which the king has lately founded in the street called New Street [later *Converslone*, now Chancery Lane] in the suburbs of London 700 marks yearly from the Exchequer until lands and rents have been assigned for the maintenance of the converts and the buildings to be erected.

According to Roger of Wendover, he dedicated it to the honour of God and the glorious Virgin for ‘an order of *conversi* to be under a rule of honest living and a

safe refuge, and sufficient sustenance of life, without servile labour or the profits of \*usury'. In this Henry was following Innocent III's advice that 'new plants... be nourished by temporal benefits'. Life was to be conducted on monastic lines under a *custos* or keeper.

Henry was in haste. In March that year 70 marks annually were assigned for the 'sustenance of the converts and for victuals, vestments and other necessities for the two chaplains to celebrate divine service in the chapel which the king had built'. Next month the formal charter of foundation was issued. This granted the escheated lands of John Herlicon, except the garden, in New Street to the house of converts, but made no reference to the 700 marks per annum.

The liberate roll for February to August 1233 shows that Henry paid £200 to the keeper, Josce son of Peter, for work on the chapel and the house of converts. The first payment, in February, was also for 'clothing for the converts'. A second payment that month refers to 'the enclosure of their court'. The remaining £120 was devoted to works on the house of the brethren, which served as both dormitory and refectory. The chapel's early thirteenth-century chancel arch, of clunch springing from two corbels of delicate Early English foliage, was re-erected in 1890 against the south-east end of the extension to the former Public Record Office. Matthew Paris provides two illustrations of the chapel: one in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 16 f.86; another in BL Royal MS 14 C VII f.121. These show a nave of three bays, a tall tower with spire and a short chancel with lancet windows.

By 1244–45, the essentials having been supplied, Henry III indulged in a certain royal style for the chapel services at the *Domus*: £11 12s 8d was spent on copes, a chasuble of samite, and a tunic and dalmatic; £8 16s 8d for orphreys for two copes and a chasuble of samite; a silver-gilt cup was provided for the Eucharist.

Communal life at the *Domus* carried with it bed and board, wages of 10d a week for men and 8d for women, plus a special tunic. Daily attendance at services in the chapel was obligatory. On conversion, all the Jew's possessions passed to the Crown. Matthew Paris reports that in August 1244 converts from the *Domus* were ordered, 'as they regarded their lives and limbs, out of their honour, affection and fear of the king' to 'reveal the meaning of the [Hebrew] writing' found on the body of a boy found in St Benet's cemetery, believed to be a victim of \*ritual crucifixion. 'At length' they discovered the names, but not surname, of the child's parents, and that he had been 'sold to the Jews'.

Between 1244 and 1255 the English Jewry experienced heavy, and sustained, tallage demands from the Crown. Some 40,000 marks were paid 1244–49, and 36,000 between 1250 and early 1254. Not surprisingly, the records suggest that conversions peaked by Christmas 1255. In that year cloth was delivered to provide robes for 150 inmates; the following Easter, and again in 1257, there was cloth for 171 tunics, 150 paid for by Henry and Queen Eleanor, the remainder by their children.



The *Domus* was originally designed for some 70 converts. By 1247 it could not accommodate the increasing numbers. Henry had to introduce a new policy. The close rolls name 17 converts who were despatched to thirteen monasteries and the hospital of St John at Oxford, where they were to be provided with bed, board and clothing, or 3d a day to fend for themselves. By 1255 about 150 converts had been sent to some 125 religious houses and three hospitals. Not surprisingly, the records show that Henry experiences some difficulties in persuading the heads of such institutions to accept their responsibilities. Shortly before his death in November 1272, he learned that converts were begging for bread in the streets; some had died of hunger due to malversation. Edward I addressed these problems on his return from the Crusades. In 1275 he ordered the chapel to be extended eastwards, with stone taken from the side aisles of its chapel of the Holy Trinity, to provide additional accommodation for the inmates.

Three years later Pope Nicholas III sought by the bull *Vineam sorer* to increase the rate of conversion. He turned to the prior of the Dominican order to undertake 'the great labour of making the Jews see the light of truth' and to 'find men endowed with the spirit, knowledge and zeal to convoke the Jews and preach to them in the desire that they be reborn through baptism'. In January 1280, in an attempt 'to increase the faith and worship of the name of Christ', Edward likewise sought the help of the Dominicans. To enhance the number of conversions, \*sheriffs, bailiffs and others were ordered 'to induce the Jews' to hear 'the word of God preached by the friars'.

In May that year Edward introduced wide-ranging reforms of the *Domus*. The warden was instructed that converts, instead of losing all their property, were to retain half. The other half was to be devoted to the maintenance of the House. In another attempt to make it self-sufficient, the *Domus* was granted additional sources of income: the property of Jews condemned to death, 'the king's alms, called deodands', and a \*poll tax, chevage, of 3d a year on all Jews over 12 years of age, male and female, who refused conversion. In the first year two brothers of the house, John the Clerk, goldsmith, and William the Convert, rendered account of £11 3s 9d chevage of 895 Jews; however we have no account for the chevage of the London and Canterbury Jewries, collected by Hugo de Dyngneton. Collection by the converts proving unsatisfactory, in 1284 the task was farmed out for a fixed sum, £11 in the first year, subsequently £12. The chaplain was to submit an annual account of his receipts and expenses.

Converts 'who are skilful' were now 'to learn secular handicrafts or mysteries' so that they could be independent. Those who showed themselves keen to study were prepared for entry into the clergy. Others served the Crown in specialist capacities, as royal \*crossbowmen and serjeants-at-arms. In quite a different category was Henry III's favourite, the notorious Henry de \*Dernegate, to whom he granted a knighthood, and who was used by Edward I as an *agent provocateur* in the 1278–79 \*coin-clipping crisis.

Despite Edward I's 1280 provisions, a few weeks before the \*expulsion in 1290 the converts, whose number had fallen to about 80, complained to the king that their payments were being withheld by the royal exchequer and that they had not enough to eat. His mind on Scottish affairs, Edward replied, 'we shall think about it when we have time'.

### Post-Expulsion

The *Domus* remained open after 1290, and continued to provide accommodation for converts until the eighteenth century. By 1308 there were but 17 men and 17 women, by 1350 only 4 inmates. The role of keeper became a sinecure, and the converts' chapel a repository for the Chancery records. Of the nine keepers 1307–77, eight were also Masters of the Rolls of Chancery. The two offices were combined in 1377, 'the Master of the Rolls' remaining the formal title until 1873. The most colourful of all residents was probably Duarte Brandão, dubbed Sir Edward Brampton, an inmate from 1468 to 1472. An adventurer born of a Jewish mother in Lisbon, he was appointed Governor of Guernsey by Edward IV in 1482, and knighted by Richard III. After the Yorkist defeat at Bosworth in 1485 he remained in exile.

In the sixteenth century converts in residence included two Portuguese and a Spaniard. Others were Nathaniel Menda from North Africa, converted in 1578 when John Foxe, author of the *Book of Martyrs*, preached a four-hour sermon; and in 1599 Philip Ferdinand, a Polish Jew who had taught Hebrew at \*Oxford and \*Cambridge and later apparently became Professor of Hebrew at Leiden. Not all residents were Jewish. Arthur Antoe, possibly an American Indian brought back to England, describes himself in 1605 as 'a pagan born but converted'. During the Commonwealth, however, the number of converts was restricted to two. After the Restoration they were Jacob ben Rabbi Samuel Augusto, professor of Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac to Charles II, who named the king as the witness to his baptism c.1663; and Moses Scialitti, an Italian Rabbi who had taught at Trinity College, Cambridge. Converts were still in residence in 1773.

Claims that there were houses of converts at \*Oxford and \*Bristol are ill-founded. The *conversus* at Bermondsey mentioned by Tovey and Adler was but a lay brother of the Cluniac priory.

□ CR, 1232, 37; CChR, 1232, 143; CLR, 1233, 200–26; Abulafia & Evans (1986), xxiv, xxviii–xxx; *Monasticon*, 6 (1846), 682–3; 57th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (1896); W. J. Hardy, 'The Rolls House and Chapel', *Mddx & Herts Notes and Queries*, 2 (1896), 49–68, & 'The Rolls House and Chapel', 191–3; C. Trice Martin, 'The *Domus Conversorum*', *TJHSE*, 1 (1895), 15–24; VCH, *London*, 1 (1909), 551–4; Stacey (1992a); Adler (1939), 279–379; CPR, 1280, 371–2; F. D. Logan, 'Thirteen London Jews and Conversion to Christianity: Problems of Apostasy in the 1280s', *BIHR*, 45, (1972), 214–29; J. Greatrex, 'Monastic Charity for Jewish Converts: The Requisition of Corrodies by Henry III', in D. Wood (1992), 133–43; *PREJ*, VI, no. 492; *ODNB*, 'Brampton, Sir Edward'; Roth (1951), 24, 56, 88; Hillaby (2009); L. Fogle, 'The *Domus Conversorum*: The Personal Interest of Henry III', *TJHSE*, 41 (2007), 1–7

**Cornwall, Richard earl of** *see* England, Introduction; Berkhamsted, Abraham of; Coinage; Jews and the Court

**Court** *see* Jewish Court

**Court Jews** *see* Jews and the Court

### **Coventry**, Warwickshire

The abbey, founded by Earl Leofric in 1043, was elevated to cathedral priory status in 1121. The lordship of the town was then divided: the northern part was granted to the prior; the southern, including the castle, to the earls of Chester. Members of the neighbouring \*Warwick Jewry were attracted by the business potential offered. Solomon of Warwick was lending to the cathedral priory as early as 1184. An Abraham Jew of Coventry is referred to in the 1180 \*pipe roll. Of the 21 contributions to the Northampton *Promissum* of 1194, Coventry's was the smallest, a mere 11s 9d, paid by Elias of Coventry.

In 1215 Ranulf III de Blundeville, sixth earl of Chester, was granted custody of the de \*Montfort half of the great lordship of \*Leicester. Given his status within Henry III's Council of Regency, and his renowned assertion of his rights, he was able to treat both the Coventry and Leicester Jews as his personal property. Thus neither Jewry was amongst the 17 \*communities recognised in \*1218, nor did they contribute to the royal tallages of 1221, 1223 or 1226. In the last year Ranulf successfully reasserted his rights over the Jews of both towns; the \*sheriff of Leicester and Warwickshire was commanded to ensure that the earl's Jews at Coventry and Leicester suffered 'no impediment or molestation'.

There was a flight of Jews from Warwick in 1218 when it failed to achieve formal recognition. Some moved to \*Gloucester, others to nearby Coventry, where they already had clients and could enjoy the protection of Earl Ranulf. The \*Exchequer of the Jews reopened in 1218. The first entry in its \*plea rolls records Antera of Coventry's unsuccessful suit concerning a house that she claimed had belonged to her client, Alfred *la Brette*. Antera is mentioned on four other occasions, only once as 'of Warwick'. In 1220 a Leo of Warwick was pressing a plea of debt against the prior of Coventry.

As the number of Jews in the town was small, they probably shared the communal facilities, including the \*synagogue, at Leicester, some 20 miles (32 km) away. It is unlikely that Coventry's Jewry outlived Earl Ranulf, its patron, who died in 1232. Two years later Jews were 'prohibited from tarrying in any Warwickshire town'.

The *Coventry Leet Book* has a reference in 1467 to a message 'which formerly was of the Jews there'.

□ AHT, 2 (1975); PpR, 1183–84, 46; 1184–85, 104; PREJ, I, 1, 19, 29, 31, 38, 42; Rot Litt Claus, II, 123; CR, 1234, 515–16; Carpenter (1990), 16–17, 40, 225; *Coventry Leet Book*, trans. and ed. M. D. Harris (1971, repr.), 752–3

**Crespin Family** *see* Attorney; Canterbury; Coinage; London; *Mikveh*; Hillaby (1993a), 128–30

**Cricklade, Lumbard and Bonefei of** *see* R. Mundill, 'Lumbard and Son: The Businesses and Debates of Two Jewish Moneylenders in Late Thirteenth-Century England', *JQR*, NS, 82 (1991), 137–70

**Crossbowmen, *balistarii*, and serjeants-at-arms, *servientes ad arma***

At the Second Lateran Council, called by Pope Innocent II in 1139, 'the murderous and God-detested art of the crossbowman' was prohibited under pain of anathema. The Council was not alone in this view. In the *Alexiad* of 1148 Anna Comnena, historian and daughter of the Byzantine emperor Alexius I, described the crossbow as 'a truly diabolical weapon'. Foot crossbowmen were used, to great effect, by Richard I in the third crusade. They were also amongst the foreign mercenaries employed by John in his English campaigns. Not surprisingly, at Runnymede in \*1215 John was obliged to agree in Chapter 51 of Magna Carta that 'immediately after concluding peace we will remove from the kingdom all alien knights, crossbowmen, serjeants and others who have come with horses and arms to the hurt of the realm'.

As Vincent shows, Canon 18 of the Fourth Lateran Council of the same year, which specifically forbade clerks from commanding crossbowmen or mercenaries, carried no weight with Peter des Roches, the warrior bishop of Winchester who had led John's 'highly unrespectable crossbowmen'. Des Roches's 317 crossbowmen formed the third line of the royal army on its way to \*Lincoln in 1217. Vincent also draws attention to *balistarii* on his episcopal estates.

**Henry III's grant of Jewish houses to crossbowmen**

During 1216, the last year of his reign, John granted a number of Jewish houses in \*London to his trusted supporters amongst the baronage. The close rolls show he also gave a house in \*Canterbury, which had belonged to Isaac son of Jacob and his wife Bone, to Abraham, the Jewish *balistarius*. Henry III was to follow his father's example. The 1227 charter roll records that Semayne the crossbowman had received Bonevie Muton's house in St Michael Bassishaw parish, with all its land in Colman Street, together with a quarter of his land in that parish and St Laurence's. The next year the rolls reveal that Geoffrey Vilein, king's serjeant, a member of the royal bodyguard, was another recipient of Jewish property – three blocks of land that Simon Furmentin had owned: the first, in St Michael parish, between the lands formerly of Bonevie Muton; the second, some 90 by 43 ft (27 by 13 m), in the parish of St Stephen, between the graveyard and land of Josce the priest; the third, some 92 by 32 ft (28 by 10 m), in St Olave's. In 1251 another king's serjeant, William Chubb, was granted the house of the 'recently disgraced' \*Abraham of Berkhamsted in St Mary Colechurch parish.

In 1237 some of the wealthiest members of the English Jewry, Aaron and Leo Episcopus of York, with Benedict Crespin of London and David of Oxford, were commanded 'to take care of' Semayne, 'finding him reasonably in necessities, as well robes as other things, as the king formerly ordered – so that he may not through their default have to come again to the king to complain of them'.

By 1246 Henry's constant demands on \*Aaron of York were beginning to drain even his financial resources. Aaron's wealth lay in bonds, but the king's demands were for ready money. In that year Aaron was involved in a complex series of loans in cash, 'for the king's use'. As well as three Bordeaux merchants, we find in the patent rolls reference to 'a bond to Halingratus, balister and king's serjeant, for a prest which he made [in August] to the king'. In November they refer to a loan of 400 marks from Halingratus to Aaron that carried a penalty of a further 400 marks if not repaid in full at the term appointed. The rolls next record 'the grant to Halingratus, his heirs and assigns, of the messuage in Colechurch Street, London, which Aaron and Samuel [his son] sold to him'.

Halingratus was in fact far more than a mere crossbowman. The liberate rolls, the principal source of information on the serjeants until 1272, show him receiving 400 marks in 1244 'to pay the liveries of the king's servant'. In the same year Henry III promised him 'a house in the city, an escheat of...the Jews or others', and in 1247 he was entrusted by Henry III to deliver £300 to the viscount of Frunzac and £20 to Gerard de Burgo in Gascony as arrears of their yearly fee. Two months later he was granted the house of the bailiff of Bordeaux castle. Not only had he gained Henry III's confidence, but Halingratus had learned much from Jewish financial practices. In April 1247 he sold to the abbot and convent of Roche all the land he had received from the king in Carlton in Lindrick, Notts. In 1251 Martin Senche, royal crossbowman, was granted the Milk Street house, formerly of Leo le Blund and later the four sons of Abraham, from whom Henry III purchased it for some £59.

#### **Jewish \*Converts as soldiers, crossbowmen and royal serjeants-at-arms**

Richardson has drawn attention to Benedictus Miles, the Jewish soldier mentioned in the 1185 and 1191/92 \*pipe rolls, and to Abraham the Jew, crossbowman, in the 1215/16 close roll, who was granted the Canterbury house of Isaac son of Jacob and his wife Bona. These are not the only such records. The 1226 liberate roll refers to Philip the Convert being paid 7½d a day as 'the king's crossbowman'; 14 years later he was paid 4½d a day, plus his livery, to repair the king's crossbows in the Tower. Two other converts who were the king's crossbowman were 'to have their daily requirements provided for them in the Tower of London...in order that their labour might not be hindered'. In a later roll the sheriff of Kent is commanded 'to cause 35 crossbows and 20,000 quarrels to be carried from the Tower to Dover to be placed in the castle there'. Other rolls refer to *factor balistarum* and *atilliator quarellorum* permanently maintained, on a weekly wage, at the Tower.

The later thirteenth century witnessed the remarkable careers of several Jewish converts as serjeants-at-arms. As Tout explains, the royal bodyguard consisted of 20 serjeants-at-arms; 4 slept outside, or as near as possible to, the royal bedchamber; the others in the hall, ready for the king's business. As with Halingratus, a number were drawn from the ranks of the crossbowmen. The close rolls show that a Jew by birth, Roger le Convers, was appointed a serjeant-at-arms in 1254. Like Halingratus, he had keen business instincts, for he negotiated a deal with the two chaplains of the *Domus Conversorum* to take over the institution's property in nine London parishes, for which he would pay a quit-rent. Success in a number of cases was due to personal relations with the king. By 1255 Roger had been with the king in Gascony and, on his recommendation, with the king of Castile. A favoured royal servant, in 1260 he received the funds to buy himself a rouncey, steed, 'of the king's gift'. Five years later he was 'keeper of the king's arms at the Tower'.

Roger's son, John, was probably the most outstanding of the convert serjeants. As early as 1246 he received £7 10s to buy a horse in lieu of that lost at Montgomery on the royal service in the last Welsh war. The 1262 patent roll reveals John as one of the king's six personal bodyguards in Gascony. Such contact with Henry III, and later Edward I, was to bring John rich rewards. The 1270–71 liberate roll refers to 'Roger le Convers and John his son' being awarded £18 10s by the Crown. In 1270 John was granted a house at Westminster near the Stone Cross. The patent rolls show this was 'quit of all livery of the king's marshals or of liveries of households within the king's court or without, so that none by the king or his ministers may enter or lodge therein, and no horses, dogs, or other animals or goods be put therein, against his will'. In 1284 John was entrusted with £3200 for the keeper of the wardrobe. Two years later he was granted protection 'going beyond seas' with Edward I in France and Gascony. By 1291, as 'keeper of the palace of Westminster', he was to be paid 'what shall be needed for the work of the palace and of the wall towards the Thames and for the repair of the houses that belonged to Otto de Grandison near the palace'. For this 'he shall render account before the treasurer and the barons'. In his old age John, now 'king's yeoman', was not forgotten by his king, who in 1305 granted him '2 tuns of wine a year, by the hands of the butler, one of the vintage season, the other of the racking season'. Shortly after Edward's death, this gift was confirmed by his son, Edward II.

Adler describes exploits of other Jewish converts employed as king's serjeants. Of particular interest is Alexander the convert, who in 1299, during Edward I's Scots wars, was commanded 'to take and collect ships, barges and other vessels fit for carrying victuals which he can find between Hartlepool and Berwick and cause them to be brought to Berwick with speed'. Alexander was appointed clerk of works at Tullibody, one of three castles to be built on Edward's orders, on the banks of the Firth of Forth, to protect the ports serving Stirling. Regarded as the strategic key to Scotland, it had been secured by Edward after a massive siege in 1304. On 25 March Alexander, his squire and escort were 'ejected by the king's enemies'. The previous year Alexander was rewarded by presentation to the important church of Leatherhead. Later he was to play a significant role in Irish

affairs, and in 1315 Edward II gave instructions to induct him into any church in Ireland that might fall vacant that year. Three years later he was sent as the king's special emissary to seek conciliation with the count of Flanders. The careers of John and Alexander illustrate the wide range of skills offered by Jewish converts to the English Crown.

□ *Rot Litt Claus*, I, 220; Vincent (1996a), 4, 62, 138–9, 252 n. 18; Tout, 2 (1937), 135–7; J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (1901, repr. 1969), 27–8, 87–92; Colvin, 1 (1963), 216–17, 418–19; *CChR*, 1251, 368; Schofield et al. (1990), 142; Adler (1939), 294–7, & 'Edward II and his Converted Jews', *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 August (1898), 21–2

**Curia ludeorum** *see* Jewish Court

**Darkhei ha-Nikkud ve-ha-Neginot** *see* London, Master Moses

**Demography** *see* Population

**Derby** *see* Expulsions, Local

**Dernegate, Sir Henry de**, otherwise known as Henry de Winchester, apostate Jew and agent provocateur

Baptised by 1252 with the king's name as Henry of Winchester, in November that year he was granted 12d a day for life and employed to provide Hebrew copies of the texts of the \*plea rolls of the \*Exchequer of the Jews. His fee was £10 a year and his wife, Claricia, also a convert, was granted £5 annually. Edward I reported that his father had held Dernegate in such affection that he caused him to be decorated with the belt of knighthood. Before long de Winchester was trading in Jewish bonds, both on his own and in partnership with \*Moses de Clare. In 1261, with George of Dover, he was appointed to scrutinise the \*chests of \*Cambridge, \*Canterbury, \*Colchester, \*Norwich and \*Sudbury, the last being one of Moses de Clare's centres of activity.

In Winchester, where he was known as 'Henry de Dernegate', he was included by Henry III in March 1270 as one of the 25 guardians and protectors of the Jews of the city. 'Dernegate', now Durngate, was the suburb about the north-east gate (see Winchester Plan 12). The *Middle English Dictionary* indicates that, in the context of the gate, 'derne' meant 'secluded'; however, in a personal context it can mean 'stealthy, insidious, crafty; dishonest, deceptive; immoral, evil'. The evidence hints that \*Benedict of Winchester was one of Henry's victims.

In June 1273 Henry Dernegate, 'merchant of Winchester', was licensed to export 400 sacks of wool. Confusingly, the royal records refer to him by either name. Dernegate's relationship with de Clare was still active, for in 1273 he owed the king £30 on Moses' account. The \*coin-clipping crisis, however, offered greater opportunities for his talents. Brand has shown that, between 1277 and 1278, Henry and a certain Matthew of the exchequer were funded by Edward I's wardrobe 'to go round the counties buying silver to a total weight of 3080 lb'. This was *argentum fusum*, melted down silver, as from coin

clippings. For Brand this was a well-organised 'sting' operation. In Bristol Henry's plans went awry; he was arrested by the constable of the castle as being in possession of goods to the value of 300 marks and 'plates' (of clipped silver) worth 200 marks.

Henry's talents as agent provocateur brought considerable rewards. The patent rolls reveal that in August 1278 'Henry de Wynton, knight' was to be assigned 'a competent house to him and his household, in which he may stay (*perhendingare*) or dwell (*niorari*) as often as he shall be required ... for the purpose of doing the service which the [\*constable of the Tower of London] owes the king'; and in January 1279 he was granted a 'pardon of all suits, appeals, trespasses and excesses, on condition that if he be appealed by any one the appeal be heard and determined before the king', as well as 'simple protection, for life', during the king's pleasure, and a safe-conduct at any time.

Early in January 1279 Edward I even proposed to the royal council, as Brand explains, that Henry should have 'power of testimony or record' in coin-clipping cases. This was blocked by Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of \*Hereford, who had served Edward's father as Chancellor. In a tearful outburst, the bishop threatened that, if the convert was given such power over Christians, he would resign from the Council, immediately. For Brand, given Dernegate's role, 'it is hardly surprising that so many went to the gallows and others forfeited their possessions'.

Despite his 'protection for life', the patent rolls record that in July 1279 Henry was arrested and brought before the Hampshire justices, who must have known him well, accused of buying 'goods of Jews hanged for trespasses of the coinage of the realm, to wit clothes, fur, books of Christians and Jews, copper lamps and girdles of silk and is about to dispose of them this side and beyond the seas.' In December 1280 he had to pay 190 marks, 'being part of 1000 marks in which he was condemned before the justices in eyre in the county of Hampshire for [concealing] the goods of Benedict of Winchester', who had been hanged in January for felony, that is coinage offences.

The following March the \*sheriff was to deliver Henry from Winchester gaol, where he had been

detained for certain trespasses if he will find twelve men of the county who will mainprise to pay the king 1000 marks ... a moiety before Midsummer next and a moiety before Michaelmas following, and to have him before the king in the next parliament at Westminster a month from Easter to hear the king's will touching his said trespass.

Henry still owed 400 marks in 1287. Three years after the \*expulsion, the fine rolls record Henry as having £36 6s 8d arrears of a debt of £43, including 'issues of the king's Jewry' in 1278, which he was to pay at £2 yearly.

□ CR, 1252, 164, & 1270, 417; CLR, 1261, 51; CCR, 1272–81, 38, 276, 297, 320; Adler (1939), 285–6; Stacey (1992a), 276–9; Brand (2000), 1145–53; Rokéah, 2 (1974), 65, & (2000), nos 623, 736, 881, 1162 n. 13, 1259; Biddle (1976), 237, 275, 517–18, fig. 32; CFR, 1281, 144



## Devizes, Wilts

The castle, built by the early bishops of Salisbury, was purchased by Henry II in 1157. For Leland, 'such a piece of castle work, so costly and strongly, was never afore nor since set up by any bishop of England'. Here King John kept his treasure. Henry III spent more than £1000 on its upkeep, not only for his own use, but also to accommodate distinguished guests and important prisoners. The castle's history and apparent strength will no doubt have contributed to its popularity with the county's Jews.

The 1255 tallages were levied on \*Marlborough and \*Wilton, but not Devizes. The first evidence of a \*community and \*chest is a bond registered in 1258. This, with 27 others, was in the Old Chest, closed in 1275. The 28 bonds, totalling £265, were held by nineteen members of the community. Three, with a face value of £140, belonged to Asher Sweteman, the son of \*Licoricia of \*Winchester by her second husband, \*David of Oxford. Other bonds belonged to Jews from such \*Wiltshire towns as Chippenham and Cricklade.

In January 1275 the Devizes Jewry paid £32 tallage, of which over £15 was from Bonefey of Cricklade, and £10 from Solomon of Marlborough; Asher contributed merely 15s. Marlborough was assessed at some £36. This town, with its castle, Edward I had assigned to his mother, the dowager queen Eleanor, in 1273. Its Jews were thus \*expelled two years later to Devizes. In 1276 a conflict arose between the constable of the liberty of the castle and royal borough of Devizes and the \*sheriff, representing the county, as to who had authority over the Jewry. The constable refused to permit the sheriff to execute his instructions to levy a tallage on the Jewry.

An inventory of the property of Devizes' Jews condemned for \*coinage offences shows some had been making a living by minor \*pawnbroking. Thus, from the chattels of Lumbard a mantle with hood was sold for 5s; from those of Moses, a silver cup with foot and another, without foot, the pair £2 os 4d; a mantle, 3 pillows, 3 hoods and 2 linen sheets for 5s; and a book of old decretals, 12 books and two rolls of Jewish law, 'price unknown'.

In 1282 a New Chest was opened. Moses of Devizes and Benedict of \*Bristol were elected Jewish \*chirographers in place of Josce son of Solomon of Marlborough, who had been declared an outlaw. Both chests were returned to London at the \*expulsion. Its contents show that the Devizes New Chest was serving all Wiltshire Jews. Only two members had houses in the town: Cok, the sole bondholder from Devizes, and Josce son of Solomon of Marlborough, who had taken a house on a six-year lease, of which only two and a half years had run. The 29 bonds, worth only some £127, included 15 for cereals and 2 for cash, plus twelve \*tallies representing money loans. A Solomon had wheat bonds valued at some £82.

'Two of the richer and more prudent Jews of Devizes' were amongst the four delegates from Wiltshire to the 'mini-parliament' of \*1287. The final, sensational, chapter in the history of this Jewry came immediately prior to the \*expulsion. The 1290 patent

roll records that Josce of Newbury, a Jew of Devizes, the only person with bonds in both chests, was accused of ‘counterfeiting the seals of the abbot and convent of Reading’, Henry I’s burial-place and one of the wealthiest monasteries in the kingdom. These he used on three ‘false writings in the names of the abbot and convent and certain Jews’, amounting to £3000. He was also accused of ‘other felonies in divers parts of the realm’. The outcome of Josce’s trial is not known.

A command in 1275 to read out a royal proclamation enquiring about debts of the prior of Guisborough is evidence of a \*synagogue in the town, but the site of Jewry and synagogue are unknown.

□ *CPR*, 1275, 127, & 1290, 402; *PREJ*, III, 61, 204–5, & IV, no. 112; *VCH, Wiltshire*, 10 (1975), 253; Adler (1935a), 61, 68; Mundill (1998), 126–8, 148, 165–9, 205–6; *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, I, ed. B. R. Kemp, Camden Soc, 45, 31 (1986), 195–200

### **Disinherited, The, 1265–67**

After the death of Simon de \*Montfort at the battle of Evesham, Henry III confiscated the lands of his supporters. The Disinherited rose in revolt, and Simon the Younger escaped from Kenilworth Castle. In November 1265 he was joined in the Isle of Axholme by a band of men, led by John d’Eyvill, Baldwin Wake and Hugh de Nevill. Many were already in debt to Jews. Despite orders to the twenty-four senior citizens in May to protect the Jewry, the Disinherited attacked \*Lincoln, assaulted the castle and, the \*chirographs and their \*chests having already been destroyed during the earlier Montfortian onslaught, burned down the \*synagogue. With wooden bridges constructed to cross the surrounding marshes, Prince Edward dislodged the rebels from Axholme in December.

Simon fled abroad, but d’Eyvill and others continued their revolt. They occupied a similar site in the Isle of Ely. The Cambridge Jewry was attacked on 12 August 1266, when a number of Jews, including Saulot Mutun, were slaughtered. The \*plea rolls record that their chest, with its bonds, was carried off to the Isle of Ely in 1266–67. Cambridge became a supply base, where they could buy corn and sell their loot. They took up quarters in Barnwell Priory, extorting 300 marks from the town and holding citizens to ransom. In summary, the Waverley chronicler records that ‘the Disinherited took the Isle of Ely and the town, spoiling and plundering all of the county of Cambridge, killing the Jews and perpetrating many enormous evils on every side’.

They also attacked \*Bedford, some 25 miles (40 km) south-west of Cambridge, taking the chest and its bonds back to the Isle of Ely, and forcibly converting Pictavin’s son, Benedict. Later, at \*Norwich they carried off seven waggonloads of booty and Simon le Palmer, a city bailiff, one of the Christian chirographers and part owner of the Music House (*see* Houses), whom they held to ransom. His fellow chirographers were fined £10 for using the chest in his absence.

The Dictum of Kenilworth, October 1266, was an attempt at compromise. Former rebels were to be allowed to buy back their confiscated estates at rates ranging from

one to seven years' valuation, according to the degree of their participation in the Montfortian cause. For most, this would involve further loans from the Jewry. Ely surrendered to Edward in mid December 1266.

However, in April 1267 d'Eyville joined forces with Gilbert de \*Clare, 'the Red' earl of Gloucester. They seized the city of \*London, holding it until June. They attacked the Jewry where, according to the chronicler, Wykes, they pulled down the houses of Master \*Elias son of Master \*Moses and Solomon le Blund, as well as many others of timber and stone in Milk Street. Only on 1 July 1267 were terms accepted by d'Eyville.

□ Prestwich (1990), 53–9; *CPR*, 1265, 421–2, & 1285, 212; *AM*, II, 371, & IV, 207–10; *VCH, Cambridge*, 3 (1959), 6; Dobson (2010), 115; Lipman (1967), 180–1; Hillaby (1993a), 134–7

***Domus Conversorum*** *see* Converts, House of

### **Dorchester/Dorset**

There was a royal castle here in Henry II's reign. Never of great strength, it was maintained as a royal house until c.1270. Salomon *episcopus de Dorcesteria, Iudeus* is recorded in 1220. Jewish loans were made in Dorset, but the evidence suggests that they were registered at \*chests in neighbouring counties. Thus Salomon and his son-in-law Deulecresse contributed to the 1223 tallage at \*Exeter.

At the Worcester 'parliament' in \*1241 the county of Dorset had the smallest of all 21 delegations. Even Bedfordshire sent three representatives, but Dorset only two, Salomon and Benedict son of Vivant, who were also assigned to collect the 20,000-mark tallage for 'Dorset'. The county, however, was not included in the list of contributing Jewries. Neither Dorchester nor Dorset was tallaged in 1255.

Accused of \*coin-clipping in 1275, Aaron of Dorchester could not be found at Oxford. An Isaac of Dorchester, who was making loans in the county in 1270, had a bond in the \*Wilton chest in 1275 and paid his tallage there in 1276. The following year, however, he was granted permission 'to dwell in his house at Dorchester until otherwise ordered'.

□ *CR*, 1241, 355; *CCR*, 1277, 382; *CPR*, 1255, 439–44; *PREJ*, I, 35, & II, 194, & III, 139, 205–6, & IV, 15

### **Dunstable, Bedfordshire**

The town was established at the meeting-place of Watling Street, the Roman road from Dover via London to Wroxeter (Salop), now the A5, and the Icknield Way, the pre-historic track from Dorset to Norfolk. Here Henry I built a royal residence, where he celebrated Christmas in 1122. Some ten years later he founded a priory of Augustinian Canons at Dunstable, granting them a 'liberty' within the town. In 1204 King John gave the royal residence to the canons.

The \*pipe rolls record a Jeremias of Dunstable in 1188/89, and an Aaron brother of Leo of Dunstable, 1193/94. During Henry II's reign Prior Thomas apparently granted rights of temporary residence to a number of \*London Jews; he probably borrowed

from them. Certainly he had stood as surety for a loan made to his fellow prior at St Bartholomew's, London, by \*Aaron of \*Lincoln, d.1186.

Howden reported in the *Gesta Regis* that at the time of the anti-Jewish riots in spring, 1190, the Dunstable Jews and their wives were converted to Christianity and baptised. The story is probably apocryphal, and based on the close relationship between Prior Thomas and the Jews. Tovey tells how William, a client of the Jews, had bought a corrody granting him a right to board and lodging in the priory. Getting further into debt he was obliged to pledge the corrody to his creditor, an unnamed Jew. The local bishop insisted that the prior buy it back – inevitably at a high premium.

Prior Thomas's successor was Richard de Mores (1202–42), an eminent canon lawyer who had taught at the University of Bologna. He issued a charter permitting two London Jews, Fleming and his son, Leo, to remain in Dunstable 'peacefully, quietly and honourably enjoying all the customs and liberties...like other members of the town'. The attraction was no doubt the three-day fair in May, granted that year by the Crown. In return, they were to pay the priory two silver spoons, weighing 12d each, every year they were resident. However, Dunstable never became a recognised \*community. Nor did it ever have a \*chest, *archa*.

In 1221 Moses son of le Brun presented Prior Richard with a charter and a demand for £70, which purported to relate to a loan he had made to Prior Thomas. From the way that it had been washed and its poor grammar, Richard, a very different and much abler man than his predecessor, immediately recognised this as a forgery. Moses, sentenced to death by the \*justices of the Jews, was saved by the intervention of the English \*community, no doubt acting out of respect for his father, one of the wealthiest members of the late twelfth-century London community. Following their offer to the Crown of a ransom of £100, his sentence was commuted to perpetual banishment. There is no further reference to a Jewish presence in the town.

□ VCH, *Bedford*, 3 (1912), 363; Richardson (1960), 259–63; 'Dunstable Annals', *AM*, III, 28, 33, 66; Howden, *Gesta*, 2 (1867), 84; Rigg (1902), 4–5; Tovey (1738), 83–4; Hillaby (1995), 32

**Elias** *see* London, Elias l'Eveske; London, Master Elias

**Elijah Menahem** *see* London, Master Elias

**Etz Hayyim** *see* London, Jacob ben Judah

**Exchanges/Exchanging** *see* Provincial Jewries, Origins of

**Exchequer of the Jews**, L. *Scaccarium Judeorum*

Howden attributes the foundation of the Jewish Exchequer to the *Capitula Iudeorum*, the \*1194 Articles about the Jews introduced by Richard I's Justiciar, Hubert Walter, as part of his reforms of the royal administration. The Jewish Exchequer probably developed out of the *Scaccarium Aaron*, the exchequer court that dealt with the outstanding

debts of \*Aaron of Lincoln from his death in 1186 to 1191. The Articles established \*chests, *archae*, for the recording and safekeeping of Jewish loans, supervised by two lawful Christians and two lawful Jews, served by two scribes. These were to be 'at six or seven places', presumably at those Jewries that made the largest contributions to the Northampton *Promissum* of that year. In \*1218, however, 17 \*communities were recognised. Each had its own chest and liability for tax assessment. All contributed to the 1221 and 1223 \*tallages. Other communities were subsequently recognised.

As Stacey has pointed out, in 1194

legal cases involving Jews were removed from the ordinary jurisdiction of the justices in eyre and transferred to Westminster, where the cases were heard by an evolving group of professional justices gathered around the newly-appointed justiciar, Archbishop Hubert Walter.

There is evidence in 1194 of William de Ste Mère-Église and Hugh Bardolf acting as keepers or justices of the Jews. The memoranda roll of 1199 refers to Jacob le Prestre as *presbyter omnium Judæorum totius Angliæ*, an office he had apparently held under Henry II and Richard I, when he was responsible for 'the great debts of the English Jewish community'. The office is generally described by historians as \*archpresbyter.

Initially, the Jewish Exchequer's responsibility was the supervision of the network of chests, including control of the \*chirographers and clerks. Ultimately, its functions were administrative, judicial and fiscal. Brand defines this threefold role as 'a special continuing responsibility for oversight of the affairs' of the Jewry; 'more particularly, day-to-day conduct of relations between the Crown and that community; jurisdiction over all major litigation between Christians and Jews'. Its principal areas of interest became the payment of arrears of tallages, fines, \*reliefs, and other charges.

The administrative capacity of the clerks of the Jewish Exchequer was put to the test in John's reign. For the tallage imposed in 1207 Jews were required to provide details of the value of all their debts, which the Crown had the option to purchase at the stated figure. In 1210 most Jews of any substance were imprisoned. Later, the clerks recorded details of all their bonds, \*tallies and chirographs, together with the sums outstanding from each for the 1210 Bristol tallage. The royal administration collapsed in 1215, as a result of civil war.

Only in November 1217 did the royal exchequer reopen. The Jewish Exchequer resumed its responsibilities in May 1218, its records having been returned as part of the peace settlement negotiated with Louis the Dauphin. The \*plea rolls, available from Michaelmas term that year to Easter term 1220, provide evidence of the wide range of its legal activities. The recently published receipt rolls for 1220–24 show how the clerks responded with alacrity to the Council of Regency's anxiety to raise whatever funds it could from the newly re-established Jewry. Members still in arrears for the 1210 tallage were pursued rigorously, and Christian clients with sums outstanding on loans suffered the threat of seizure of their property by way of distress. Some 21 claims for repayment were made on \*Isaac of Norwich's behalf alone.

In \*1233 Henry sought to tighten the procedures established in 1194, by commanding that Jewish loans should in future be by chirograph, not tally sticks. A similar attempt in 1221 had not been strictly enforced; three communities were permitted to continue using tallies on payment of a £1 fine. Nor was the 1233 Statute effective, for tallies were still being used on the eve of the \*1290 \*expulsion. In \*1239 it was realised that the system was still open to fraud, which was attributed 'to the malice and falsity of the Jews'. Thus there was widespread replacement of chirographers, both Christian and Jew, and their chests were closed, for scrutiny by clerks from Westminster. Provided with a list of current bonds, the barons of the Exchequer of the Jews were able to order the \*sheriff to dispatch the 'better and sounder' bonds of named Jews to the Jewish Exchequer for a range of reasons, principally the collection of tallage arrears. On occasions the bonds of deceased Jews were held until the relief of one-third had been paid. Other bonds were called in for cancellation when debts had been pardoned by the king, principally for service to the Crown, overseas or at home.

Difficulties were experienced not only in the localities but at the Jewish Exchequer itself. Revelations as to the extent of bribery and corruption came into the open in August 1234, on the evidence of 18 London Jews. This included charges that Josce the archpresbyter had been held to ransom, that £200 of a £700 tallage had been taken by Peter de Rivallis, royal treasurer and guardian of the English Jewry, and that members of the London community had bribed his deputy, Robert Passelewe, senior justice of the Jews, 'to equal London's tallage with that of York which formerly it had exceeded'; the feet of chirographs taken from the London chest were even sold openly on Cheapside. Stephen de Segrave, chief justiciar, since 1232, was also implicated in these charges. Justices of the Jews later accused of corruption included William le Breton in 1241, Philip Lovel in 1251 and, for charter falsification, Robert de Ho in 1252.

The royal exchequer sat in the great hall built by William II c.1097 as part of his palace of Westminster. The largest hall in Europe, it was some 240 ft in length and 67½ ft (73 and 20 m) in width. In 1235 the close rolls record that the justices of the Jews were authorised to enlarge their chamber on the west side of Westminster Hall on the model 'of the other chamber on the east side of the hall', the Great Exchequer. The justices' chamber was to include a solar, a cellar (probably to contain its records) and a chimney, all to be constructed at the expense of the Jewry. To this court almost all its wealthy members, and not a few of the more humble, were summoned for the resolution of matters fiscal and judicial. Not far away was the 'king's chamber'.

Henry III's only too overt favouritism to the coterie around Queen Eleanor of Provence and his Lusignan half-brothers was to cause open conflict with the baronial opposition led by Simon de \*Montfort. This was aggravated by bad weather and serious crop failure in 1257 and 1258. A clause of the \*1258 baronial Provisions of Oxford called for 'reforms in the Jewry and concerning the keepers of the Jewry'. The

1259 Provisions of Westminster referred to reforms ‘needed at the great exchequer and the exchequer of the Jews’, and ‘reasonable maintenance for those who shall be at either exchequer’.

In October Prince Edward announced publicly his support for de Montfort and his baronial allies. It should therefore be no surprise to read that in 1260 ‘Simon de Montfort and the Lord Edward broke into the Jewish Exchequer and stole its records of debt.’ In an attempt by Henry III to breathe new life into the economy, and thus enhance the tax potential of the community after ‘the recent troubles’, Jews were permitted to apply for \*licences to move from one recognised Jewry to another, or even to establish a new, if short-lived, community, as at \*Bridgnorth. \*Nottingham provides examples of such licences. Control of Jewish residence in the provinces rested with the Jewish Exchequer. From \*1275 it also supervised the 3d annual levy on Jews over 12 years of age. (See Poll Tax.)

Details of the personnel of the Jewish Exchequer 1265–90 have been examined by Brand, whose judgment is that the justices of the Jews were ‘not especially badly behaved’; his yardstick, however, was the justices of the Common Bench, King’s Bench and Eyre, all but two of whom had been disgraced.

Some of the most detailed evidence of corruption and malpractice in Edward I’s reign came out in the trial in 1288 of Hamo Hauteyn and Robert de Ludham, who had been frequent visitors to the house of \*Master Elias, son of Master Moses, d.1284. Significantly, this was not in the Jewry, north of Cheapside, but in Candlewick, later Cannon, Street, lying to the south-west. They removed the exchequer records, a custom they claimed sanctioned by long usage; but at Elias’s house tampered with the bond recording a debt owed to him by the abbot of Stratford, which had been pardoned by the king. The resulting profit had been shared between Elias and the justices. Their fine, of £1000, indicates the gravity with which Edward I viewed this crime.

□ Stacey (2013); Brand (2003), 73–9; *PREJ*, VI, 1–56; Jenkinson (1918); *PREJ*, III, xiii–xix; Richardson (1960), 117–20, 135–60; Cramer (1940), & (1941), 226–9; C. A. F. Meekings, ‘Justices of the Jews 1218–1268: A Provisional List’, *BIHR*, 28 (1955), 173–88; Adler (1941); Colvin, 1 (1963), 538–43; *CR*, 1235, 100

## Exchequer of the Jews, Plea Rolls of

A major source for the history of the Jews of medieval England, these relate to the responsibility of the Exchequer of the Jews for doing justice where Jews were concerned and for co-ordinating the work of the \*chests or *archae*. The significance of the plea rolls was recognised by the founding fathers of the \*Jewish Historical Society of England, in consequence of which the Society embarked on their publication early in the twentieth century. The indices illustrate the extraordinary wide range of evidence on individual members.

The first volume of *Calendars of the \*Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews Preserved in the Public Record Office* appeared in 1905, the second in 1910. Both were edited by J. M. Rigg, who had anticipated the Society's *Calendars* by producing *Select Pleas, Starrs and Other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, AD 1220–1284*, published jointly with the Selden Society in 1902; it is now available in paperback. He appreciated that 'the rolls constitute a striking history of the English Jewry for 70 years before their \*expulsion'. Due to public demand, both volumes were reprinted by William Dawson and Sons in 1971.

Volume III appeared in 1929 under the editorship of Hilary Jenkinson, with a helpful preface discussing technical terms. It was almost three decades later, and four years after he had retired as deputy keeper of public records, that, now knighted, Sir Hilary provoked the Society into further activity. In his second presidential address (1958), he explained that:

it has been generally agreed among those qualified to judge that medieval record material relating to the Jews in England was of so important, and indeed unique, a character, and compared with the other medieval series surviving among English Records presented a publication problem of so simple a nature, that the Jewish Historical Society should regard it both as a duty and as a feasible proposition to make the whole of it available within a reasonable time to students.

He concluded, 'by repeating with emphasis that Jewish Historians here in England possess in these Records evidences of Medieval Jewish History which have no parallel elsewhere. This is a privilege which carries with it a responsibility.'

H. G. Richardson's Volume IV, published in 1972, followed principles laid down by Jenkinson of 'a full English or Latin text of some entries, important on account of form or content, and calendaring (or précis) of the remainder as briefly as possible'. Appendices provide details of the receipts of the \*sheriff of Kent between October 1250 and October 1254, which throw a remarkable light on his relationship with the \*Canterbury Jewry; and the constable's accounts of payments to the Serjeant of the Tower of \*London, 1275–78, when, as Rokéah has shown, 600 Jews were incarcerated there.

Twenty years later both calendar form and translation into English were abandoned. Volume V, entitled *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, was 'edited by Sarah Cohen, revised and with a preface by Paul Brand'. The full Latin text, based on Cohen's transcription of the rolls, was provided with an analytical index. In 2005, the centenary of the first publication, Volume VI, edited by Paul Brand to the conventions of its predecessor, was produced. His comprehensive 'Introduction: The Exchequer of the Jews, 1265–1290' includes details of the four terms by which the plea rolls are dated: Hilary (January to February), Easter (April to May), Trinity (May to July) and Michaelmas



(October to December). Appendix III lists surviving plea rolls in the National Archives with dates and TNA references.

The completed volumes cover only some 20 intermittent years between 1218 and 1281: I. 1218–20, 1244–45, 1252–53, 1266–68, 1270, 1272; II. 1273–75; III. 1275–77; IV. 1272, 1275–77; V. 1277–79; VI. 1279–81. The missing rolls between 1220 and Easter term 1244, and between Easter 1253 and May 1260, are probably explained by Rigg in the first volume: on 6 May 1260 it was reported that ‘the doors of the exchequer of the Jews, to wit, of the wardrobe near the exchequer, had been discovered broken, and books “de Judaismo” and rolls carried away’. However, the gap continues until Trinity term 1266. The 1267 plea rolls record that ‘the seal of the Exchequer was stolen during the recent broils’. As a result \*chirographs were being returned from the Jewish Exchequer in a pyx under the seal of Sir Robert Fuleham, one of the justices of the Jews, 1265–72. This led Rigg to ‘suppose that most of the rolls between 1253 and 1266 were then either stolen or destroyed’.

It is to be hoped that publication by the Society of the remaining plea rolls is completed in the near future. The value of the Society’s achievement so far has been highlighted by Robert Chazan in his *Jews of Medieval Western Christendom*, where he states:

Nothing remotely like this treasure trove of material exists for any other thirteenth-century Jewry. If we today possessed nothing more than the plea rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, English Jewry would be far and away the best documented Jewish \*community in thirteenth-century Latin Christendom.

□ *PREJ*, I, xvii, 148, & III, xi–lii, & VI, 57–71 for list of surviving plea rolls; H. Jenkinson, ‘Medieval Sources for Anglo-Jewish History: The Problem of Publication’, *TJHSE*, 18 (1958), 285–93; Sayles, 1 (1939), cxvii n. 8; Chazan (2006), 155

### Exclusion Clauses in borough charters

The provision that it was ‘lawful for a burgess to sell or mortgage their burgages to whom they will’ appears in many borough charters. In a number of cases, however, the rider was added, ‘except to men of religion, religious houses and Jews’, ownership by Jews being regarded as comparable to mortmain, that is ‘the dead hand of the church’. Examples can be found in the charters of Sherborne (1227/28), Chard (1235), Warton (1246–71), Bolton (1253), Stockport (c.1260), Bridgetown Pomeroy/Totnes (1268) and Burton-upon-Trent (1273).

□ Ballard & Tait (1923), lxix–lxx, xci, xcix, 49, 86–7, 89, 91, 141

### Excommunication *see Herem*

### Exeter

Port, county town, provincial capital and cathedral city of the south-west. Its diocese included Cornwall as well as Devon. The castle, built on a rocky mound within the

northern end of the walled town, remained in royal hands except during Stephen's reign.

'The Medieval Jews of Exeter' were the subject of a study by Michael Adler in 1931, since when Mundill has revealed considerable new information for the late thirteenth century and Susser includes a discussion of the community. The first reference to a Jew at Exeter is to Deulesault, in 1181. By 1188 the \*community was large enough to pay a gold \*mark, £6, to the Crown for the right 'to hear suits within the community', presumably through its \*bet din. In 1194 Amiot was the sole contributor to the Northampton *Promissum*, paying £1 2s 3d, possibly on behalf of the community. Only \*Wallingford and \*Coventry Jewries paid less. By 1206 a further four members can be identified: Deulecresse l'Eveske, Jacob son of Yveliny, his brother Deulecresse, and sister, Sara. A Samuel of Exeter and his wife, Juetta, appear in the Somerset and Dorset roll. The cartulary of St Nicholas Priory, Exeter, records Amiot renting a house in the High Street for 1s a year in 1211.

Exeter was one of the 17 communities recognised in \*1218 when Henry III's Council of Regency ordered the \*sheriff of Devon to protect the community, and 'if any Jew offend... attach him by Deulecresse l'Eveske, our bailiff, to have before our \*Justices at Westminster'. In 1221 enquiries as to sums outstanding from the 1210 \*Bristol tallage revealed that Samuel of Wilton's charters, \*chirographs and \*tallies were in the hands of his wife, Iveta, on the day he died; and that some of those of Amiot's son, Deodatus, were in the king's hands. Another son, Abraham, owed 3s 4d for the Bristol tallage; Jacob's arrears were 6s 8d. 'Of the chattels of those that fled nothing is known.'

The receipt rolls show that in 1221 the community ranked fourteenth of 17, six members paying £8 5s 8d: Jacob of \*Gloucester, £3 11s 8d; Deulecresse, £2 10s; Ursell, 18s; Ursell, son-in-law of Amiot, 15s; Moses *le Turk* (Tuarz in Normandy) 6s; and Moses of Exeter, 5s. In the same year the community paid £1 for a licence to use tallies, and Abraham of Warwick and his daughter Bona £1 12s 6d not to wear the \*badge. The rolls record that Exeter ranked twelfth in 1223. Fifteen members, of whom three were women, contributed to a tallage of £73 10s 6d. Jacob again headed the list.

Exeter sent four delegates to the Worcester 'parliament' in \*1241: Jacob, the leader, his son-in-law, Josce son of Abraham, Bonenfaunt son of Jude, and Deulecresse l'Eveske. Stacey records no payment for the 20,000-mark tallage of 1241/42 from this Jewry. In 1244 its tallage assessment was £31 1s 4d, about half that of \*Cambridge, a third of \*Nottingham's and a fifth of \*Lincoln's. Josce Crespin, the chirographer, was responsible for its collection. In 1255, paying £32, it was fourteenth of 21 with \*Wilton.

In 1262 nine Jews had bonds with a face value of £38 9s 4d. There are no records of attacks by de \*Montfort's supporters, 1264/65. Jacob Copin, chirographer 1266–80, was the only contributor to the 1272 tallage, paying £19. Mundill shows that the Old \*Chest, closed after the \*1275 Statute, contained 143 bonds of twenty-two Jews, valued at some £1024 and ranging in date from 1237 to 1275. Business was dominated by Jacob Copin, whose 35 bonds totalled £357, over a third.

All that is known of the ten Exeter Jews accused of \*coinage offences in 1278 is that, as at \*Hereford, they bought temporary 'respite of imprisonment' from the sheriff. The close rolls record that Jacob Copin was hanged for homicide of a Christian in 1284. However, instead of being sent to Westminster for his creditors to be distrained, his bonds remained undisturbed in the Old Chest until the \*expulsion. As Exeter was some 80 miles (130 km) from the nearest chest, at Bristol, it is not surprising that links with Westminster were less effective than elsewhere, with a concomitant increase in the independence of the sheriff.

To the \*1287 'mini-parliament', Exeter sent three representatives: Abraham, probably he who held a third of the community's grain bonds in the expulsion returns, Master Elias and Isaac of Exeter. Before the mayor's court next year came an incident of what was probably a commonplace occurrence, though unrepresented in the records of the \*Exchequer of the Jews. Henna the Jewess was returning home by South Street when she encountered boys from the cathedral school. One, called Nyweton (Newton), spied her and 'threw stones at her, drawing blood and causing her to raise the hue and cry'.

As at Hereford, both Exeter's Old (1259–76) and New Chests (1283–90) were sent to the exchequer at Westminster in 1290. B. L. Abrahams', and Susser's, total combines values of bonds in both chests. Mundill identifies 45 deeds of sixteen Jews, valued at £211 in the New Chest. Twenty-one cereal bonds were worth some £175. Significantly, there were also twenty-four tallies. Although the community had paid £1 in 1221 to use them, they were prohibited by Chapter 1 of the \*1233 Statute.

As to the topography of the Jewry, in 1290 the annual value of only one, unlocated, Jewish house is recorded. This suggests that, as elsewhere, locals availed themselves of the opportunities offered by the expulsion. In 1211, as noted, Amiot had held a plot in the High Street, and it was in *summo vico civitatis* that Contessa, with bonds for 100 quarters of grain worth £33 6s 8d in the New Chest, lived in 1290, paying 11s annual rent. On the other hand, the stone-throwing incident confirms Meyer's belief that some Jewish settlement was close to the city's south gate. The site of the \*synagogue is not known, and there is no record of the \*cemetery.

□ PREJ, I, 18, 75; CPR, 1255, 439, 443, & 1276, 271; Adler, (1931); B. Susser, *The Jews of South-West England* (1993), 4–25; Mundill (1998), 128, 169–76, table 9; Stacey (1985), 205 n. 96; Richardson (1960), 193, 285–92; Rokéah (1993), 194, & (2001); RR, 1220–22, nos 983, 2679, 2681, 5219, & 1223–24, 1600–13; N. Orme, *Education in the West of England 1066–1548* (1976), 47; Meyer (2011)

## Expulsion, General of \*1290

According to Gerald of Wales, during Henry II's reign (1154–89) Roger de Asterby, a Lincolnshire knight who had pledged his coat of mail to \*Aaron of Lincoln, had a vision of St Peter and the Archangel Gabriel, who told him to lay seven divine commands

before the king. The last was that all Jews should be expelled from the realm, and their bonds and pledges returned to their debtors. In 1182 Philip Augustus of France expelled the Jews from the royal domain. However, they were readmitted to the royal lands 16 years later.

For Rigg 'it is probable that the expulsion ... had been meditated in \*1275, and that the fifteen years allowed for the acquisition of farms was but a term of grace'. Early in 1289 Edward ordered the arrest of all Jews in his Gascon lands and the appropriation of their bonds and property, after which they were expelled. A number returned. This led to a second, ineffective, expulsion, by Edward II in 1310, and ultimately to a crusader massacre of 1320. There was still a Jewry at Bordeaux at the end of the Middle Ages.

On 18 June \*1290, the \*sheriffs were ordered to close the *archae*, \*chests, but given no hint of what was to follow. On 18 July all Jews were commanded to leave the realm by 1 November. Any Jew remaining was liable to capital punishment. They could take cash and personal property with them, and property deposited as pledges if not redeemed by a specified date. Their bonds, however, escheated to the Crown. Once they had restored their pledges, the Jews, 'whom none should injure, harm, damage or grieve', were to 'direct their steps towards London to cross the sea'. On 27 July safe conducts were granted for all Jews leaving the kingdom, with their wives, children and chattels. The bailiffs, barons and sailors of the Cinque Ports were commanded to ensure safe and speedy passage, not to impede it by immoderate or unreasonable terms, and to make special allowance for poor Jews.

The records of the \*Constable of the Tower include a receipt for £23 6s for the crossing of 1335 Jews from London to Wissant, on the French coast between Calais and Boulogne. Most paid a toll of 4d, but 126 poor Jews only 2d. Walter of Guisborough tells of the captain who, having anchored off Queenborough, Isle of Sheppey, persuaded his passengers to disembark onto the sands and sailed off when the tide came in. Another boatload was robbed and killed off Burnham on the north Norfolk coast.

The king's motives in ordering the general expulsion have been hotly debated. According to Edward himself,

whereas [in 1275] it was ordained that no Jew should henceforth lend anything at \*usury ... but that they should live by their commerce and labour. The same Jews afterwards maliciously deliberating among themselves contrived a worse sort of usury which they called courtesy [*curialitas*], have depressed our people ... on all sides under colour thereof, the last offence doubling the first; whereby, for their crimes and to the honour of the Crucified, we have caused those Jews to go forth from our realm as traitors. We do make totally null and void all manner of penalties and usuries and every sort thereof which could be demanded by actions by reason of the Jewry ... save only the principal sums received from the Jews aforesaid.

Stacey has made a strong case for the expulsion being one of a number of elements in a larger 'evolving, political bargain'. For Prestwich it was 'part of the price for financial stability. This action met with almost universal approval from contemporaries, although to modern eyes it does not appear creditable'. Essentially, together with other major legislative measures, it was ordered by Edward I in return for the largest single tax granted by parliament in the Middle Ages, £116,346. Brand draws attention to two major cases of forged monastic charters; one relating to Reading Abbey (*see* Devizes); the other to Osney Abbey. 'Such *causes célèbres*', he suggests, 'may have played an important (if hitherto little noticed) part in precipitating the decision taken in June or July 1290 to expel the Jewish \*community from England.'

For Richardson, writing more than 50 years ago, 'to suggest that in England the Jews were replaced by Italians is to misconceive the course of history'. Since then Kaeuper has shown that the customs duty on wool and wool-fells imposed by parliament in 1275 relieved Edward I of the severe cash-flow problems that had constantly plagued his father. (*See* Introduction.) To that extent the impoverished English Jewry was, for the Crown, now an irrelevance – except in terms of public opinion.

Edward cannot have been ignorant of the obloquy aroused by Queen Eleanor's persistent large-scale trafficking in Jewish debts and encumbered estates, which she achieved through her power over a small coterie of Jews, such as the \*archpresbyters, \*Hagin and his nephew, Cok Hagin, and \*Aaron son of Vives. This was a matter to which Edward's archbishop, the friar and eminent scholar, John Pecham, had drawn attention on two occasions. In 1283, prompted by the harsh conditions suffered by Eleanor's tenants at West Cliffe, an estate she had acquired through a bond wrought from Aaron son of Vives, Pecham had the courage to challenge the queen personally about this manor on the coast, less than 20 miles (32 km) south of his cathedral. He pointed out, first that Edward's harshness was popularly laid at her door, and second that such amassing of estates was no less than the heinous sin of usury, by which she had jeopardised her soul.

Three years later Pecham wrote again, this time to Eleanor's treasurer, Geoffrey de Aspel, a friend of his student days:

A rumour is waxing strong throughout the kingdom of England, and much scandal is thereby generated. It is said that the illustrious lady queen of England is occupying many manors and has made them her own property – lands which the Jews, under the protection of the royal court, extorted through usury from Christians. It is said that day by day the said lady continues to acquire plunder and the possessions of others by this means. There is public outcry and gossip in every part of England. Gain of this sort is illicit and damnable. Be pleased humbly to beseech the said lady, on our behalf, that she bid her people entirely to abstain from the aforesaid practices, and restore what has been seized in this manner or at any rate make satisfaction to those Christians who have been wickedly robbed by usury.

Hostility to the royal family, especially Queen Eleanor, was deep and widespread, and is reflected in the popular ditty:

*Le roy cuuayte nos deneres,  
e la rayne nos beau maners.*

‘The king covets our pennies, the queen our fine manors.’ Expulsion alone could terminate such unacceptable links between the royal family and the Jews.

Pecham’s appeal to Eleanor had no immediate effect, but her dying wish on 28 November 1290, four weeks after the last Jew had departed, related to her estates, apparently an acceptance that reparation was necessary as atonement for usury.

B. L. Abrahams lists in his ‘Condition of the Jews of England in 1290’ ‘the names of all owners of bonds, houses and lands in any of the [relevant] manuscripts.’ Further details have been provided by Mundill. The bonds in the New Chests returned to Westminster at the expulsion enable us to establish a hierarchy of prosperity of the 11 \*provincial Jewries for which details are available. Results are surprising. First was \*Lincoln, £2620 19s 4d, followed by \*Hereford £1017 6s 0d, \*Norwich £646 6s 8d, \*Canterbury £534 10s 4d, \*Nottingham £521 7s 8d, \*Oxford £465 16s 4d, \*Devizes £126 16s 8½d, \*Huntingdon/\*Cambridge £284 16s 8d, \*Exeter £211 4s 0d, \*Southampton, that is \*Winchester, £179 18s 8d, and \*Bristol £72 10s 0d. Adjustment has been made for Hereford and Exeter, where totals included the contents of the Old as well as the New Chests. No information is available for \*London, \*Bedford, \*Colchester, \*Ipswich, \*Northampton, \*Stamford, \*Warwick or \*York. Bonds of Jews expelled from the queen mother’s dower towns in \*1275 were found in the chests of their host communities: of Cambridge at Huntingdon, \*Marlborough in \*Wiltshire, and \*Gloucester and \*Worcester at Hereford.

Abrahams also published the rental valuations of houses ‘held in 1290 on fee or for a term of years by the Jews of Bedford, Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Colchester, Exeter, Hereford, Ipswich, Lincoln, Northampton, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Stamford, Wiltshire, Winchester and York’. Further information comes from the report of Hugh of Kendal, appointed in December 1290 ‘to value and sell all the houses, rents and tenements which late belonged to the king’s Jews’, in consultation with leading figures in those towns. Further details of bond and property valuations are provided in the individual entries.

The expulsion of the Jews did not free their former clients of their debts. These were now due to the Crown, but the \*interest was cancelled. A general pardon of all Jewish debts came only in 1327. According to Stacey, the last survivor of the English Jewry, Claricia of Exeter, died in the *Domus Conversorum*, \*house of converts, in 1356.

What, it has been asked, happened to the English Jews after they were expelled by Edward I? In 1291 Philip the Fair, king of France, ordered the expulsion of Jews recently arrived from England, but there is evidence that a number of the more wealthy members did settle in Paris. The toponyms *Lenglois*, *lenglais* and *lenglesche* in the 1292 and 1296/97 tax rolls of the Paris Jewry identify 12 English Jews living there, including \*Bonamy of

York, Abraham of Quant (Kent) and *Mahy de Quiquelarde*, evidently of the family of Lumbard of Cricklade, Wilts, d.1277. In 1292, five lived in the *Rue Neuve* and *la Court Robert de Paris* (today *rue du Renard-Saint-Merry*) and five in *Franc-Mourier* (today *rue de Moussy*); in 1296 four were in *rue du Renard-Saint-Merry* and two in *Latacherie* (*rue de la Tacherie*). Only Bonamy's son, Josce, and *Mosse lenglais* are in both lists, with their wives in 1292. Philip expelled the Jews from Paris in 1306.

Other English Jews are to be found in the tax rolls of the more tolerant lands south of the Loire, more distant, but in the long run more secure. Later Mosse and Abraham *Anglicus* and Simon *de Quigrulada* are found in the register of Manosque, in the Durance valley, about 25 miles (40 km) north-west of Aix. In December 1309 Edward II requested his brother-in-law, the Duke of Brabant (in modern Belgium), to allow a certain Master Elias, a Jew dwelling in his land, to come to England to speak with the king concerning his affairs.

□ Gerald, VIII, 183–6; *EHD*, 3 (1995), 760; *CCR*, 1288–96, 95–6, 109, 295; *CPR*, 1290, 378, 410, & 1309, 201; Rigg (1902), xlii; *Fœdera*, lii, 736; Stacey (1997), 77–101; Richardson (1960), 227–33; Kaeuper (1973), 75–171; Prestwich (1990), 306, 344–6; Brand (2000), 1157; Parsons (1991), 25, 30–5, & (1995), 119–56; H. P. Stokes, 'The Close Rolls 1289–1368', *JHSE Misc*, 1 (1925), vi–xvii; Rokéah (1984), 131–2, & (2000), no. 1236; Abrahams (1894), & (1894–95), & (1896); Mundill (1998), 249–85; Stacey (1992a), 274; Loeb (1880); J. Shatzmiller, *Recherches sur la communauté juive de Manosque au moyen âge, 1241–1329* (1973)

### Expulsions and Exclusions, Local, 1231–83

The establishment in \*1218 of recognised \*communities, each with its own \*chest, was intended as a means of control over the English Jewry. In 1221 and 1223 \*tallage was demanded from these 17 Jewries. Eleven more communities were granted chests at later dates.

Local initiatives in the 1230s led to a series of expulsions of Jews from towns and counties. The first came in a charter of 1231, issued by Simon de Montfort after he regained the lordship of a major part of the borough of \***Leicester**; his attitude to the Jewry had been formed by the early crusading zeal of his parents in the south of France. The Jews merely moved to that part of the borough under the lordship of the dowager countess of Winchester. Simon's expulsion charter is in the Leicestershire Record Office. (Figure 10 under Leicester.)

Some of the subsequent expulsions ordered by the Crown were the result of local pressure and financial inducement. Thus, on confirming their borough charter in July 1234, Henry III granted 'his good men of \***Newcastle-upon-Tyne**', where there is evidence of a Samuel of Newcastle in 1189–91 and of two messuages in 'Silver Street, alias Jew-Gate' in 1700, that 'no Jew shall remain in the said town' in his time or that of his heirs. For this considerable privilege the burgesses were prepared to pay handsomely, proffering the king a fine of 100 marks. They were probably conversant with, and intimidated by, the wealth and power of the \*York Jewry.

In September 1234 Jews were expelled from all towns in the shire, but allowed to remain in **\*Warwick** for one month to collect their debts and thus pay the tallage due to the Crown at Michaelmas. Nevertheless, in **\*1241** they were back in Warwick with a chest, and sent six delegates to the Worcester ‘parliament’. In 1234 the **\*sheriff** of Buckinghamshire was ordered to remove Jews ‘without delay from **Wycombe** to towns in which they were accustomed to live’. In 1248, however, as Rokéah shows, an Aaron of Wycombe was outlawed for the death of a child in the town, and other Jews retained this locative surname.

Newcastle’s example was followed in 1236 by the much wealthier port of **\*Southampton**, where Jews had been tallaged in 1226. Of the borough’s proffer there is no record, but its grant differed considerably from that of Newcastle. Here Henry commanded merely that no Jew or Jewess should remain in the borough ‘without special **\*licence** from the king’. In 1237, the sheriff of **\*Northampton** was ordered to prohibit any Jewish settlement in his county, except in the county town, where the community had been recognised in **\*1218**. The sheriff of Berkshire was commanded in 1243 to remove the Jews from **Newbury** and adjoining Speenhamland and return them, without delay, to **\*Winchester**, whence they had come.

Clause 12 of the **\*1253** Statute concerning the Jews enacted that ‘no Jew be received in any town but by special licence of the King, save in those towns in which Jews have been wont to dwell’. Eight years later, however, his burgesses of **Derby** had cause to pay an undisclosed fee for privileges similar to those of Newcastle, that ‘they and their heirs for ever shall have this liberty, to wit, that no Jew or Jewess shall henceforth remain or dwell in the said town’. In 1266 Henry granted Alice, abbess of **Romsey**, Hampshire, a woman renowned for her autocratic behaviour, ‘that no Jew shall henceforth dwell in that town or stay there without their licence’. This was at the instance of her brother, Robert Walerand, steward of the royal household and Prince Edward’s close ally in his campaign against the de Montforts.

In 1273 orders were sent to the bailiffs of **Winchelsea** to remove the Jews who had recently entered the town. The following year the sheriff of Shropshire was instructed to remove them from **\*Bridgnorth**, ‘where no Jew was wont to dwell in past times’, although this was not the end of the matter. Edward I found it necessary in **\*1275** to reaffirm in the Statute, that ‘all Jews shall dwell in the king’s own cities and boroughs, where the **\*chirograph** chests of the Jews are wont to be’. As late as 1283 the constable of **Windsor** Castle was to remove certain Jews ‘who had entered that town wherein there is no chirograph chest’.

### Edward I’s English Borough Foundations

In charters to his new Dorset towns and ports of Melcombe Regis (1280), Lyme Regis (1285) and Newton (Nova Villa) in Purbeck (1286), Edward adopted a more pragmatic approach: ‘Concerning our Jews and foreign merchants... we and our heirs will make such provisions as will be most expedient for us.’



### Edward I's Welsh Boroughs

The king took a very different view in the charters he granted his boroughs in north Wales after Llywelyn's death in December 1282. The charters of Bere, Caernarfon, Conwy, Criccieth, Flint, Harlech and Rhuddlan all stated in 1284, 'Jews shall not sojourn in the borough at any time.' The suggestion that this was adopted from the 1234 Newcastle-upon-Tyne charter is incorrect. These were not expulsion, but \*exclusion clauses, also used, after the general \*expulsion, in the Overton 1292 and Beaumaris 1296 charters.

□ Levy (1908); *CR*, 1231–34, 20, 466, 515–16, & 1234–37, 20, 275, 425, & 1243, 149, & 1253, 313, & 1261, 153; *CCR*, 1272–79, 50, 130, & 1283, 241; *CPR*, 1258–66, 153, 613; Ballard & Tait (1923), xlv, lxix–lxx, 142, 302; Rokéah (1984), 100

### Expulsions from the Queen Mother's Dower Towns, 1275

Queen Eleanor of Provence outlived Henry III by 19 years, 1272–91. Her dower lands, assigned to her in August 1273, included the castles and towns of \*Marlborough and \*Gloucester, the city of \*Worcester and the town of \*Cambridge.

In January 1275 'our dearest mother' persuaded Edward I to issue letters patent that 'no Jew shall dwell or abide in any towns which she has for her dower within our realm, so long as the same towns shall be in her, our mother's, hand'. He provided that:

the Jews of Marlborough be deported to our town of \*Devizes,  
the Jews of Gloucester to our town of \*Bristol,  
the Jews of Worcester to our town of \*Hereford, and  
the Jews of Cambridge to our city of \*Norwich,

with their \*Chirograph-\*Chests and all their goods, and that they thenceforth dwell and abide in the said towns. ... We command you [the \*sheriffs] that, doing them no injury, either to their persons or to their goods, you cause the said Jews...to be removed from those towns, and to betake themselves with their Chirograph-Chests to the places aforesaid ...

Two \*communities defied Edward I's command. The Gloucester Jews, conscious that relations between citizens and Jewry at Bristol, often at a low ebb, had been exacerbated by two serious incidents that year, betook themselves to the relative security of Hereford. There the community leader was \*Aaron II le Blund, who had spent some time at Gloucester and married Mirabelle, granddaughter of the Mirabelle who had led the Jewry through the desperate years of John's reign. The Cambridge Jews also chose their own place of exile, moving to nearby Huntingdon. The attraction may well have been that the sheriff, serving both counties, was a known figure with whom they will already have established a firm relationship.

Two members of these Jewries made personal arrangements, to remain close to, although technically outside the bounds of, their borough. In 1277 Josce son of Saulot persuaded the barons of the exchequer to permit him to live at Chesterton, 1¼ miles

## Families: Size and Relationships

(2 km) from Cambridge, 'to conduct his business there and repair the houses that he had in the town'. At Gloucester Belia, widow of Jacob Couperon and daughter of Hak, the leader of the Worcester community, negotiated with the sheriff to pay 12s a year to reside, with her brother Ursell, in *Brokestrete*, Brook Street, just outside the city wall and named after the Fullbrook, which supplied the water for the city defences.

The reason for the expulsions became evident in 1276, when Eleanor of Provence took up permanent residence in the nunnery of Amesbury. A house especially favoured by the royal family, it had been refounded by Henry II as a member of the order of Fontevault, where he, his queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and his son, Richard I, were buried. At Eleanor's instance, she was accompanied by Edward I's five-year-old daughter, Mary, who was to take the veil with 14 other girls of noble family. Only in 1286 did Eleanor herself take the veil, having negotiated a papal dispensation from the full vow of poverty, which allowed her to retain her dowry.

□ *CChR*, 1236, 218; *CPR*, 1243, 394, & 1272–81, 27–8, 76; Rigg (1902), 85; Hillaby (1990c), 112–15, & (2002), 107–12; M. Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence as Queen Consort', *EHR*, 102 (1987), 380–4; Prestwich (1990), 123, 128; L. Salzman, *Edward I* (1968), 82

## Families: Size and Relationships

As Maimonides wrote in his Treatise 1 on 'Laws concerning Marriage' in the *Mishneh Torah*, by scribal enactment a man should not 'cease being fruitful and multiplying as long as he has the power to do so, because whoever adds one soul to Israel has as much as builded a whole world'.

Using evidence from the Mainz memorial list of almost five hundred Jews massacred in 1096, Stow sought to establish the details of family size in Rhineland Jewries. A sample of 122 families with 216 children in this list gives the average number of children per family as 1.77. Similar evidence for 96 families at Worms gives an average of 1.74. At Mainz nearly 80% had no more than two children; only three families had 6; none had more. Less complete lists from Worms and Cologne, and data from six other German cities in 1241 and 1298 gave comparable totals. However here 'children' are *banim*, that is of pre-puberty age: under thirteen years for boys, and twelve for girls. Adult sons and daughters are thus excluded. Later martyr lists show only a slight upward movement, suggesting the massacres had slight impact on the birth rate.

Little work has been carried out on the size of Jewish families in thirteenth-century England, but for the more affluent the evidence is clear. Large families were not uncommon. Table 1 identifies 22 families with at least 93 sons and 24 daughters, totalling 117 children. The evidence is of course highly male orientated. The \*York Archaeological Trust found 'approximately equal numbers of adult males and females' buried at Jewbury, and that this result was 'similar to those from medieval parish cemeteries in England'. On this basis these 22 families would have had an average of eight to nine children, many more than the German records might suggest. In not every case did the children come

Table 1 Family size: the evidence of some affluent English Jews

Community	Name	Known children		
		Sons	Dtrs	Total
*Gloucester	Bonenfaunt <sup>1</sup>	6	1	7
London	*Master Moses <sup>2</sup>	6	–	6
London	*Master Elias <sup>2</sup>	6	–	6
London	Benedict Episcopus <sup>3</sup>	5	1	6
*Canterbury	Salle	5	1	6
London	Benedict Crespin <sup>4</sup>	5	–	5
Bedford	*Belia	5	–	5
Winchester	*Chera	4	4	8
Winchester	*Benedict	4	3	7
Norwich	Meyr <sup>5</sup>	4	2	6
*Worcester	Hak <sup>6</sup>	4	2	6
Hereford	*Hamo <sup>7</sup>	4	2	6
Winchester	*Licoricia	4	1	5
London	Elias le Blund <sup>8</sup>	4	–	4
Lincoln	*Aaron of Lincoln	4	–	4
Oxford	Copin of Worcester <sup>9</sup>	4	–	4
Oxford	Josce son of Copin <sup>9</sup>	4	–	4
Worcester	Bonefei <sup>6</sup>	4	–	4
Norwich	Jurnin (Eliab) <sup>10</sup>	3	2	5
Oxford	Miriam by her husband Azriel the Martyr <sup>11</sup>	3	2	5
Oxford	Bonefey <sup>12</sup>	3	1	4
Gloucester	Jacob Couperon <sup>1</sup>	2	2	4
TOTAL	22 families	93	24	117

Note: \* Further information under topographic or biographic entry.

Source: Hillaby (2002), <sup>1</sup>95, and (1993a), <sup>2</sup>138, <sup>3</sup>131, <sup>4</sup>128, <sup>8</sup>109, and (1990c), <sup>6</sup>73, and (1984), <sup>7</sup>394; Lipman (1967), <sup>5</sup>128, <sup>10</sup>138; Roth (1951), <sup>9</sup>60, <sup>12</sup>61, <sup>11</sup>81.

from a single marriage: four of Licoricia's sons were from her first marriage, the fifth from her second; but Bonenfaunt, with at least seven children, certainly had only one wife. Not all those listed above were wealthy by the standards of the London magnates, but as leaders of their own \*communities they lived, by provincial standards, in considerable style. Their wealth and, above all, favourable living conditions, as noted in \*Gloucester, may well explain how they were able to raise such large families, confounding the mortality rates of their era. No assumption can be made as to the size of poorer families.

The number of children in these Jewish families can be compared with that of English Christian families for the late twelfth century. A study by Moore is based on a sample of 1234 families derived from the printed editions of the curia regis rolls, 1194–1200, and of local eyre and assize rolls c.1200–79. From these Moore established an average family size, with 'no very obvious class differences,' of 4.25, just over two children per family.

Of household as opposed to family size, there is virtually no evidence in England. In the case of father–son succession one assumes that the sons moved out on marriage,

but what happened in the case of a mother–son succession? Given the relationship of Mirabelle and Bonenfaunt at Gloucester, for example, was there joint occupation; did Mirabelle give up her family home when Bonenfaunt commenced his family; or did she continue to occupy the house on her own until it passed to Bonenfaunt on her death?

Evidence of the extended family operating as a business unit is widespread. \*Hamo of \*Hereford's family business included his four sons, Ursell, Abraham, Moses and Leo, his brother-in-law Abraham, son-in-law Manasser Episcopus, and later two granddaughters, Contessa, daughter of Ursell, and Contessa, daughter of Leo, and his grandson, Deudone, with his wife, Floria. At Hereford in the 1220s the mores at work were very different from those at Gloucester, reflecting Hamo and Mirabelle's contrasting background and circumstances. Hamo ruled as a patriarch. At no time is there any evidence of his wife, Contessa, or of his daughters or daughters-in-law taking any part in moneylending. Only under the regime of his sons Ursell and Moses did the three granddaughters become participants.

The justices of the Jews issued precise instructions to combat tax evasion: the talliators

should be careful to assess the taxation upon all who ought to be taxed, whether a kinsman such as a father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, nephew or niece, grandfather or grandmother, father-in-law or son-in-law or the husband of a niece or any person who stands in any sort of [family] relationship.

□ Hillaby in Dobson (2010), xv; K. R. Stow, 'The Jewish Family in the Rhineland in the High Middle Ages: Form and Function', *Am Hist R*, 92 (1987), 1085–1110; Lilley et al. (1994), 431; *The Code of Maimonides, IV. The Book of Women*, trans. I. Klein (1972); I. G. Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood* (1996), 13, 118–21; J. S. Moore, 'The Anglo-Norman Family: Size and Structure', in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 14 (1992), 185–94, tables 5 & 6

## **Fine**

A sum offered or paid for exemption from punishment. In the thirteenth century the justices could not, as today, order an offender to pay a fine, but could order his or her imprisonment. The culprit could then make fine, *finem facere*, to end the matter, whether paid by himself or by a number of named pledges. 'The wrong-doer but rarely goes to prison even for a moment.' *See also* Queen's Gold.

□ Pollock & Maitland, 2 (1898), 517

**Garden** *see* Herb Garden; Jews' Garden

## **Genealogy of the Family of \*Master Moses**

Some four years after the \*expulsion from England, Moses of \*Northampton, son of \*Jacob of Oxford, inscribed a remarkable genealogy, following a calendar on f.289r of a *siddur*, now Schocken MS 19522(73), formerly in the private collection of Mayer

Goldschmidt of Frankfurt-on-Main. This traces his family's origins back, through his grandfather, Master Moses, and great-grandfather, Rabbi Yom Tov, to the founder of the English dynasty, Rabbi Moses, who was recorded in Oxford c.1176.

Roth provides a translation of 'this extremely important and much studied document':

This Calendar was fixed by [me] Moses, son of the liberal [*nadib*] R. Jacob, son of our master Moses of London, son of our master R. Yom-Tob, author of the *Sepher haTenaim* ['Book of Conditions'], the son of the liberal Rabbi Moses of Bristowe, the son of R. Isaac, son of R. Simeon, [which Isaac was] the brother of R. Abraham, son of R. Simeon, who was sister's son of the illustrious Rabbi Simeon [d.1000]; and he was son of R. Joseph son of our master Rabbi Simeon the Great, who rests in the House of Life [\*Cemetery] at Mainz.

Roth notes, however, that 'before the word ("of Bristowe" = Bristol) the writer had originally written the letters ("Of Gl ..."), which he had cancelled. Are we to deduce that the family had some connexion with Gloucester?' This Jewry was recorded in the 1159 *Donum*, 26 years before the first \*pipe roll reference to a Jew, Leah, at \*Bristol in 1185.

Rabbi Simeon the Great (c.925–1020), whose sister was the wife of Rashi, was one of the most important liturgical writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Moses of Northampton's great-grandfather should not be confused with the Rabbi Yom Tov of Joigny who played such a critical role at \*York in March 1190.

The manuscript, of 289 remaining leaves (almost 60 are missing), consists of two principal sections, written by different scribes. The earliest, which lacks the first part, contains the annual cycle of standard daily and festival prayers. The second consists of *piyyutim*, poetic additions to the liturgy for use on special Sabbaths, from many sources. A number are unique. In several hands are local rituals, and three calendars, the earlier two for 1279/80–1313/14 and 1313/14–1338/39. These have special reference to Mainz, Speyer and Worms, suggesting that Moses of Northampton had returned to his roots. Then comes the genealogy. The manuscript is the subject of discussion by Beit Arié.

□ Roth (1951), 112–17, & (1949), 34 n. 3; D. Kaufmann, 'Three Centuries of the Genealogy', *JQR*, 3 (1891), 555–66; Beit-Arié (1985), 3–5; Olszowy-Schlanger (2003), 42–3

## Gloucester

Here, the former capital of Mercia, the Norman kings wore their crown at Christmas in the great Benedictine abbey of St Mary. Gloucester was a county town with a mint. In 1155 Henry II re-established royal control of its castle (1 on Plan 4), built by the Conqueror. The town flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a centre of the iron industry and as a river port on the Severn. When Henry invaded Ireland in 1171 it dispatched from its quay (2) shovels, nails, iron for spades, and numerous 'arrows, kitchen pans and engines'; the county sent pickaxes and spades. The Dean Forest remained the centre of English iron production until the 1250s.

The smallest of the English Jewries, except for \*Worcester further upstream, in 1159 it paid a mere 5 marks in tallage. Yet the \*community was to prosper. Gloucester, not \*Bristol, was apparently the port of disembarkation of Rabbi Moses of Bristol. Recorded in Oxford c.1176, he was great-great-great-grandson of Simeon of Mainz and progenitor of 'the most eminent Anglo-Jewish family before 1290'. In Schocken Library MS 19522 Moses appears as 'of Bristol', but beneath is written 'of Gloucester' (see Genealogy 6).

In 1167–68 a concourse of 'Jews from all England' arrived 'to celebrate a circumcision'. When the boy Harold was found dead on the banks of the river, an accusation of \*ritual murder was levied against the local community. The monks of Gloucester Abbey (3 on Plan 4) attempted to create a cult of St Harold, similar to that of St William which flourished at \*Norwich; it failed utterly.

In 1170 Josce of Gloucester provided loans to supporters of Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, in his conquest of Leinster. The following year Henry II led his own Irish expedition, to ensure that no independent Anglo-Norman kingdom of Ireland was established. 'For the money he lent to those who went over to Ireland against the king's prohibition,' Josce was fined £5.

To the Northampton *Promissum* of 1194 the Gloucester Jewry paid £119 2s 10d, ranking fourth amongst the 20 \*provincial Jewries. Almost half, £58 6s 8d, was due from the heirs of its leader, Moses *le Riche*, third amongst English magnates. An acquittance by his son Abraham of the abbot and convent's debt to Moses is illustrated in \*Chirographs. Second in the community was Elias, who paid £14, that is 11%. His clients included borough bailiffs and other members of the urban oligarchy, as well as local knights. About 1203 Elias leased two curtilages in Gloucester's great Eastgate Street (J on plan). His family was to dominate the community until 1275.

By the end of the twelfth century, the town had become the centre for military operations against Wales. After his marriage in 1189 to Isabella, heiress to the marcher lordship of Gloucester, Prince John added the titles of earl of Gloucester and lord of Glamorgan to that of 'Lord of Ireland', granted to him by his father in 1177. Whilst prince, he had borrowed for his immediate needs on the local money market, both Christian and Jewish. A loan from Moses *le Riche* was repaid in 1186, but a Christian money-lender was less fortunate; not only was the £40 due from John's predecessor as lord of Gloucester not paid, but a further loan was demanded. With his base at Holm Hill near \*Tewkesbury, John was more intimately informed about Wales and the Marches than any earlier king. As monarch he visited Wales and its borders at least once a year between 1204 and 1214.

John's reign began well for the English and Norman Jewries, with his reissue of their Charter of Liberties in \*1201. However, on his return from Ireland in \*1210 he imposed the disastrous £40,000 Bristol tallage, following the so-called General Captivity of the Jewry. As Richardson says, 'all males of any substance upon whom hands could be laid were lodged in gaol'. Amongst these, no doubt, was Elias of Gloucester, who probably

died at this time, though the first evidence of his fate comes in August 1216, when his chirographs and tallies were in the king's hands. His widow, Mirabelle, had received neither her dowry (*see* Women) nor her two-thirds share of Elias's bonds. Two months later John was dead, and his nine-year-old son was crowned Henry III in Gloucester Abbey.

#### Mirabelle and Bonenfaunt, 1216–50

Henry's Council of Regency introduced a dramatic reversal of policy towards the Jewry. The Gloucester community was one of 17 to receive formal recognition. In spring \*1218 orders were sent to the constable of the castle to supervise the elections of 'the twenty-four' citizens to ensure its safety from molestation, 'especially from crusaders'. Mirabelle had to fight hard to maintain her family's standing. For redress of her grievances, in 1217 she even petitioned the regent, William Marshal, in person, on his visit to Gloucester. The fine roll dated 3 January 1218 records that it was 'evident that Mirabel made fine with the king's father by 15 m. for having those houses in Gloucester formerly of Elias the Jew, excepting those which the king's father gave of his gift' and that Henry III, 'wishing to uphold what was done by his father in this matter, order to cause the tenor of that grant to be upheld'. A crude female head in the margin in all probability depicts Mirabelle herself (Figure 7). Her lengthy campaign on behalf of her son, Bonenfaunt, was also to prove successful.

The impact on the Gloucester community of the events of 1210 can best be appreciated from the details of the 1221, 1223 and 1226 tallages. Fifth in 1194, Gloucester ranked twelfth in 1221, fourteenth in 1223 and eleventh in 1226. Apart from the intruders, Abraham of \*Warwick and his family in 1221–23, the Jewry was now dominated by three widows: Mirabelle, Judea, widow of Isaac, and Douce, widow of Moses. Other than Mirabelle's son, Bonenfaunt, and son-in-law, Isaac, only two local men were listed, whose contributions were small. By 1226 Abraham of Warwick and his family had left Gloucester and its trade in loans to Mirabelle and her family. On her death c.1235, Bonenfaunt inherited control of the family business.

Records of receipts from the Third on Jewish chattels of \*1239 provide much more information than earlier tallage rolls about the size of the community and its poorer members. It lists 24 heads of Jewish households, of whom 15



Figure 7 Mirabelle of Gloucester, drawn in the margin of the 1217/18 fine roll

Source: © TNA/C60/9, m. 7.

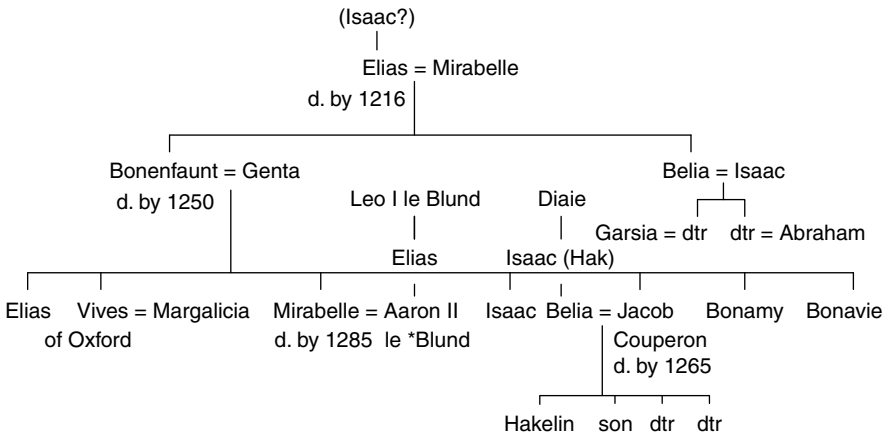
paid less than 3s, 10 less than 1s. Even Abraham the *hazan* had to find 7d, Isaac *\*shohet* 5½d, and Bonenfaunt’s young son 3d.

At the Worcester ‘parliament’ of \*1241 Bonenfaunt was a member of the successful campaign to ensure, with Henry III’s active support, that the super-plutocrats no longer evaded their full tallage responsibilities. For a time this was to relieve the smaller and middling communities from paying an unjust proportion. Gloucester’s total contributions in 1239–42 totalled 0.2%, ranking 16th of 19; only \*Colchester, \*Bedford and \*Worcester paid less. The redistribution of the tax burden is a tribute to Bonenfaunt’s powers of diplomacy, for the community he led was one of the smallest. He had, however, to come to terms with the fact that much of the cream of Gloucester’s trade had been lost to \*Hereford, which after 1216 had become the centre for military operations against south and central Wales.

Couperon and Belia, 1250–90

On Bonenfaunt’s death in 1250, Jacob Couperon, the fourth of his six sons, took over the ailing family business. Like many others, his brothers had left to seek their fortune elsewhere. Vives, the second, who settled in \*Oxford, became a successful \*attorney, and in 1280 bought a house close to the great synagogue in St Aldate’s from Bonamy, son of Jacob (Copin) of Worcester.

Couperon had married Belia, daughter of Hak (Isaac), leader of the Worcester community (1226–68). About 1255, he was joined in Gloucester by the Londoner, Aaron II le \*Blund, son of the magnate, Leo I le Blund. Business links between the two families went back to 1226, when Mirabelle and Bonenfaunt joined Aaron I le Blund and other London Jews to fund the debts of Roger Leyburn senior, the marcher lord whose son



Genealogy 1 The family of Elias of Gloucester, showing marriage alliances with the Hereford and Worcester communities

Note: dtr daughter.



became Prince Edward's confidant. Aaron II married Couperon's sister, Mirabelle II. They had probably left for Hereford before the 1264 \*Montfortian attack on Gloucester, when both Couperon and the Christian chirographer were killed. Total collapse was staved off by Hak, who sent Belia's brother, Ursell, from Worcester to assist the widow with the family business.

In 1275, the Jewish communities were \*expelled from the queen mother's dower towns of \*Cambridge, Gloucester, \*Marlborough and Worcester. Gloucester's Jews were ordered to move to Bristol. However, events there appeared so grim that, on their own initiative, they settled at Hereford, under Aaron II le Blund's protection. Similarly the \*Cambridge Jews went to nearby \*Huntingdon rather than, as commanded, to Norwich. Like Josce son of Saulot who took up residence 1½ miles (2 km) outside Cambridge to protect his interests, Ursell and Belia obtained 'leave' to reside at *Brokestret*, outside the north-east corner of Gloucester's defences, and thus the town boundary. This they no doubt achieved by a *douceur* to the \*sheriff, Adam le Boteler.

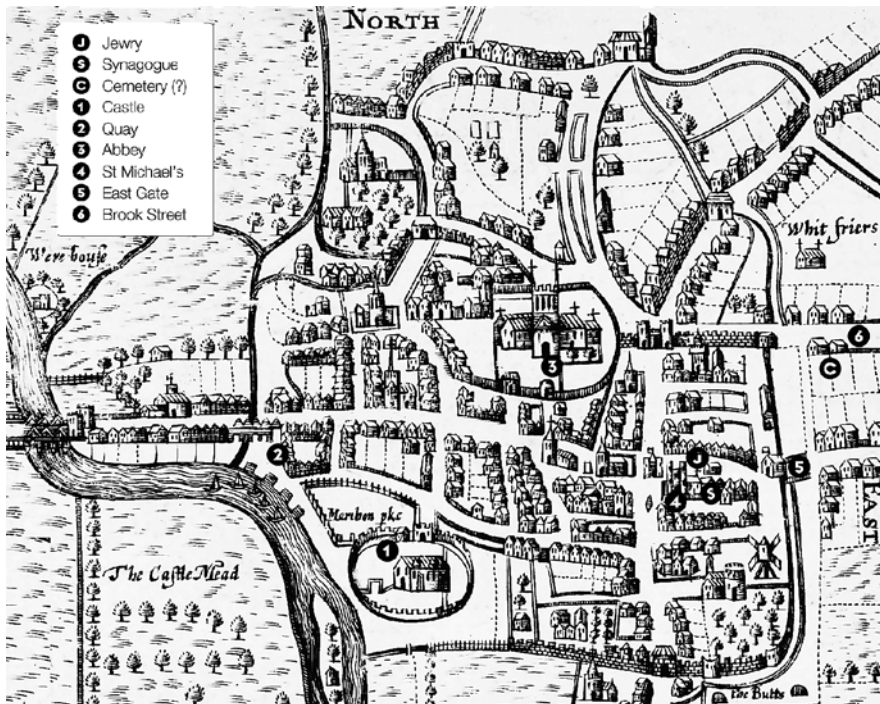
The Gloucester \*chest was closed in 1275, but Hagin, son of Jacob (Couperon) of Gloucester, had a bond for £5 6s 8d in the Hereford Old Chest. Another of his bonds, for £5, was in the Hereford New Chest of 1283–90, where he is now 'son of Belia of Gloucester'. Ursell 'of Gloucester' also had bonds registered in this New Chest, with a value of £42 16s 8d, some 4% of the total. He is named in the Serjeant's accounts amongst the Jews imprisoned in 1278 at the Tower of London, where he paid 6s 8d for 'respect'.

Surprisingly, given the 1275 expulsion, Gloucester was represented at the 'mini-parliament' in May \*1287, by 'Ursell son of Isaac', Belia's brother and partner. The Old Chest had been taken to Westminster the previous year, at a cost of 2 marks. In July 1287, Belia, no doubt following the example of Mirabelle some 60 years earlier, personally petitioned Edward I. She claimed to be 'so severely tallaged by the assessors that nothing was left' for her to live on; yet her 'sons and daughters are in prison because of this [tallage]'. Edward, 'wishing a remedy be given her', commanded the barons of the exchequer to examine the case and 'make amends to her as should be done of right'.

### The Jewry

The Cirencester Abbey *Cartulary* of c.1241–50 refers to land *in iudaismo* or *in vico orientali*. In 1304 'the Great East Street' was *Juweriestret* (J on plan); in 1310 it was *Juewenestret*, in 1314 *Jueryestrete*. As late as 1455, it was described as *Iudaismus*. This was no workaday street, filled with the noise of smiths or the blood and offal of the butchers, but the most salubrious area in the town. Here some of the most prominent members of the urban oligarchy resided: two of the town bailiffs, David Dunning and Roger *le Envese* or *le Wyse*, as well as Gilbert the Goldsmith.

A remarkable *Rental of Lands and Tenements in the Borough*, drawn up in 1455 by Robert Cole, a canon of Llanthony Priory, records many tenancies held during Henry III's reign. Although located in the outskirts of Gloucester, the priory held much land



Plan 4 Plan of Gloucester, from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611)

Source: © University of Bristol Library Special Collections.

in the town. Cole worked systematically down the side of each street. In Eastgate Street he started at the High Cross, the Carfax, the principal crossroads. Describing the south side first, he began with St Michael's church (4), of which the west tower of c.1460–70 is still standing. 'Under the east gable of St Michael's' Cole records an unidentified property; next came the *scola iudaeorum*, \*synagogue (S), with a land-gavel, ground-rent, of 16d, and the houses of David Dunning and Bonenfaunt the Jew, with land-gavels of 6d.

Unlike these two houses, the synagogue would not have fronted the street, but would have been behind Bonenfaunt's house, probably with access down an alley. Thus, as at Worcester, Norwich and \*Northampton, Gloucester's *scola* occupied a backland site. As trustee for the community, Bonenfaunt paid the annual rent for the synagogue, 11lb of cumin. Its 16d land-gavel suggests a large plot, which could have accommodated such ancillary facilities of the \*Jewish court as a well, oven, butchery and possibly the house of the \*shohet, Isaac Carnifex.

The site of the communal \*cemetery is not documented. It may have been (C on plan) in the vicinity of Ursell and Belia's post-1275 home in Brook Street (6). Outside the postern and drawbridge, this was named after the Fullbrook that fed the moat about

the city's walls, and flowed through the abbey grounds, and thus was one of the few places where 'living' water would have been available for a \**bet tohorah*. If so, Belia would have been able to keep a protective eye on her family's and other graves in the *bet 'olam*, 'house of eternity'.

□ Roth (1949), 34 n. 3; *AHT*, 1 (1969); Hillaby (1997), 69–86, & (2002); Stacey (1985), 212–13, 224, 248

### Gloucester, Vives son of Bonenfaunt of *see* Attorney

#### Gold: Henry III's two Treasures

Henry III's gold treasures are significant for the evidence they throw on the major role of the Jewry in the English gold trade. They have been the subject of a detailed study by David Carpenter. Henry's initial interest in gold coins relates to the \**oboli de musc*' that he purchased to serve as royal oblations at religious festivals. This was for practical reasons, for the only English coin at the time was the silver penny, and the ratio of silver to gold 1:10. The gold \*mark was usually equivalent to £6.

According to Matthew Paris, in 1241 Henry called upon 'picked London goldsmiths to make a shrine' for Edward the Confessor. This was to be covered in the purest gold, and enriched with silver, jewels and enamel. The project reached a climax in 1244–45 when 20 shillings of gold, 50 \*bezants and 306 *oboli de musc*' were spent. However, the king had soon amassed more gold than was required.

Henry's first great gold treasure, accumulated between 1243 and 1253, was originally intended for the shrine. In autumn 1243 Peter Chaceporc, Keeper of the Wardrobe, was charged with its collection. Gold was accumulated as dust, foil or leaf, ingots and coins. Initially, as Matthew Paris comments, 'not a little gold was extorted from the Jews', and part of the Jewish tallage was set aside for the purchase of gold by Chaceporc. Later, Matthew Paris tells us, \*Aaron of York was persuaded to give 12 *augustales* to the king, who received them 'with his own hands'. These were the highly prestigious gold coins that the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, had ordered to be minted from 1231 in Sicily, where he had easy access to the gold markets of Kairouan and Tunis. They weighed between 5.25 g and 5.3 g, and had a gold content of 20.5 carats.

By 1247 Henry III began to prepare for an English crusade, under the command of his half-brother, Guy de Lusignan. For Carpenter 'perhaps the steady rise in the gold treasure from 1246–7 onwards should be seen against this background'. Late in 1249 Henry started to use silver to buy gold. In January 1250 the close rolls reveal that \*Elias l'Eveske, as \*archpresbyter, and his associate, Aaron son of Abraham, were charged with the purchase of gold, 'as the king enjoined them'. One of the two 5000-mark Jewish tallages and all the chattels and bonds of Abraham of \*Berkhamsted were set aside for this purpose.

The Jewry was not Henry's only source of gold. Charters for markets, fairs and rabbit warrens were offered to laymen, and ecclesiastics and towns were encouraged to purchase confirmations of their charters and other liberties. Table 2 indicates the

Table 2 Gold paid into the Wardrobe, 1251–53

Source	Gold (mg)	Bezants	Obols	Talents
Jews	65	395	66	26
Ecclesiastics	160½	252		
Towns	93			
Laymen	292	1,125	20	22
TOTAL	610½	1,772	86	48

Note: mg: marks of gold; ratio of gold to silver 10:1.

Source: Fine rolls.

relationship between the gold received from the Jewry and that from fines and other sources.

On 6 March 1250 Henry took the cross, and the following year Elias l'Eveske and Aaron son of Abraham received a series of commands from the king to buy gold. A year later, the date for the expedition was announced: June 1256. As Matthew Paris explains, 'gold was the basis of the currencies in the Arab east...those who wished to expedite their business at the royal court gave the king gold rather than silver'. For Carpenter the first royal gold treasure 'proves that the king's commitment to the crusade was genuine'. In the event, all of Henry's first treasure was expended, not on a crusade, but on his Gascon expedition, August 1253–December 1254.

For us, the interest of Henry's first gold collection lies in the sources from which Elias and Aaron were able to procure it. England's Jewry was but part of a much larger \*community, that of *Zarfāt*, Langue d'Oïl, France north of the Loire, and thus had links, through the Jewry of Languedoc to the south, to Christian Castile and Islamic *el Andalus*, which had firm contacts in the eastern Mediterranean. As Spufford explains, 'in the mid thirteenth century gold from Italy was not yet found in England, for gold was as dear in Florence as it was in England, if not dearer'. Evidence given at the exchequer indicates that in the early thirteenth century gold was sold in Kairouan and Tunis, at the northern end of the trans-Saharan gold route from Timbuktu and the Niger River, for 6.5 times its weight in silver; it was somewhat dearer in Almohad Spain. Yet the difference was quite enough to make its import into England profitable. The close rolls show that in 1250 Chaceporc was paying 'almost exactly 10:1' in silver for the gold he bought from Elias and Aaron.

### The Second Royal Treasure, January 1255 to July 1257

On Henry III's return from Gascony he soon began collecting again, for the anticipated campaign to place his son, Edmund, on the Sicilian throne. The Jewry was fortunate, for the community had been granted to Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall, as security for his 5000-mark loan. Nevertheless, having suffered severely during the period of the

first gold collection, in 1255 the community repeated the request made by Elias l'Eveske the previous year for permission to quit the realm. Unlike his brother, however, Richard was a shrewd man of business. Once more the request was refused. In 1257 Henry used much of this second treasure to issue a splendid gold penny, portraying the king on his throne. Valued at 20d, later 24d, it was probably minted for little more than a year, as it was highly unpopular. Despite the exotic coins – gold obols and dinars from Murcia, and Nicaean gold bezants – the English could not be persuaded to use Henry III's gold penny.

□ Carpenter (1985), & (1987), 107–8; P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (1982), 10–12, 239–41; Cook (1999); P. Spufford, *Money and its Use in the Medieval World* (1989), 163–82; *CR*, 1250, 255–6; *CLR*, 1250, 338–40

**Grandisson**, Bishop John of Exeter *see* Judeo-French; Westminster Abbey Muniments

## Guildford

In the twelfth century Guildford was situated halfway between the two administrative centres of the realm, Westminster and Winchester. The castle served as the meeting-place of the county courts of both Surrey and Sussex, which had a joint \*sheriff. Here Southwark Jews would have been obliged to attend, for only in 1327 was Southwark given to the city of London. During Stephen's reign a rectangular keep was built on the side of the motte. It was presumably from the castle that Henry II imposed the 'Guildford' \*tallage in 1186.

The earliest evidence of a Jewish presence in Guildford is in the Surrey receipt roll for Easter 1221, when John de Burres owed £3 for the Jewish debts of his father. Next year his brother Richard and Richard Vallebadenis owed 4s and 3s, respectively, on the same account. Like so many other entries on the receipt rolls of this period, these entries probably refer to sums outstanding in relation to bonds acquired by the Crown after the 1210 Bristol \*tallage.

An Isaac of Southwark, who contributed to the third of \*1239 and the tallage of 1242, died in 1272. He was the maternal uncle of another Jew with the same name. The nephew is probably the person referred to as *serviens judeorum*, that is sergeant-at-law, in 1270, for he appears as \*attorney in 1268 and 1276. The \*plea roll of 1274 records that Thomas son of Martin came with force of arms to Isaac's house in Guildford, 'broke his doors and windows and carried away his goods to the value of £2, to Isaac's damage of £5'. The defendant failed to appear before the court in 1274 and 1275.

Other Jews lived in the town. In 1272 the sheriff had to levy 3s on 'the Jews of Guildford'. This they paid to the constable, who later was 'not found in the country'. Abraham, Josce and Floria were all imprisoned in the Tower of London, 1275–78. Josce was evidently a man of substance, for he was able to pay a fine of £6 13s 4d for respite of imprisonment; Floria paid £2 13s 4d for an unspecified transgression. With them in the Tower were Abraham and Isaac of Dorking, 12 miles (20 km) east of Guildford. A Josce Jew of Guildford was murdered in Plumstead in 1281.

In January 1996 the Guildford Museum Archaeology Unit, led by John Boas, after removing 25 tons of medieval chalk rubble, discovered a stone chamber behind a shop on the south side of the High Street, some 7½ yd (7 m) behind the street front. A suggestion that it might have been a medieval \*synagogue aroused intense international interest.

The chamber was almost square, some 8 ft 6 in by 8 ft 2 in (2.6 by 2.5 m). Its eastern and western walls had a stone ledge or bench about 1 ft 4 in (0.4 m) above the original floor level. Both walls were decorated with a pair of attached U-shaped columns on which traces of paint were found. The bases of all four were well preserved. Mary Alexander has drawn attention to their similarity to the bases of the arcading of the ante-room of the chapel in the keep of the castle, only a short distance to the south. There the blind arcading also has a stone bench or ledge, and the columns above are also U-shaped in section.

Access to the chamber was by a finely cut portal at the western end of the north wall, where evidence of a door hinge was found. Later a crude entrance was cut in the south wall, with rough-cut steps giving access from ground level at the rear.

Pottery sherds of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were found during excavation, as was a coin of Henry III, minted 1251–72 and withdrawn from circulation in 1279. Its location, in a crack in the stone ledge in the centre of the eastern wall, suggests this was not a random deposit.

In April 1996 Helen Howard of the Courtauld Institute undertook a scientific examination of the surviving painting, which included the remains of imitation draperies and lozenge decoration. This, 'although very vestigial', she considers 'of great importance', for the palette includes indigo as well as red and yellow iron oxide, charcoal black and lime white. Indigo 'has not previously been identified in English Romanesque wall painting'. Other early use 'has been identified on the mid 12th-century carved frieze of the west front of Lincoln Minster, and on column figures c.1180–85 from St Mary's Abbey, York'. For wall paintings its earliest use other than at Guildford is 'of c.1220 in the Eastbridge Hospital [shown as *Hospitall* on \*Canterbury plan, Plan 3] and in the mid-13th century "Wheel of Fortune" in Rochester Cathedral'. At Guildford, 'although only minute traces of this painted decoration have survived, the fact that the polychromy is directly associated with the first and only layer of plaster indicates that it is coeval with the fabric, i.e. c.1180'.

It has been suggested that the chamber formed a rear porch. This is not possible, as originally there was but one internal door. Its elaborate and costly painted decoration, the use of indigo, and its pairs of pillars on the east and west walls rule out its use as a cellar; they strongly suggest a ritual function. None of its features is consistent with a chapel, and its size and situation rule out a civic use.

A backland site was a marked characteristic of the English medieval \*synagogue. The twelfth-century London *magna scola* was behind the houses of major members of the \*community in Old Jewry and Lothbury, just as Aaron son of Vives' later synagogue was

behind the houses on the south of Catte Street. In the provinces they can be shown to have occupied similar sites at \*Cambridge, \*Canterbury, \*Norwich, \*Nottingham, \*Winchester and \*Worcester.

Those wishing to visit the chamber should apply to Guildford Museum.

□ PREJ, I, 315, & II, 142–3, 231–2, & III, 153; M. Alexander, 'A Possible Synagogue in Guildford', *Religion and Belief in Medieval Europe* (1997), 201–12, & *With Ramparts Crown'd – The Early History of Guildford Castle* (2006); Brown (1989), 122–4; H. Howard, *Scientific Examination of the Paintings in the 'Synagogue' of c.1180, High Street, Guildford*, Courtauld Institute Report (1996)

**Hagin** *see* Archpresbyter; Jews and the Court

**Hamo** *see* Hereford, Hamo of

**Hatcham**, Surrey *see* Chichester

### **Herb Gardens, Herbarium**

A \*Norwich \*starr of 1266, in detailing the boundaries of a property adjoining the house of Rabbi Isaac the \*physician in Saddlegate, now White Lion Street, refers to the herb garden (*herbier*) of his son, Rabbi Solomon the physician. This lay to the south of Saddlegate, with the Cockey Ditch to the east. In Charles Singer's *Short History of Medicine*, Rabbi Solomon's was the first private medieval herb garden of which there is record. It was not the only such garden in the city. The Benedictine monks of the cathedral had their own 'physic garden' within the precinct.

In London a herb garden is mentioned in 1301 as south of the adjoining 'great stone house which was once the school of Aaron son of Vives', that is the Catte Street \*synagogue of 1280. Other Jewish physicians named at London, \*York, \*Bristol and \*Bedford will presumably have had their own herb gardens. The Jewish physician's use of herbs was based on Galen and the late Arabic commentators on his works, for Moses Maimonides drew heavily on the latter for his *Names of Drugs*. This pharmaceutical glossary lists 405 terms. Most of the ingredients came from plants, a smaller number from minerals and animals.

□ Davis (1969), nos 52 & 72; Maimonides, *Glossary of Drug Names*, trans. F. Rosner (1979, Philadelphia); Roth (1949), 113 n. 3; London Husting Roll 32, 16 October 1301, LMA CLA/023/DW/01/030, microfilm X109/402

## **Hereford**

A county town on the River Wye, with cathedral (1 on Plan 5), major royal castle (2) and mint. The history of its Jewry falls into three discrete periods.

### **The early years, 1178/79–1216**

The first reference to a Hereford Jew is in the 1178/79 \*pipe roll, when Moses paid 2½ of the 5 marks he owed the exchequer for the right to his debts of £7 6s 8d against

Henry de Minariis (Mynors), whose family held the manor of Burghill, Herefordshire, and Westbury, Glos., and were donors of land to Flaxley Abbey, Glos.; and of £3 6s 8d against Hugh de Beauchamp. This demonstrates that from its earliest days the Jewry was providing credit for the landowning class, a tradition which was to be maintained until the \*1290 \*expulsion. In 1185/86 the roll tells us that 'Helyas, Jew of Hereford, paid 2 marks into the Exchequer for a licence for an agreement with Cypora, Jewess.'

The Northampton *Promissum* of 1194 provides our first list of the Hereford \*community, which was fourteenth of 21. Eight named members contributed £11 1s 8d, more than twice as much as \*Nottingham and neighbouring \*Worcester, and much more than \*Exeter, \*Wallingford and \*Coventry. Melin paid a third. Next in the hierarchy were two migrants from well-established communities some 175 and 150 miles away (280 and 240 km), on the east coast: Abraham of \*Colchester paid £1 18s 10d, and Isaac of \*Bungay £1 8s 8d. Isaac, however, had not come directly from Bungay, as he had 2s outstanding from an earlier tallage at Norwich, where his brother, Ursell of Bungay, was a resident. According to the 1204–06 pipe rolls, a 'Jacob of Hereford' was now making his living in Wiltshire and Somerset. Thus at the end of the twelfth and early years of the thirteenth century Jewish society was already highly mobile. After King John's imposition of the Bristol \*tallage in 1210, the Hereford community, like so many others, suffered from death and emigration. The site of this first Jewry and its synagogue are unknown.

### Walter II de Lacy, Hamo of Hereford and his sons, 1216–53

The second, highly prosperous, period opened in August 1216, when Walter II de Lacy, lord of Weobley, Ludlow and Ewias, close by in the Welsh March, as well as the former kingdom of Meath in Ireland, was appointed \*sheriff. Under Henry III the city became the centre of military operations against south and central Wales. John had visited nine times during the last ten years of his reign, and Henry was in the shire almost as frequently. De Lacy found its Jewry much depleted.

In \*1218 Hereford was one of 17 communities to receive formal recognition. As sheriff, de Lacy was ordered to 'proclaim throughout all your district that we have assured the Jews of our peace'. Further,

no action to the contrary taken by the bishop of Hereford is of any effect, for our Jews are no concern of his ... You shall not permit the Jews to be impleaded in any ecclesiastical court on account of any debt. All these things you shall do as they were done in the days of our father, John.

In this year the community paid 12s 5d for a licence to dispense with the wearing of the \*badge of shame.

The arrival by 1221, under de Lacy's patronage, of \*Hamo, a Jew of great wealth, possibly from Narbonne, led to a transformation in the life of the community. In the tallage that year, Hereford's Jewry now ranked eighth. By 1223 it had risen to fifth of the



provincial communities, and Hamo's contribution of £70 was by far the largest nationally. Aaron I le \*Blund of London, paying £50, ranked second. As Davies notes, Henry III's Welsh campaigns of 1223, 1228 and 1231 'demonstrated the cardinal role of the stone castle'. City and county thrived on royal and baronial building activity. De Lacy, his family and associates, the Marshals, earls of Pembroke, de Cliffords and the Monmouth family, were all clients of Hamo. On his death in 1231 the Crown imposed a \*relief, death duty, of £4000, the second highest of all such Jewish payments. Hamo was succeeded by his eldest son, Ursell, who died in 1241, and subsequently by Moses, a younger son. By the time of his death, in 1253, the family was bankrupt. The impact on the community of the fall of the house of Hamo was dramatic. It had ranked sixth in 1241, but by 1255 only the \*Nottingham and \*Warwick communities were smaller.

Like Jews at \*Cambridge, Hamo and his sons faced competition on the loans market from local ecclesiastical institutions with an interest in the land market. Thus Bishop Foliot paid John de Stanford's outstanding debts of £18 13s 4d to Hamo and his father-in-law in return for some 160 acres to endow his foundation of St Katherine's hospital, Ledbury.

In 1264, when Roger III de Mortimer and the marcher lords besieged Hereford, Henry ordered the destruction of houses outside Bishop's Gate (3 on plan). Some belonged to members of the city's ruling oligarchy, who were granted in compensation Jewish dwellings in Bishopsgate, now Commercial, Street (4).

#### Revival under Aaron II le Blund, c.1265–90

Aaron was the son of the London magnate, Elias le Blund, and nephew of Aaron I. Although his clientele included some knights, it differed radically from that of Hamo and his sons. However, Aaron secured an accord with Roger III de Mortimer, who from 1266 served as sheriff and constable of Hereford castle, the Jewry's ultimate refuge in times of trouble. (See Winchester.) Mortimer, active in the local land market, naturally sought lands encumbered by Jewish debt. Thus he acquired the de Balun estates at Much Marcle and those of Henry de Pembridge in the west of the county.

In 1275 the community was augmented by Jews expelled from Queen Eleanor's dower towns of Worcester and \*Gloucester. The leading families of the three Jewries were linked by marriage: Aaron was married to Mirabelle, daughter of Bonenfaunt of Gloucester; Hamo's granddaughter, Contessa, to Josce, a younger son of Hak of Worcester (see Genealogies 1, 2 and 4.).

After the \*Statute of the Jewry in 1275, which banned \*usury, the \*chests were sealed, and their contents subjected to scrutiny. Bonds recorded in December and the following October provide evidence of the importance, in terms of contact between the Jewry and its clients, of Hereford's great fair of St Denis and the bishop's fair of St Ethelbert, as well as those of smaller towns such as Ledbury and Leominster.

The 216 bonds in the Old Chest, held by thirty named members, had a total value of £1114 12s. Aaron's 103 bonds represented 67%; his younger son, Bonenfaunt, had the

second largest holding, 7%; his older son, Elias, and daughter, Belia, held 6 bonds between them, bringing the total for the family to £848 4s 4d, 76%. Of the twenty-eight other Jews listed only eleven had bonds valued at £13 or more; the remainder ranged between £1 and £9. Hak of Worcester's sons, Sampson and Aaron, ranked fourth and seventh, with £25 16s and £19 4s 8d, respectively. Members of the former Gloucester community also had bonds in the Old Chest. In the tax of one third on Jewish possessions imposed late 1273 or early 1274, Aaron's assessment represented half Hereford's total of £67 13s 6d.

### The Era of the New Chest, 1283–90

A New Chest was opened in 1283. Abrahams gives the value of the bonds returned to the exchequer in 1290 as £2106 18s 8d. This is misleading for, as with \*Exeter and \*Wiltshire (\*Devizes), it combines details of bonds remaining in the Old Chest (1259–76) with those in the New (1283–90). The value of the contents of the latter, £1017 6s, was the second highest of the known totals, after \*Lincoln's, £2620 10s 4d. At Hereford 18 people are named as bond and property holders, compared with 66 at Lincoln.

Comparison of the bonds in the two chests is revealing. Although the total value was similar, the number of active bondholders was halved, to 15. The le Blund family still dominated, with some 70% of the total value; Aaron 40%, Bonenfaunt 26%, and Aaron's grandson, Bonenfaunt son of Elias, 3%. The notable difference between the Old and New Chests is the movement from cash loans, which now represented only 36%, to grain, 47.5%, and wool, 16.5%. However, cash bonds were held by 11 of the 15 members, of whom 5 had no other bonds. Aaron and Bonenfaunt held over two-thirds of the 1450 seams of grain. Of the seventeen sacks of wool, sixteen belonged to Bonenfaunt, forming the major part of his holding. Payments to Aaron included twenty-four cheeses and four wagonloads of hay, evidently for home consumption. Small payments in kind to others included peas and geese.

The price of grain varied between 6s 10¼d and 2s 10½d per seam, according to harvest conditions; of wool from £10 to 10 marks, £6 13s 4d, according to quality: good, medium or locks (short wool from the legs and belly). This is significant in terms of the debate as to whether commodity bonds were a means of lending money at \*interest in the face of the 1275 Statute or, as Mundill suggests, there was little difference between them and the financial transactions of Christian merchants.

Aaron's special relationship with Mortimer meant that Hereford's Jewry operated under circumstances more favourable than most. When the \*coin-clipping charges swept the English Jewry between Easter 1276 and May 1279, Hereford was but little affected, for the Chancellor's roll of 1280 shows that the sheriff brought only two prisoners accused of coinage offences to London. The 1290 survey of Jewish property in Hereford refers to Crespin 'hanged for felony'.

Aaron and Mirabelle led a prosperous and confident Jewry. With the city leaders, especially the Moniwords, powerful wool merchants, relations were cordial. Despite

the bishop's threat of excommunication, Christian guests attended a Jewish wedding in 1286, enjoying the lavish hospitality of Aaron's family.

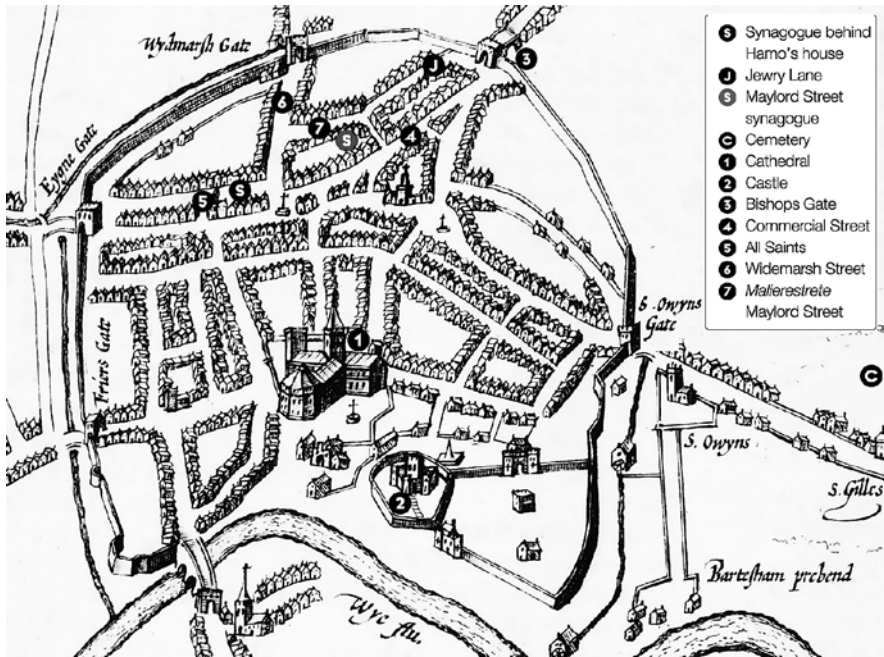
Hereford's representatives at the \*1287 'mini-parliament' to discuss the last Jewish tallage were Aaron II le Blund and Josce son of Manasser. The latter, who held bonds worth £105 in the New Chest, had his own plans. 'A trustworthy person has informed the king' that Josce and Hagin of Weobley, of Hereford, 'had concealed [themselves] in various parts of England... and had the greater part of their goods transferred to foreign parts. They were to be found and captured... and kept in safe custody' until Edward I's return. However, at the expulsion in 1290 Hagin still had his home at Hereford, valued at 6s, and held bonds assessed at more than £40.

### The Jewry

Hamo's house faced the great marketplace, now High Town, from the west. To the rear lay his synagogue (S on Plan 5). His property is described as extending 'against All Saints Church' (5). An enquiry into his son Moses' property in 1253 showed that the Jewry extended beyond High Town, to Widemarsh Street (6), *Malierestrete*, later Maylord Street (7), where Aaron le Blund and his son lived, and the Jewry (J) that continued to be known as *Juenstrete* and appears as Jewry Lane on E. W. Bayley's map of the city in 1806. Of the nine properties located in the records of Jewish premises sold after the expulsion, seven, including Aaron's \*synagogue (S), were described as in *Malierestrete*, the other two in *Juenstrete* or *Vicus Judeorum*. *Malierestrete* was of high status; its residents included Reginald Moniword, a former city bailiff and one of the custodians of the Jewry in 1282. It is significant that it was he who bought Aaron II's house and the synagogue, just as other leading members of local oligarchies moved in on the more desirable property at \*York, Lincoln and probably \*Exeter.

As late as 1882 the town clerk, Richard Johnson, wrote, 'The remembrance of this persecuted race was long perpetuated in the names of their buildings, such as Babylon Door and the Synagogue,' and referred to an annual rent charge of 1s paid by the owner of the house called 'The Jews' Chimney' in 1672. This probably refers to one of the semi-circular bastions on the medieval wall, north of Maylord Street. Nevertheless, despite determined opposition in the city, the topography of the Jewry was swept away by the City Council, co-operating with Norwich Union Properties, to build a new shopping precinct, 'Maylord Orchards'.

Not all Jews lived in *Malierestrete* or *Juenstrete*. Hamo's son Moses had a house in Widemarsh Street (6 on plan), and until 1271 Manser of Hereford's home was in *Biscopegate*, Commercial Street (4). Here also was the house that Moses gave his daughter, Contessa, as her *ketubah* on her marriage to Josce son of Hak of Worcester. (See Women.) Contessa returned to Hereford after her husband was killed in the \*Montfortian attack on the Worcester Jewry in 1264, and at the expulsion had bonds worth £8 in the New Chest.



Plan 5 Plan of Hereford, from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611)

Source: © University of Bristol Library Special Collections.

The community had lost its synagogue on the death of Moses in 1253. However, the expulsion returns, which record that the communal synagogue, with adjacent shop, was valued at 4s, indicate that it was near Aaron le Blund's house. The community had its own *\*shohet*, ritual slaughterer, as in 1285 Johanna Bibol was fined 12d 'for the sale of Jewish meat'.

The 'Jews' prison', below the ring wall of the keep built in the twelfth century, is referred to in a 1254 survey of Hereford Castle as 'unroofed'. At *\*Winchester* there was also a Jews' Tower, where in 1287 Asher, son of *\*Licoricia* and *\*David* of Oxford, was incarcerated; and at *\*Canterbury* another, with Hebrew inscriptions.

There is a tradition that the *\*cemetery* (C on plan) lay in ground behind St Giles's medieval hospital, beyond the city's east gate. An inscription placed in the pediment on its reconstruction in 1770 records, 'St Giles Hospital, founded 1290'. In 2001 a garden of 30 trees was planted in the Negev in Israel by the local branch of Wild Olive in loving remembrance of the Jewish community of Hereford.

See also *\*Hamo* of Hereford and *\*Aaron II le Blund*.

□ AHT, 1 (1969); Hillaby (1984), & (1985), & (1990a), & (1990b), & (1992–93), & (2006); Hillaby (2003b), 32–4; R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415* (1991), 297–300, 338; Abrahams (1894); Rokéah

(2000), no. 1134; W. W. Capes (ed.), *Register of Richard Swinfield*, Cantilupe Soc, 1 (1909), 120–2; R. Johnson, *The Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford* (1882, 2nd edn), 51–100; Colvin, 2 (1963), 674

### Hereford, Aaron II le Blund, d. after 1290

Aaron, son of Elias le Blund and nephew of the London plutocrat, \*Aaron I, was leader of Hereford's \*community, c.1265–90. About 1255, three years after his father and uncle's failed attempt to flee the country, Aaron II joined Jacob Couperon, the community leader in \*Gloucester. Relations between the families went back to 1226 when Mirabelle I and her son Bonenfaunt formed a consortium with Aaron I and other London Jews to fund the debts of the marcher lord, Roger Leyburn senior, whose son became the confidant of Prince Edward. It was probably in the mid 1250s that Aaron II married Bonenfaunt's eldest daughter, Mirabelle II. They moved to Hereford in the 1260s. Aaron's arrival transformed that Jewry, filling the vacuum caused by the death of \*Hamo's heirs, Ursell in 1241 and Moses in 1253.

Following the \*expulsion of Jewish communities from Queen Eleanor's dower towns in January 1275, Edward I ordered \*Worcester's Jews to move to Hereford. Links had already been forged by the marriage of Hak's son, Josce, to Hamo's granddaughter, Contessa. They were joined by the Gloucester community, which ignored the royal command to take up residence in \*Bristol, where relations between the citizens and Jewry were tense, and instead sought refuge with Mirabelle and Aaron.

Aaron's dominance of the Hereford Jewry is illustrated by his tallage payment of £33 8s 8d in January 1275, more than 80% of the £40 12s 6d due from his community. It is confirmed by the scrutiny of the Old \*Chest in December 1275, when Aaron held 103 of the 205 bonds, their value representing 67% of the total, £1114 12s; a further 9% belonged to his sons, Elias and Bonenfaunt. Contessa's bonds were worth a mere £8.

However, there had been a severe contraction in the size of loans. Aaron's clients were very different from those of Hamo. He made no loans to members of the baronage, and only a few to the knightly class. Henry son of Henry of Pembridge Castle, whose father had been \*sheriff in 1258 but had joined de \*Montfort and the baronial cause, owed some £60; William Showle of Showle Court, in Yarkhill, a minor marcher lordship, some £58; and John II de Balun, lord of Much Marcle, £50 and 'a robe and suitable hood'. In the great tallage or tax of one-third on Jewish chattels of 1275–76, twenty members of the Jewry are listed. Aaron and his eldest son, Elias, who died c.1281, ranking first and second, paid 67% of the levy of some £68.

The secret of Aaron's success, like that of Hak of Worcester, lay in an unwritten accord with a local magnate, Roger III de Mortimer of Wigmore Castle. All powerful on the Welsh March, 'Mortimer was a ruthless and determined man, jealous of the privileges that his family had acquired in the March, eager to define them further and to secure more.' Some of Aaron's bonds were worth far more to him than others. Well aware of the success of the Beauchamp sheriffs of Worcestershire, Mortimer was also in the market for estates encumbered by debt. He cast covetous eyes especially on the strategically

## Hereford, Hamo of, and his Family

placed lands of the de Baluns at Much Marcle, on the borders of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. Their stronghold by the church, with its motte some 22 ft (7 m) high and bailey, is still known as 'Mortimer's Castle'. Roger III also acquired some of the mortgaged lands of his neighbour, Henry de Pembridge.

Aaron's son, Bonenfaunt, named after his maternal grandfather, the Gloucester magnate, lived in style. One of his clients, Brian of Brampton, had to provide him with 'a robe made in the manner of a knight'. Father and son were on good terms with the city leaders, especially the Moniwords, wool merchants of national fame. Reginald, who had been chief bailiff in 1274, was third of the 24 custodians of the Jews listed in 1282. The spectacular celebration in 1286 of a family wedding, almost certainly of Aaron's grandson, Bonenfaunt son of Elias, and Bishop Swinfield's acid response, find a place in most histories of the English medieval Jewry.

Swinfield's command, broadcast throughout his diocese, was that 'no Christian takes part'. Yet Aaron's overt challenge to him succeeded; it was difficult for the city oligarchs, such as Reginald Moniword, to forgo this heaven-sent opportunity to humiliate their bishop, whose authority in the city they strongly contested. Swinfield's reply is recorded for posterity in his episcopal register: 'Certain sons of iniquity and rebellion had taken part in the impious feasts... holding intercourse with Jews, eating and drinking, playing and jesting.' Those who had attended the nuptial procession – on horseback, clothed in silk and gold, enjoying the minstrelsy, sporting events and stage plays – were to be excommunicated, failing satisfaction within eight days.

Aaron's arrangement with Mortimer as sheriff during Henry III's reign evidently continued with his successors after Roger's death in 1281. The prior of Reading Abbey's daughter house at Leominster contracted short-term loans with the Hereford Jewry. In April 1287, when payment was not forthcoming, the sheriff seized the priory's cattle. Edward I intervened immediately, ordering their return, and that no further action should be taken regarding the debts.

Aaron, with Josce son of Manasser, represented Hereford at the 'mini-parliament' of \*1287 to discuss the last Jewish tallage. After the \*expulsion his house in *Malierestrete* was bought by Reginald Moniword, who also purchased the adjacent property, formerly of Elias de Ardre.

For family tree see London, le Blund Family of (Genealogy 4).

□ Hillaby (1990a), & (1990c), 92, 112–15, & (2002), 94–112; Mundill (1998), 176–84; *PREJ*, III, 30–8; W. Capes (ed.), *Register of Richard Swinfield*, Cantilupe Soc, 1/Canterbury & York Soc, 6 (1909), 120–2; Rokéah (2001), 83, 8; Hillaby, J. & C. (2006), 151–81; *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, I, ed. B. Kemp, Camden Soc, 45, 31 (1986), No. 97

## Hereford, Hamo of, and his Family

Hamo belonged to that small group of Jewish financiers described by Vivian Lipman as 'super-plutocrats'. He was also a scholar, with a fine library. He arrived in the city under the patronage of Walter II de Lacy, a member of the Council of Regency and major

baron of the Welsh Marches, but also master of the great Irish lordship of Meath, who had been appointed \*sheriff in August 1216. De Lacy found Hereford's Jewry suffering from the ravages of John's reign, but this was to change dramatically. Hamo is first referred to in the 1221 tallage, when Hereford moved from fourteenth place in 1194 to eighth, and he paid almost two-thirds of its total. In 1223 his contribution, £70, was by far the largest of all, 40% more than those of \*Aaron I le Blund and \*David of Oxford, and 60% more than \*Aaron of York's.

One can but speculate as to Hamo's origins, but there are clues. In April 1214 King John, fighting in Poitou, had sent de Lacy to buy horses at Narbonne, home to the largest and culturally most important Jewry of southern France, whose Jewish schools Sheshet ben Isaac Benveniste (d.c.1209) held to be 'the lighthouse of science'. Famed for its opulence in the twelfth century, the town will have provided de Lacy with a keen insight into the benefits of a harmonious relationship between Jew and Christian. Some two years later, he was sheriff of Hereford.

Hamo's close relationship with de Lacy and his probable Narbonne origins may explain the particular character of his business. The city and county of Hereford were at the heart of Henry III's campaign against Llywelyn the Great. Hamo therefore served a niche market: de Lacy's associates, the Anglo-Norman barons of the Welsh March. Many were rebuilding their castles, some as circular keeps following de Lacy's example at Longtown, itself based on William Marshal's early round keep at Pembroke, which guarded the shortest sea crossing to Ireland; others followed de Lacy's remodelling of his family's great castle at Trim in Meath. Meetings between Hamo or his sons and de Lacy will have taken place in the luxurious quarters of Hereford castle. By 1230 Hamo was collaborating with such other Jewish magnates as Aaron of York, David of Oxford and \*Isaac of Norwich. A year later he was dead.

### Hamo's Sons, 1232–53

As the fine roll for 1232 explains,

Ursell, Leo, Moses and Abraham, sons and heirs of Hamo of Hereford, Jew, have made fine with the king by 6000 m. [£4000] for the lands, houses, debts and chattels formerly of Hamo, ... They have rendered 1000 m. to the king cash down at the Exchequer and are to render the remainder at £100 at the Exchequer annually.

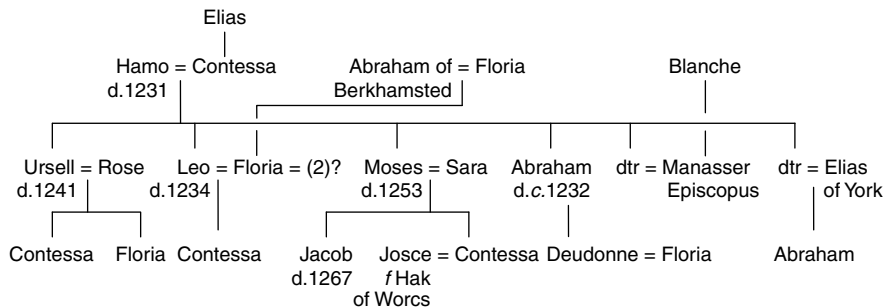
Hamo's \*relief was surpassed only by the 7000 marks imposed on the estate of Leo *Episcopus* of York. His sons were, however, exempted from future tallages. The family business was taken over by Ursell, who in 1236 was collaborating with David of Oxford and Samar of Winchester. Ursell died in 1241. He was succeeded by Moses, Hamo's third son, who inherited the annual payments of £100 towards the £3000 still outstanding for 'the goods of Hamo'. These Henry III assigned to 'the works of the church of Westminster'.

The brothers faced a fundamental problem. Despite Henry III's command to the barons of the exchequer to distrain Moses' debtors, some £2600 was still due from Hamo's major

clients, who can be identified from the list of loans outstanding to the family in 1244. Of the total, 87% was due from five baronial families: more than £1266 from the de Lacys; £400 from Roger II de Clifford; some £190 from John the Marshal; over £160 from John of Monmouth; and £138 from Gilbert earl of Pembroke. By comparison, none of the loans of Isaac of Norwich, which in 1239 totalled over £3000, was to a member of the baronage. Like most super-plutocrats, Isaac followed a cautious policy in relation to large loans in general, and loans to individuals who were greater landowners in particular.

Henry himself faced a dilemma. In conflict with the Welsh, he was obliged to maintain good relations with his natural allies, the marcher lords. Thus in 1234 he bought off Walter de Clifford by cancelling his 1000-mark debt to Hamo's family; this was the man who in 1250, according to Matthew Paris, forced Henry's messenger to eat the royal letter, seal and all. In 1242 Henry pardoned John de Balun of Much Marcle the £70 owed to Moses, and in 1245 the £160 due from John, lord of Monmouth. In order to maintain his position as Lord of Ireland, for much of this time Henry was also reliant on Walter II de Lacy, whose castle at Trim in County Meath was the most formidable in the country. Its outer perimeter defences were in all probability partly funded by loans from Hamo.

Debt ruined not only Hamo's family but also that of de Lacy, his principal client. By 1237 Walter's value to the Crown was lost. Ill health meant he was no longer able to fulfil his duties in Ireland. In 1238 he sent first his groom, then his butler to plead with the king against distraint of his Weobley and Ludlow estates. In addition he was hard-pressed by Warin de Munchensi who, claiming Ludlow castle through his mother, had purchased the gages Walter had given to his other Jewish creditors, and was now in possession. In 1240 Henry III would brook no further delay. Walter's lands were distrained. Within two months he was dead. Matthew Paris records that he left 'only his wasted inheritance to his daughters'. Henry's insistence that they discharge their debt of £2700 to the Crown left nothing for Walter's remaining Jewish creditors. This was a clear warning to the Jewish plutocracy, and to members of the aristocracy, but was not as evident to members of the knightly class, as future troubles in the realm were to show.



Genealogy 2 The family of Hamo of Hereford

Note: dtr daughter; f filius son of.



## Bankruptcy

At Moses' death in 1253, the king seized all the family's property, leaving them bankrupt. Their 11 plots, inherited from Hamo, were surveyed and described. They included all the land 'against All Saints Church' and 'towards the Great Street', a prime position, facing west into the marketplace, High Town. This will have been the site for Hamo's stone mansion, behind which would have been his \*synagogue. Henry III granted the house to a member of his household but, following the latter's 'transgressions' (hunting) in Windsor Park, accepted Moses' widow, Sara's, claim that it was part of her \*ketubah. With her son Jacob, Sara sold 'all the stone and timber thereof'. In the 1270s \*Jacob of Oxford was to take similar action. Hamo's remaining lands lay in the Jewry, in *Juenstrete* or *vicus Judeorum* and adjacent Widemarsh Street to the west (see Plan 5).

Hamo bequeathed his important collection of books to his second son, Leo, who was a scholar and played no part in the family business. Leo married Floria, daughter of the later infamous \*Abraham of Berkhamsted, the private Jew of the king's brother, Richard earl of Cornwall. At his death in 1234, Leo left Hamo's library and his chattels, in that order, to his mother, Contessa, and brother, Ursell. Two years later, when Floria remarried, Abraham laid claim to Leo's books and chattels on behalf of his granddaughter, Contessa. The fine rolls show this was hotly contested by Ursell and his mother, who eventually obtained a royal judgment leaving Hamo's library in the hands of his family. This, however, cost four palfreys – three of which, according to the \*pipe roll, were still due to the Crown five years later.

On Ursell's death in 1241 Henry III learned that Moses possessed 'a leather belt with large members of silver and gold and otherwise beautifully and fittingly wrought'. This he kept in his possession. Sara had another such belt, with the 12 months – presumably the occupations of the months, a popular theme. This Henry ordered the sheriff, 'you will send to us'; Sara was to be kept in prison until she surrendered the belt. Were these amongst the 'twelve girdles of silk and leather with bars of silver gilt, of the weight of £15 10d' in Henry's treasure in 1254? Similar girdles with gilt silver decoration from Erfurt were included in the Wallace Collection's *Treasures of the Black Death* exhibition of 2009. Hamo had three granddaughters named Contessa after their maternal grandmother. Ursell's daughter formed part of the family group in 1244. The 1275 list of bonds in the Hereford \*chest provides a poignant postscript: Moses' daughter held a mere £8 6s 8d, less than 1% of the total.

□ Hillaby (1984), & (1985), & (1990b), & (1992–93), & (2006); Paris 2 (1852–54), 324–5; CPR, 1254, 315

## **Herem**, excommunication or ban

A sanction for transgression, *Herem* was the principal weapon available to the Jewish \*community in dealing with recalcitrants. Excommunication meant exclusion from Jewish religious, social and communal life. In England the individual had 40 days to conform, failing which all his or her chattels were forfeit to the Crown.

Case law provides a few examples of such excommunication. The 1250 patent roll records that, as Master of the Law of the Jews in the City of London, \*Master Moses was granted the right to excommunicate members of the London community who refused to pay their contributions for the maintenance of the Cripplegate \*cemetery. The Crown, not the cemetery, was to receive their financial amends; refusal to pay would lead to seizure of all the defaulter's assets by the Crown.

The most notorious example was in 1275 when Master Moses' son, \*Master Elias, as Master of the Law, excommunicated Cok Hagin, the son of his brother, Deulecresse, on the grounds that he had 'long ago refused to suffer himself to be tried according to the Law and Custom of our Jewry'. In consequence, Master Elias was 'to cause our dear consort, Eleanor, to have [Cok Hagin's] debts, goods and charters by our gift as has heretofore been wont to be done in like cases'. The justices of the Jews were commanded that she was to have these 'in full seisin, and without delay and on no account do you omit to do so'. There is a hint of the reason for the action, 'the arrears of tallage last assessed upon Cok Hagin'.

Surprisingly, the justices of the Jews were required to 'ascertain what, heretofore, has been wont to be done in like case'. In their rolls they discovered the case in 1270 of Sadekin of Northampton, who had apparently fallen foul of Henry III's son, the Lord Edward, over a debt of 10 marks. In 1275 Master Elias testified to Edward I that 'Sadekin was excommunicate for an offence against his Law, and had persisted in that excommunication for forty days and more,' in consequence of which his possessions had passed to the Crown.

After Master Elias's death, it was 'at the instance of Eleanor [of Castile], the king's consort' that Edward I confirmed Cok Hagin's election as \*archpresbyter in 1281. As Cok Hagin's estates were still in her hands, Eleanor had secured a compliant instrument for her trafficking in Jewish debts and encumbered estates.

□ *CPR*, 1250, 72, & 1268, 278, & 1281, 433; *PREJ*, I, 260, 278, & II, 145, 174, 274, 303; M. D. Davis, 'A Writ of Edward I', *JQR*, 5 (1892), 165–6; Rigg (1902), 87–8

### **Herem ha-Yishuv**, ban of settlement

The right of each community to regulate settlement within its limits received general acceptance by the northern French Jewries in the tenth century. Their principal concern was trade protection. Rabinowitz explains that for R. Gershom of Mainz (950–1028), a community could prevent an artisan from taking up residence if he was seen to be interfering with the livelihood of another, but not if he was a tax-payer there. Rashi (1041–1105) maintained that no Jew should be excluded from a community who was prepared to pay communal taxes and accept its trading practices. His grandson, Rabbenu Tam (1100–71), sought to restrict the operation of the *herem* to 'liars, improper persons and informers'.

These were the criteria applied by the *kahal*, 'the upright' or more worthy members of the \*Canterbury Jewry, in their \*starr of 1267 that pronounced that 'no Jew of any other town shall dwell in [this community], to wit no liar, improper person or slanderer'. This is the only instance of the *herem ha-yishuv* on record in medieval England. Baron provides further European examples. In 1241 and 1272 the Jews of Barcelona were accorded the right to expel recalcitrant members from the city. An attempt at similar exclusion was made at Nuremburg in 1314, but support from the civic authority was not forthcoming; yet in its privileges of 1321 the city of Cologne granted its Jewry the right to banish any member denounced as an undesirable by its communal authority.

□ *Enc Jud*, 9 (2007), 17–18; L. Rabinowitz, *The Herem Hayyishub* (1945); Rabinowitz (1937); Rigg (1902), 35–6; Baron, 11 (1960–69), 57–8; Owen (1953), 75

## Hertford

The Hertford Jewry was seventeenth of the 21 communities when it contributed £4 4s 3d to the 1194 *Promissum*. Morel paid £2 14s 3d and Bonenfaunt £1 10s. The fine roll for 1205/06 records that Benedict and Fleming paid 8 \*bezants for royal assistance in relation to an outstanding bond for £8.

There is no subsequent reference to Jews in the county until 1275, when the \*plea roll mentions a Bonenfaunt, whose bond was in the \*Colchester \*chest, and Josce son of Saulot, a senior member of the \*Cambridge Jewry. Both are described as 'of Royston', *Crux Roaisie*, *Crux Roheis*, 13 miles (20 km) south-west of Cambridge, where such essential facilities as \*synagogue and *shohet* were available. Bonenfaunt was amongst the Jews imprisoned in the Tower of London, 1275–77.

□ *PREJ*, III–VI

**Hoard** *see* Coin Hoards

**Hortus Judeorum** *see* Jews' Garden

**House of Converts** *see* Converts, House of

## Houses and other Buildings, Medieval Jewish

It has long been held that early English stone houses were Jewish. For Margaret Wood 'the stone houses attributed to Jews are of the late 12th century'. Two survive: the Music House at \*Norwich, of which the first part is of early twelfth century date; and the 'Jews House' at \*Lincoln of 1170–80. At Canterbury documentary evidence suggests the house of Jacob *le Vieil* was built 1180–1200.

Jewish houses were highly desirable, especially in \*London. During the last years of his reign John confiscated not only bonds and chattels but also houses and lands for

failure to meet the terms of the 1210 tallage. The Milk Street house of Benedict the Little, executed that year, was granted to William de Warenne, earl of Surrey. The great stone house in St Olave's, which the magnate Abraham son of Muriel had bought from the grandson of \*Rabbi Josce, was given to William Marshal earl of Pembroke, who subsequently sold it to the wealthy grain merchant, John Travers. Another Milk Street house was sold to Serlo the mercer, mayor in 1214. Hubert de Burgh, justiciar 1217–24, was granted several Jewish properties. At the \*expulsion the houses of London Jews raised £956, more than the total for the 15 provincial \*communities for which we have records. There is documentary evidence of stone houses at \*Cambridge, \*Oxford and \*York.

### Norwich: The Music House

Now part of Wensum Lodge adult education centre, it is so called because the City Waits or musicians practised there. New evidence indicates that it was not, as Lipman believed, \*Jurnet of Norwich, who died c.1198, but his eldest son, \*Isaac, who bought the Music House, having succeeded to the business. Isaac will have been with his parents in 1190 when they fled to Norwich castle, from where no doubt they watched with horror as their Jewry was consumed by the flames. He was not inhibited by this experience. Imprisoned by John in 1210, Isaac had the courage and skill to negotiate with the king for his life, the latter accepting his offer of 10,000 marks, payable at 1 mark per day. As Dent and Livock point out, about 1225 he felt secure enough, under the regime of Henry III, to quit the safety of the Norwich Jewry and its adjacent castle, and buy 'the great messuage which was of John Curry' in King Street.

The close rolls show that in 1225 Isaac purchased a royal licence to make and extend his private quay on the Music House site, close to the old common staithe on the west bank of the Wensum, one of the best landing sites on the river. The new quay provides evidence of Isaac's intention to engage in water-borne trade. At \*York the Coney Street houses of the senior members of the Jewry also enjoyed a riverside setting, on the east bank of the Ouse, and frequently had vaulted cellars. As Schofield points out, such undercrofts can be 'associated with the storage and distribution of \*wine, though this was clearly not their only purpose'.

The Music House was an L-shaped stone structure of two builds (Figure 8): one part, at right-angles to the street with the Wensum to the rear, is of early twelfth-century build; the other, fronting the street, was added c.1175. The early twelfth-century structure belonged to the hall-over-warehouse type. This is well known from later examples in London, including one discovered on the corner of Aldgate in 1877 at 1 Jewry Street, known as Poor Jewry in 1349; and at \*Southampton (see below). Isaac's fine, east-west vaulted undercroft may have served as the warehouse for his quay. Virtually in its original condition, it is divided by a wall into two chambers. The westward chamber is of two bays and has quadripartite vaulting with roll-moulded and hollow-chamfered intersecting ribs. It had two small Norman windows on the south, now internal and

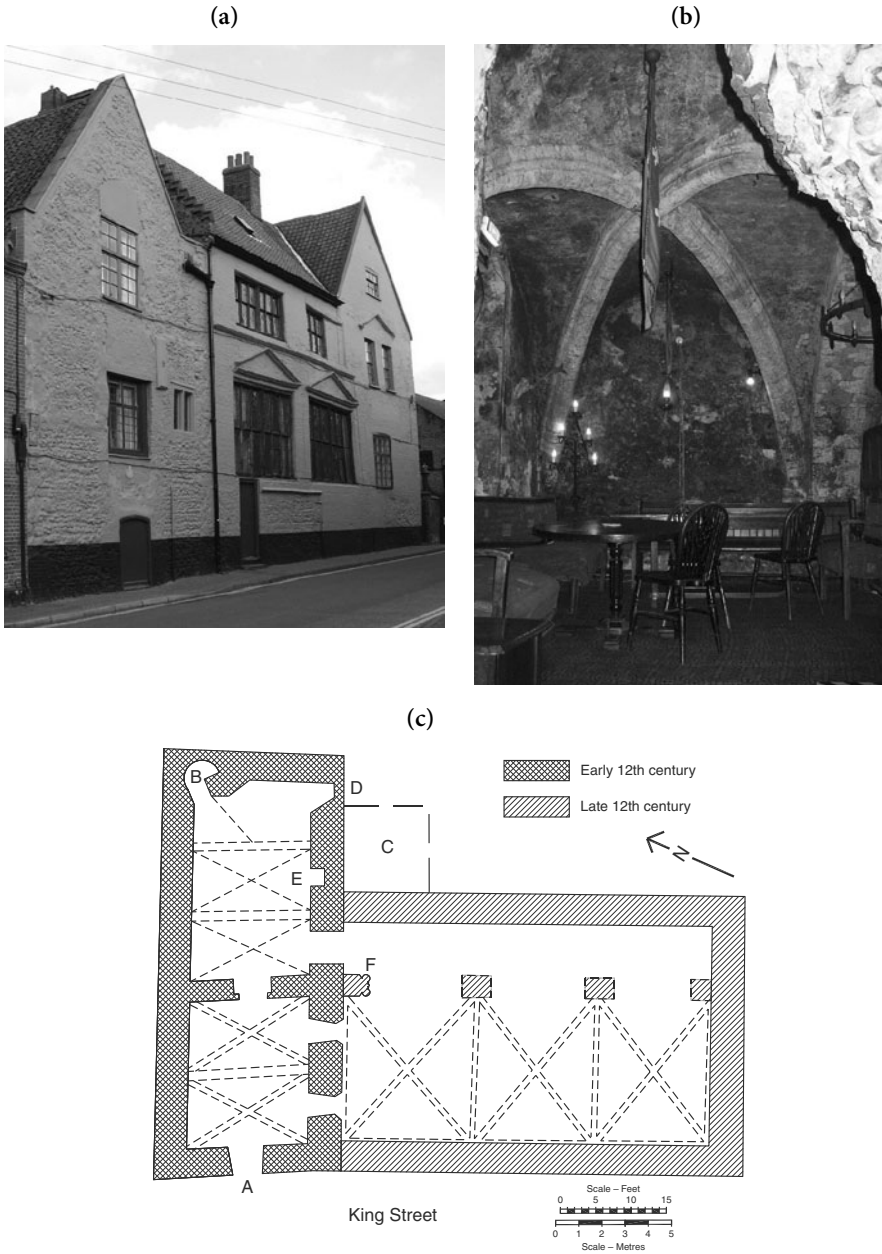


Figure 8 Norwich, the Music House. (a) King Street façade, showing early and late twelfth-century buildings; (b) Western chamber of undercroft, showing quadripartite vaulting with roll-moulding; (c) Plan showing early and late twelfth-century buildings

enlarged. A western door (A in Figure 8c) provided access from King Street. The eastern chamber is of three groin-vaulted bays. It retains one window on the south, similar to those in the western chamber, and a stone newel staircase at the north-eastern corner (B), leading to what was the upper floor. The corbels that carry the ribs are at a lower height, suggesting that its flooring was at a lower level than in the western chamber.

This chamber was originally served by an external stair turret (C), built against the central and part of the eastern bay of the larger chamber in the undercroft. Hence the unusual placement of its easternmost window (D). Although long since demolished, the turret's presence is betrayed by a blocked opening with a semicircular head and dressed stone quoins. It has been suggested that the internal recess (E) of the central bay may have been a wall safe. This would have been protected externally by the stair turret. The walls of this building are original, but the roof has been altered. The vaulted undercroft now serves as a bar and restaurant called the Jurnet Club for Norfolk County Council adult education centre.

Isaac's King Street house was more than twice as large as originally believed. In the late twelfth century a hall, some 56 ft by 26 ft (17 by 8 m), had been added to the south along the street. Adjoining the earlier structure, it lay where the building with the early seventeenth-century windows now stands. It was a three-bay hall with an aisle on the east. In 1941 the base of 'two fine stone columns with a wedge-shaped shaft between them and water-holding mouldings' was recognised by E. A. Kent as 'an exact counterpart' to those of three transitional pillars of the cathedral infirmary, indicating a building date of c.1175–1200. This is well illustrated in Lipman's photograph, figure 9a. However, it was assumed to be part of the left-hand side of the external stair turret and shown as thus on Lipman's 1967 figures 5, 6 or 8. More recently Peter Eden recognised that it was the base of the northernmost pier of the aisle arcade (F) of the late twelfth-century hall. It can be seen on the right as one approaches the present entrance to the undercroft.

Even the original early twelfth-century structure, measuring 60 ft by 26 ft (18 by 8 m) externally, is substantially larger than Belaset of Wallingford's upper-hall house, some 40 ft by 20 ft (12 by 6 m). In contrast to the latter, the Music House is virtually unknown outside Norwich.

### Lincoln, the house of Belaset of Wallingford

In the former Cornmarket in St Cuthbert's parish one can still see the stone-built 'Jew's House' (B on Lincoln plan) of c.1170–80. This remarkable survival is an upper-hall house. The hall, some 40 ft by 20 ft (12 by 6 m), had a fire-place on the front wall. It was lit by three handsome windows, originally biforate. Only that on the left remains to give a clear idea of its original design (Figure 9c). All three had richly worked semicircular arches, of which the left- and right-hand remain. At street level would have been shops, such as are frequently referred to in the records of other Jewish houses. These had small,

(a)



(b)



(c)



Figure 9 Lincoln, Jew's House. (a) Jew's House from the east; (b) Richly decorated portal; (c) Romanesque decoration of first-floor window

arched openings, now replaced. Behind would have been vaults. To give additional dignity to the house, its portal was richly decorated (Figure 9b). The shafts on either side have gone, but their capitals remain, as does its semicircular arch, with its elaborate chain-link decoration. Above is the shallow chimney breast of the hall fire-place (Figure 9a). Inside, three twelfth-century doorways remain.

As with the vestiges of the \*Rouen synagogue, so with this Lincoln house, we find the Jewry employing the architectural conventions of their host community to enhance their buildings. This luxurious house, valued at 19s 6d, provides a wonderful benchmark for other Jewish houses. It belonged to Belaset of Wallingford, who was hanged in the \*coin-clipping crisis, when it escheated to the Crown; as Sir Francis Hill shows, it then passed from Walter de Felleby to Canon Thornton, who granted it as an endowment for the chantry that he founded in the cathedral.

Most lavish of all was Floria daughter of Josce's *optima domus* with two shops and a beautiful entrance. Of this we have only documentary evidence, which shows that, at 30s per annum, it was valued 50% more than that of Belaset. It was probably similar in overall design. Hagin son of Benedict had a *mediocris domus* at 6s a year. However, this had the luxury of a detached kitchen on an adjacent plot. Stone-built, kitchens were usually a feature only of the larger medieval town houses; this is possibly the sole example mentioned in records of Jewish property. The expulsion survey also records that Benedict de Gannock had 'two high houses, well built and roofed with tiles, of the annual value of 20s'. Tiles are first recorded at Canterbury and Southampton c.1170, and after the great fire of 1212 London roofs were to be covered with tiles, shingles or boards.

At the expulsion, Lincoln was by far the most affluent and most numerous of the English communities. Abrahams gives the annual value of the property of 17 members of the Lincoln Jewry, but only 6 of York. Despite its size and wealth, the value of Jewish property in Lincoln, £173, as given by Hugh of Kendal, was overshadowed by that of York, at £243. As York was the capital of the north, this is not surprising. Here Fountains, Selby and other great abbeys, as well as the local gentry, were investing heavily in urban property. The Jewish houses in Coney Street were thus eagerly sought after.

At \***Canterbury** the site of the house of the magnate Jacob *le Vieil*, died by 1206, formerly the County Hotel, is now occupied by the Abode. According to Margaret Wood, in 1965 the County Hotel 'preserves in its cellar (and above ground until 1927) a very thick wall of the great house which [Jacob] built just before 1200'. Urry in 1967 was more explicit: 'Below the County Hotel there are footings and a worn back [*sic*] doorstep which can be hardly anything but the remains of the stone house of Jacob the Jew.'

### \*Southampton, Ronceval

\*Benedict of Winchester and his son Lumbard acquired this hall-over-warehouse property in 1273. The upper hall will have been Benedict's Southampton residence;



ownership of houses in several towns was characteristic of the lifestyle of the wealthier Jewish financiers. How far the great warehouse beneath was used as a store or for trading purposes we shall never know.

Immediately north of the West Gate, on the side of the favoured West Quay, Ronceval was one of the great stone houses below the shallow gravel cliff that lined the western shore. To its north lie the ruins of King John's House, another first-floor hall with warehouse, which no doubt served a similar function.

Excavations in 1967 at 49 Bugle Street revealed 'the upper levels of the rear [that is, eastern] wall' of a 'considerable medieval merchant house' that Platt believed was Ronceval, two small stone windows of which were exposed. In a porters' tariff list of 1414 Ronceval was still 'the great house'. In 1617, although truncated on its western front, it measured some 84 ft by 44 ft (25.6 by 13.4 m). These buildings in Norwich and Southampton, with their ground-floor warehouses, stand in marked contrast not only in size to those on the principal streets in Lincoln, which would have had shops at ground-floor level.

#### Norwich: the brick house of Contessa

In a *\*starr* of 1267 the *\*bet din* confirmed the marriage settlement of Contessa, widow of R. Jehoshayah, of a brick house with courtyard in Mancroft Street, which she immediately sold to Isaac of Oxford. This is probably the earliest documented domestic brick building of medieval England – a tribute to Jewish record-keeping. Little Wenham Hall, described by Lloyd as 'the earliest brick dwelling house of its kind in England', was, according to Pevsner's *Suffolk*, built c.1279–80, probably for Sir John de Vallibus. The Norwich house is not the only documented Ashkenazic building of the era constructed in brick. The women's synagogue and the yeshiva at Speyer were built of brick in the late thirteenth century.

#### Interfamily Property Arrangements for lightening the tax burden

At *\*Nottingham* three of the houses in *Wallesete* were acquired by Abraham ben Joseph Crespin. One of these he and his wife, Chera, gave to their grandson, Abraham, who having

scarcely entered into possession of the house, affectionately given him by his grandparents, undertakes, in legal form, to allow them to reside in it at their pleasure, and as long as they live. As tenants, the grandparents, or either survivor of the two, are chargeable with a rental of 2s per annum.

Similar tax evasion is found at Lincoln, relating to a much more substantial property. In a *\*starr* of 1267 'Rabbi Berechiah (Benedict), son of Rabbi Moses, testifies that he has sold to his son Hayyim [Hagin] the house he resides in the parish of St. Benedict.' The money, £60, was given to Hagin by his grandfather, Benedict's father-in-law. Master Benedict was still living there in 1290, when the house was described as 'three messuages about a court'.

□ Wood (1965), 3–5; Hillaby (1993a), 97–100; Mundill (1998), 258; E. A. Kent, 'Isaac's Hall or the Music House, Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeol*, 28 (1945), 31–8; A. Carter, 'The Music House and Wensum Lodge, Norwich', *Archaeol J*, 137 (1980), 310–12; J. Dent & J. Livock, *Wensum Lodge: Story of a House* (1990), 7–13; R. Smith, 'The Music House', *VAG Conference Papers* (1997), unnumbered pages; Schofield (1995), 33–4, 75 fig. 84, 79; *CR*, 1253, 395, 407, 494; Platt (1973), 22, 37–8, 41–2, 44–7, 53 n. 47, 59–60, 83, 103–5, 237, 269; Platt & Coleman-Smith, 1 (1975), 22–3, 31–2, 78–85, 293–4, 327–30, pl. 70, & 2 (1975), 20, pl. 119; C. Platt & J. Pallister, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton, 1967* (1967), 7–8; *Rot Litt Claus*, II, 67; Davis (1969), no. 55; N. Lloyd, *History of English Brick Work* (1983), 4; Porsche (2004), 429–31

**Hugh of Kendal** *see* Expulsion, General

### **Huntingdon**

A small county town of strategic importance. Here, the lowest bridging point on the Great Ouse until the twelfth century, Ermine Street, the Roman road from London to Lincoln, crossed the river. William I ordered a castle to be built to guard the site. In Stephen's reign Simon de Senlis established a mint here, as at \*Cambridge and \*Northampton. In 1173, after wresting the castle from the rebels, Henry II ordered its destruction. Vestiges of the motte and bailey, now cut in half by the railway line, can yet be seen, north of the river.

First reference to the Jewry comes in 1226, when Huntingdon's small \*community was assessed at a mere 18s, ranking twentieth. No payment was made in 1239–42 or 1255, when business was apparently being conducted through the neighbouring \*chests, *archae*, of \*Bedford and Cambridge. The \*plea rolls show that Manser of Huntingdon served as one of Bedford's \*chirographers until 1244, when he was removed from office following a dispute with Pictavin, second husband of \*Belia of Bedford.

The community was given a fresh injection of life in January 1275. The Jews \*expelled from nearby Cambridge took up residence here, rather than, as commanded, at distant \*Norwich. The \*sheriff, who was responsible for both counties, was evidently a party to this move, for a New Chest was established by November 1275, when it was subjected to a scrutiny. The expelled community will have brought their Holy Ark, *Ha-Aron ha-Kodesh*, Torah scrolls and considerable \*library, including probably the volumes of Master \*Benjamin, exegete and pupil of Jacob Tam of Ramerupt, the greatest Ashkenazic Talmudic authority of his day.

In 1279, despite Chapter 9 of King John's charter of \*1201 that ordained that 'Jews be quit of all customs and tolls...as our own chattels', the 'bailiffs and good men of Huntingdon' were granted pontage for three years of '1d for every Jew crossing the bridge on horseback, ½d if on foot'. Amongst those appointed for its collection and custody were the warden of the works and the parson of All Saints. There was a similar provision in 1285 for Jews to pay tolls to cross the Severn at Montford Bridge, near Shrewsbury.

The community sent two delegates to the \*1287 ‘mini-parliament’: Manser ‘of London’ and Josce Mutun ‘of London’, that is Josce son of Saulot, the member of the expelled Cambridge community who in 1277 had persuaded the barons of the exchequer to permit him to live at Chesterton. At the general \*expulsion in 1290, the Huntingdon New Chest contained bonds of seven named members with a total value of £284 16s 8d: £188 in cash, £10 3s 4d in corn, and 11 sacks of wool at £86 13s 4d, of which 10 were due to Manser.

The site of the Jewry is not known. The \*synagogue possibly dates from the arrival of the Cambridge Jews, for the sheriff was ordered to cause proclamations to be read there later that year. According to Leland, in 1290 Gregory, prior of the great Benedictine abbey some 5 miles (8 km) away at \*Ramsey and one of the most eminent Greek and Hebrew scholars of his day, heard that the synagogues of Huntingdon and \*Stamford were ‘being profaned’ and that ‘all the furniture was to be sold by auction, together with the stores of books’.

Understanding the auction was soon to be made, being near and also provided with money, the prior quickly repaired thither and, the price being paid, he easily obtained ‘gold for brass’ and very joyfully returned home to Ramsey to his abbey.

Palaeographic and other evidence, however, indicates that Gregory flourished c.1255 and died by 1270.

□ *PREJ*, I, 59, 69, 76, 106–7, & III, 62; *CPR*, 1272–81, 126, 331; *VCH, Huntingdon*, 2 (1932), 122, 351; Dobson (2010), 118–19; E. Jervoise, *The Ancient Bridges of Mid and Eastern England* (1932), 100; Leland (1709), 321–2

### **Ibn Ezra, Abraham (c.1089–c.1164) and his years in England**

An Arabic-speaking Sephardic exegete, poet, philosopher, grammarian, translator, astronomer and astrologer, ibn Ezra was born in Tudela. He had travelled widely in Islamic lands before 1140, when he departed his native Spain. His years in \*London were the last part of a tour seeking, in his own words, to ‘transplant the wisdom of Spain’ to the Ashkenazic \*communities of western Europe. In 1140 he arrived in Rome. Five years later, he left for Lucca, where he began his *Standard Commentary on the Torah*; thence to Mantua and Verona, where he produced volumes on grammar for his patrons. Between 1147 and 1152 he found patrons in Provence, at Béziers and Narbonne, eventually arriving in \*Rouen in 1152.

Ibn Ezra portrays the harshness of his life as a travelling scholar in search of patronage in three satirical poems. In ‘The Patron’ he describes his visits to his house. In the morning he has ‘ridden away’; in the evening, he is ‘asleep... woe to the poor man, born to misfortune!’ His ‘Old Cloak’ is like a sieve through which the stars shine at night; a fly landing on it ‘would regret its foolishness’. In ‘Out of Luck’ ibn Ezra writes, ‘If I traded in candles, it would be permanent sunshine. If I dealt in shrouds, none would die whilst I lived.’ All three poems are translated in

T. Carmi's *Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* (1981). The warmth and gratitude that ibn Ezra therefore felt for his patron in Rouen and London finds expression on numerous occasions.

In the north of France ibn Ezra suffered a severe illness and swore that, if he recovered, he would write a *Second Commentary on the Torah*. Only fragments of that on Genesis are extant, but there are manuscript copies of his second commentaries on Exodus, Daniel, Song of Songs, Psalms and the Twelve Minor Prophets, which he composed at Rouen, 1152–57. Here one of his patrons, twice described as 'Joseph son of Jacob' in notes to the commentaries, invited him to London as his guest. His identity has been a matter of debate, but Roth's belief that the patron was \*Rabbi Josce of London is accepted.

During his time in England, ibn Ezra wrote two works. The first, *Yesod Mora vesod Torah* (The Foundation of Awe and the Secret of the Torah), opens with the statement, 'the knowledge of Hebrew grammar is to understand the foundations of the fear of God and the essence of the Torah.' This book, he tells us in a postscript, he commenced in London

in the island of Angle-terre, 'the corner of the earth', for it is the last of the seven divisions of the inhabited earth, in the month of Tammuz [May] and finished after four weeks in the month of Ab [June] 4918 [1158].

'I have not written *Yesod Mora* to illustrate my wisdom and what mysteries have been revealed to me, or to refute the ancients,' he explains,

I have written it for my esteemed benefactor, who has studied with me [previous] works that I have written for him. From my great love I have toiled to write a book for him on the Commandments, as I have found him to be a truthful and God-fearing man above many.

His dedication of the book concludes with thanks to God that he could complete the work, and to his friend Joseph son of Jacob 'for the gift of his hand', his support. Elsewhere he refers to Rabbi Josce as *nadib*, 'generous'. *Yesod Mora* is available in an English translation, and a critical edition, in Hebrew.

The second book, written in 1159, was *Iggeret Shabbat*, 'The Sabbath Epistle'. In a dream ibn Ezra received a letter written by *Shabbat* in the person of a woman, indicating that he had been brought a book that profaned the Sabbath eve, and that he was to gird up his loins and wage battle for the Law with the enemies of Sabbath. The conflict was over Genesis 1:5: 'And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.' He took an oath not to sleep until he had explained 'when was the beginning of the day... to remove every stumbling block and clear away snare and pitfall'. The book was, in effect, an attack on those, such as Rashi's grandson and pupil, Rashbam of Troyes, who sought to prove that the Jewish day, even the Sabbath, begins at dawn and not at evening.

In Twersky and Harris, Sarna concludes that:

in the entire star-studded galaxy of medieval Jewish Bible commentators not one can compare with [ibn Ezra] in respect of vast erudition, broad range of disciplines, subtle sophistication, intellectual daring, and sensitivity to linguistic and stylistic phenomena in all their manifestations ... mastery of all these accord him a unique place in the history of Jewish exegesis.

Einbinder suggests that ibn Ezra's visit to London in 1158 'fostered a taste among the English Jewish elite for the forms and sounds of Andalusian verse', as in the poems of \*Jacob ben Judah, author of *Etz Hayyim*, 'Tree of Life', and \*Meir ben Elijah of Norwich.

There has been considerable dispute as to where ibn Ezra died. For Friedländer it was in England, 'surrounded by *shedim* [demons] in the form of black dogs'. As Lancaster points out (p. 20), for his biographer, J. L. Fleischer, he was the victim of 'anarchic English hordes' in a forest north of London whilst on a further journey.

□ *Enc Jud*, 9 (2007), 665–72; U. Simon, 'Transplanting the Wisdom of Spain to Christian Lands', *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook*, 8 (2009), 139–89; Lancaster (2003); Twersky & Harris (1993); M. Itzhaki, 'Abraham ibn Ezra as a Harbinger of Changes in Secular Hebrew Poetry', in de Lange (2001), 149–55; Einbinder (2000), 150; Golb (1985), 171–209, & (1998), 253–96; Friedländer (1894–95); Jacobs (1893), 29–38; Roth (1938), 3–6; *The Secret of the Torah: A Translation of Abraham ibn Ezra's Sefer Yesod Mora Ve-Sod Ha-Torah*, trans. and annotated H. Strickman (1995); U. Simon and J. Cohen, *R. Abraham ibn Ezra Yesod Mora ve-Sod Torah* (2002–07, Israel) (Hebrew)

### ***In soltis***

Literally 'in repayment', a term applied to repayments to moneylenders, Christian and Jewish, of mostly short-term loans made to the Crown.

□ Richardson (1960), 54, 60–5

### **Interest**

Our knowledge of interest rates in the twelfth century is derived from the notes of Richard of Anstey. Between 1159 and 1163 he travelled throughout England, seeking recovery by law of his uncle's lands. He kept careful notes of sums borrowed from Jews, and the terms imposed. On the first five occasions he paid a groat, 4d, a week for each £1 borrowed. He then encountered Hakelot, probably Isaac son of Rabbi Josce, who charged 3d. To Benedict of London he paid 2d, but Brun of London charged a mere 1½d. Eventually, assured of Richard's reliability, Hakelot reduced his charge to 2d. Similarly Contessa of \*Cambridge, having charged him the 4d rate for his first loan, reduced it to 3d on the second occasion. Credit-worthiness was evidently critical in establishing the rate.

By the thirteenth century 2d a week in the £1, that is 43.3% per annum, was for Richardson 'the usual rate of interest'. This was the rate introduced by Philip Augustus in the lands of the French monarchy in 1206; compound interest was payable only after a year had elapsed. There is evidence of a maximum legal interest rate as early as 1220, when the

\*plea rolls record that a \*Northampton burgess laid a formal complaint that, 'unlawfully and against the Assize', David Lombard had lent him on gauge £1 'for 10d a week interest'. David denied this, but his mother, wife and a neighbour acknowledged that they had made the loan 'in the presence of the \*chirographers and other honest men'. David placed himself in the king's mercy. He was not the only one accused of charging 'unlawful' rates. The following entry reports that Cok of \*Nottingham had demanded £5 13s 4d interest on a loan of £6 over six months, giving an interest rate of more than 8½d per week.

The \*1233 Statute enacted that 'no Jew may lend anything by penalty, but let him take interest at twopence per pound per week and no more'. Compound interest and penalty clauses were thus forbidden. Yet rates in breach of the statute evidently continued, as in 1240 and 1241 the \*sheriffs of Essex and \*Nottingham, and one assumes all others, were instructed that 'no Jew should charge more than 2d per week per £1 borrowed'. Another, undated, order to Nottingham adds that 'the former assize of 3d per £ is no longer valid'.

In March 1244 Oxford students attacked the Jewry, sacking and pillaging; 45 were arrested. In consequence it was enacted in 1248 that the Jews would take only 2d in the pound per week from the scholars, for smaller sums pro rata; compound interest was forbidden. 'Otherwise the Jews shall be punished according to the custom of the realm.'

Matthew Paris, following Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, makes an interesting comparison between Jews and Cahorsins, 'the pope's usurers', in terms of interest and business. With the Cahorsins,

if you make a loan of 100 marks with £100 to be paid back at the end of the year and you wish to pay within a month, they will not receive less than the £100. On the other hand, when you return to a Jew money he has lent you, he will receive it with good grace and with interest only commensurate with the time it has been lent.

As Parkes explains, all Christian writers, 'most of them ecclesiastics, are unanimous in preferring the Jewish usurer' because he was 'fairer and more merciful to his debtor than the Christian'. At \*Canterbury the cathedral treasurer was able to refer to interest paid on Jewish debts as '\*usury', but on loans from Christian Italian merchants it was 'profit' or 'grace'. Whether the cathedral had to pay the same rates as Henry III is not known. The 540 marks the king borrowed from Florentine merchants was to bear interest at 60% if not repaid within six months.

For Snooks, 'probably the most important effect of these [Jewish] moneylending facilities, which were less localised than other factor markets, was a decline in interest rates in the thirteenth century'. After 1290 those seeking credit had to turn to a free market, offered in the towns by the wealthier merchants and traders, and in the country by the more affluent members of the parochial clergy. See Usury.

□ Richardson (1960), 10, 58–9, 67, 70, 82, 293–4; Stacey (1995); Parkes (1938), 336–8; *PREJ*, I, 34; Causton (2007), nos 197, 243; Roth (1951), 127–8; Luard (1872–73), *s.a.* 1253; Snooks (1995), 42; Mate (1973), 183–97; Chazan (1973), 84, 91–2; Pollock & Maitland, 2 (1898), 225; Stein (1995)

## Ipswich

Ipswich provides an interesting case study relating to Jewish settlement. As a port, it formed the terminal of the shortest passage between England and the mouth of the Rhine, the main route for Italian and Mediterranean luxury commodities to northern Europe. Hence the major Jewish \*communities at Worms, Mainz and Cologne. Yet the first reference to a Jew at Ipswich, *Gipeswic*, is in the 1182 \*pipe roll, in which Manasser is recorded as owing 4 oz of \*gold to pursue a debt of 20 marks, and Solomon of Ipswich owed 1 mark for a claim of 7 marks. Further references to Manasser and Solomon in 1191–93 suggest that Ipswich was not affected by the 1190 assaults on East Anglian Jewries. In 1193 an Ursell of Ipswich is recorded in the pipe roll for the counties of Buckingham and Berkshire.

Although Ipswich was granted an early borough charter by John in 1200, no Jewish community was recognised there in 1218. Under the authority of the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in the thirteenth century it became, like \*Lynn, an outpost of the \*Norwich Jewry. Lipman points out that for the 1000-mark \*tallage imposed in 1260, the Jews of Norwich and Ipswich were jointly assessed, by Abraham of Norwich and Hagin of Ipswich, at £27.

Hagin (Hayyim), also known as son of Perez, was the subject of four *shetaroth* published by Davis. In 1255 he purchased a house in Needham Street, Norwich, which he sold 17 years later. A number of his bonds appear in the Norwich \*chest. By 1277 Hagin had evidently received \*licence to reside permanently at Ipswich. He thus avoided the tribulations that the Norwich community suffered in its last years. The close rolls record that the \*sheriff was ordered 'to permit Hagin ... to dwell in his house within the town of Ipswich wherein he now dwells, until otherwise ordered by the king, and not to molest Hagin for this reason in ought'. There are also hints in the 1275 \*plea roll of another Jew at the port of Dunwich, north of Ipswich. Josce, son of Aaron of Colchester, owed the king £22 16s 2d for having the chattels of Isaac Gabbay. The \*sheriff replied that he had 'sent the writ to the bailiffs of the \*liberty of Dunwich who did nought in pursuance thereof'.

\*Isaac of Norwich's grandson, Abraham, had a house in Ipswich at his death in 1248. Like his other property, this had come down to him from his father and grandfather, whose interests had clearly spread beyond Norwich, where Isaac had built a quay onto his house by the Wensum, to Ipswich and to Lynn, where he had six houses. These suggest that he developed the family's interests to include water-borne trade. In the thirteenth century products on sale at the Ipswich quay included steel, herrings and fur from the Baltic, Irish and Eastland timber, Gascon wine and Mediterranean spices. By the second half of the century Ipswich ranked seventh amongst the English wool-exporting ports.

At the \*expulsion an Ipswich chest was returned to the exchequer, but there are no details of its contents. Both Moses de Clare of \*Sudbury and Vives of Suffolk held

## Ireland

houses in the town, valued by Hugh of Kendal at the very considerable sum of £7 6s 8d. Vives, who had bonds worth £26 13s 4d in the \*Nottingham chest, was probably the son of Moses of Clare who in 1275 had paid half a mark to reside at Maldon, some 30 miles (50 km) down the coast from Ipswich.

□ *PpR*, 1190–91, 94, & 1192–93, 182; Davis (1969), nos 21, 35, 48, 59; Tait (1936), 217; *CChR*, 1255, 449 (re houses); *CCR*, 1277, 376; Lipman (1967), 104, 286–7; Miller & Hatcher (1995), 163–4; Mundill (1998), 24 n. 46; *Abb Rot Orig* (1805), 74

**Ireland** *see* Wales

**Isaac** *see* Archpresbyter; Norwich, Isaac of

**Jacob** *see* London, Jacob ben Judah; Oxford, Jacob of

**Jacob le Prestre** *see* Archpresbyter

**Jacobs, Joseph** *see* Jewish Historical Society of England

**Jew, personal** *see* Caerleon, Leicester, Marlborough, Sudbury

**Jewesses** *see* Bedford, Belia of, and sons; London, Abigail and Family of; Winchester, Chera of; Winchester, Licoricia of; Gloucester for Mirabelle

**Jewish Court**, L. *Curia Judeorum*

In Germany the enclosed area about the \*synagogue was known in the Middle Ages, even in the eighteenth century, as the Jewish Court. The clearest evidence as to the facilities found within comes from the great Rhenish Jewries. Doppelfeld's excavations of the heavily blitzed area of Cologne, immediately south-west of the Rathaus, located not only the synagogue but also the *Frauenschule*, *Mikveh*, public bathhouse, bakery and *Tanz-* or *Hochzeithaus*. The court was defined by principal streets on all four sides, at least three fronted by Jewish buildings. Plans of Worms in 1500 and 1760 show similar communal facilities, including a congregational or assembly room next to the synagogue.

For English \*communities also such courts were a necessity, although only stray references are to be found. In \*London the *magna scola* lay between Jewish buildings in Old Jewry to the west and Lothbury to the north. One assumes that there was a communal \**mikveh* in the court, close to the *magna scola*, as at \*Rouen, Cologne and Worms. Also recorded in London is a *hospitium*, where marriages were celebrated and the balls that the Metzgers tell us 'were so popular in medieval Jewish society' were held.

At \*Northampton the expulsion returns record that, in addition to the synagogue, the community held 'five houses, five cottages with curtilages belonging to three', and the 1318–19 \*pipe roll refers to 'a well and a curtilage' on the other side of the synagogue. The use of the term 'curtilage', from the Old French *cortillage*, a little yard or



court, suggests that this was the Jewish court. Confirmation comes in a will of the 1630s that refers to 'all that messuage sometimes called the synagogue of the Jews, with all and singular the houses, buildings, gardens, yarges, orchardes and backsides thereunto belonging lyeing in a street called Silverstreete'.

Although the Northampton pipe roll provides the only documentary evidence, a well or fountain, essential for many functions, was probably a regular feature of the English Jewish Court, as on the continent. At \*Norwich a fragment of a small stone column with eleventh- to twelfth-century tooling, fragments of roof tiles and twelfth- to thirteenth-century pottery were found in an old well close to the site identified by Lipman as the synagogue.

At \*Lincoln the Hungate synagogue had an area to the rear of some 150 by 30 ft (46 by 9 m), which may have accommodated a Jewish court. In London the synagogue off Catte Street, granted to the community by Aaron son of Vives in 1280, also included a 'court'; a \*herb garden to the south is referred to in 1301. Another court is referred to in connection with the synagogue of Abraham Pinch at \*Winchester.

At \*Gloucester, the ground rent of 16d, compared with 6d for the community leader's house, suggests that the \*synagogue occupied a considerable site, providing space for a Jewish court, with facilities for, amongst others, the butcher, Isaac *Carnifex*. \*Canterbury, the fourth wealthiest community, had two \**shohetim*, ritual slaughterers who required a rabbinic licence. To the Third of \*1239 Pictavin *carnifice* paid 2s 4½d, his assistant, Jurnetto, a mere 2½d. Their payments throw an interesting light on the status of Isaac at Gloucester, who paid 5½d.

Slaughter-houses were essential. In 1275–78 the London heads of household imprisoned in the Tower had to pay 3s 4d 'for access to their slaughter house'. The Statute of the Pillory of 1267, which had to be repeated in 1281, required town bailiffs to discover 'if any do buy flesh of Jews and sell it to Christians'. The London city assize of 1277–78 enacted that 'no one should buy meat from Jews to sell again to Christians or meat slaughtered for Jews and by them rejected'. At \*Hereford, where Johanna Bibol was fined 12d in 1285 'for the sale of Jewish meat', the community had its own *shohet*. Dietary requirements were a major subject of the \**Responsa* of such English Talmudic scholars as Master \*Benedict of Lincoln and Master \*Moses of London.

Another essential was a communal oven, lit on the Sabbath eve for community members without their own, so that meals could be kept hot for the next day. Here were baked the Passover *matzos*, made from dough without yeast and prepared by Jewish hands. In France an oven was built into the synagogues at Cavaillon, Joyenval and Carpentras. The communal cauldron was used before Passover to purify utensils, including those of members, as well as for cooking. *See also* Community.

□ Asaria (1959), plan on p. 79; Reuter (1984), 92–3, 129–35; Blumenkranz (1980), 15–72, esp. 62–3, 350; Metzger (1982), 76–8; *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: A: 1275–1298*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (1899), A217; Lipman (1967), 123; Hillaby (1993b), 194–7; Rokéah (2000), no. 1241 n. 88; *PREJ*, IV, 188

## **Jewish Historical Society of England, and its role in the history of the medieval Jewry**

The Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887 was held at the Albert Hall, with supplementary displays at the South Kensington (Victoria and Albert) and British Museums and the Public Record Office. For F. D. Mocatta the objectives were twofold: first, 'to promote a knowledge of Anglo-Jewish history; to create a deeper interest in its records and relics and aid in their preservation'; second, 'to determine the extent of the materials which exist for the compilation of a History of the Jews in England'. 'The soul of the new movement', according to Lucien Wolf, was Israel Abrahams. He also commented on Joseph Jacobs' 'zeal and enthusiasm'. Jacobs himself records that 'my work for [the exhibition] convinced me of the enormous mass of available material for the history of the [English Jewry], especially in its medieval phases'. With Lucien Wolf, another of the exhibition organisers, he compiled the *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* in 1888.

M. D. Davis's *Shetaroth: Hebrew Deeds* [\*Starrs] *of English Jews* was also published that year, and reprinted in 1969. It was followed in 1893 by Jacobs' *Jews of Angevin England: Documents and Records from Latin and Hebrew Sources* [c.1090–1206]. For Richardson,

the marvel is that [Jacobs], who had no claim to be a professional medievalist, made accessible so much that was new and true. And what was new he had to find largely in difficult manuscripts...since put into print and indexed for the profit of his successors.

The Jewish Historical Society of England was founded in 1893, for 'the promotion and organisation of research into and study of the Jews of the British Empire'. As Stefan Reif has observed, 'Serious scholarly study of the history of the Jews in medieval England was not promoted or achieved to any significant degree until the establishment of the JHSE almost 120 years ago. Important progress was then made but work through the twentieth century was primarily done by Jewish scholars.'

Lucien Wolf recalls that:

the public meeting called to decide on the foundation of the Society was an unusually exciting affair. It was held in the rooms of the Maccabeans in St. James's Hall on June 3, 1893, and was, as the reporters say, very numerously attended. I had the honour of occupying the chair, and, after a very stiff fight, we carried all our resolutions by large majorities. We were not satisfied with the usual resolutions affirming the desirability of the Society, and leaving details for subsequent consideration, but, taught by our past experiences, we there and then elected our officers and formed our committees. Thus at last the Jewish Historical Society came into being.

Israel Abrahams served as honorary secretary until 1904, and honorary editor until 1926.

The first volume of the *Transactions* appeared in 1894; continuing to Volume 28 in 1982, they became *Jewish Historical Studies* in 1986. Both series include major contributions to the history of the English medieval Jewry. Thus in Volume 1 one finds 'Debts and Houses of Jews of Hereford ... in 1240', and in Volume 2, 'Condition of the Jews at the ... Expulsion in 1290', both by B. L. Abrahams. J. M. Rigg's *Select Pleas, Starrs ... of the \*Exchequer of the Jews, AD 1220–1284* was issued jointly with the Selden Society in 1902. Three years later the first volume of *Calendars of the \*Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews Preserved in the Public Record Office* was published by the Society, followed by Volumes II (1910), III (1929) and IV (1972). The two subsequent volumes, V (1992) and VI (2005), provide the full Latin texts. The project embarked upon by the JHSE in 1905 now covers the rolls for the years 1218 to 1281. Only those for 1282–86 are outstanding, as no rolls survive for subsequent years.

The Society inaugurated a series of *Miscellanies* to contain 'notes and documents not read at meetings' in 1925. Volume 1 included Joseph Jacobs' text of the 1194 'Northampton *Donum*'. Between 1930 and 1932 the Society was responsible for the publication of *Starrs and Jewish Charters Preserved in the British Museum (Starrs)* 'with illustrative documents, translations and notes'. The first volume was edited by Abrahams and Stokes, with additions by Herbert Loewe, who edited the two subsequent volumes.

The first edition of Cecil Roth's *History of the Jews in England* was published by Oxford University Press in 1941. The preface Roth wrote on 1 November 1940, the 600th anniversary of the \*1290 general \*expulsion. Two years after the end of World War II the Society issued the first part of the *Sepher ha-Shoham* (The Onyx Book) by Moses ben Isaac ha-Nessiah, edited by Benjamin Klar. In 1960 H. G. Richardson's *The English Jewry under Angevin Kings*, based on three unpublished papers read to the JHSE and 'some earlier contributions to the history of the English Jewry' was published by Methuen, 'in association with the JHSE', from whom they 'obtained financial support'. 'If these chapters on Jewish history', Richardson writes, 'were worthy of a dedication, they would be dedicated to the memory of Joseph Jacobs'. Richardson's book transformed our view of the English medieval Jewry, and is surely the most successful of all works on the subject. As Stacey points out, this 'marks the true beginnings of modern scholarship on medieval English Jewish history'; yet by the English academic press this 'seminal' work was held to merit a review of 'less than ten lines'. Roth pointed out that 'substantial changes' in the 1978 edition of his *History* were due 'in particular to the significant contributions of H. G. Richardson on the medieval period'. This third edition, he tells us, 'entirely supersedes the previous editions'. The most recent Society publication on medieval sources, *Medieval Jewish Documents in \*Westminster Abbey* edited by Ann Causton, appeared in 2007. This provides calendars of 268 previously unpublished documents from 1220–80 in the abbey's muniments. They relate to the \*communities at \*Bristol, \*Canterbury, \*Colchester, \*Lincoln, \*Norwich and \*Nottingham.

In 1973 the *Anglo-Jewish Bibliography, 1937–70* edited by Ruth Lehmann, Librarian of the Jews' College, was published by the Society. A second volume followed in 1992, for

the years 1971–90, compiled by Ruth Goldschmidt-Lehmann, edited and augmented by Stephen Massil and Peter Salinger. *See also* Madox and Tovey.

□ L. Wolf, 'Origin of the Jewish Historical Society of England', *TJHSE*, 7 (1914), 206–15; Richardson (1960), viii; Stacey (1987b), 63; S. Reif, review of Dobson in *JJS*, 63 (2012), 182

## Jews and the Court

### Jews in the Spanish Courts

The court Jew was an outstanding feature of both the Arabic and Christian states of Spain. Earliest and most notable was Hasdai ibn Shaprut (915–70), who served Abd-ar-Rahman III, emir and caliph of Cordoba, 912–61. As Baer points out, his career was 'a model...for the many Jewish statesmen who flourished in Spain during the following five centuries'. Hasdai served both as physician and translator. In the latter capacity he controlled trade relations between the caliphate and foreign powers. His especial triumph came when a Byzantine mission to the caliph brought a magnificent codex of *Materia Medica* by the first-century Greek physician, Dioscorides, on plant and natural remedies. This Hasdai translated into Arabic with the help of a Greek monk.

Hasdai's protégés played a major role in the renaissance of Hebrew literature. They included Menahem ben Saruk, d.970, whose *Mahberet*, 'Book of Solutions', was the earliest biblical dictionary in Hebrew; and Dunash ben Labrat, c.920–90, whose *Teshubot*, a violent attack on the *Mahberet*, was the first grammatical and lexicographical poem in Hebrew. For Judah ben David Hayyuj (945–1000) *see* London, Master Moses.

For Waxman 'the first [Sephardic] poet that deserves that name' was Samuel ha-Nagid, 993–c.1056, vizier of Habbus, the Berber king of Granada d.1038, and his son Badis. The successful commander in Granada's almost continual conflict with Seville 1038–56, Samuel celebrated his campaigns in his poem, the *Diwan*. He also achieved renown as Halachist. For Nahmanides, a prominent Sephardic Talmudist and biblical exegete (1194–1270), these court Jews 'have been permitted to learn the art of healing, to study Greek and other sciences, including measurement, and their application so they may earn their living in the royal palaces'. He regarded them as 'veritable Ishmaelites'. For Roth this 'was a chapter of unexampled brilliance in the history of Jewish literature and thought'.

The tradition established by Islamic rulers continued under the Christian kings. Alfonso VI of Castile and Leon (1072–1109) realised that in Jews such as ibn Shalbib and Joseph Ferrizuel, also known as Cidellus, he had diplomats skilled in both the Arabic language and the subtleties of the Arabic court culture of the Islamic states to the south. Such skills were invaluable to a monarch anxious to play on the antagonism and fears of the rulers of Toledo, Seville and Granada. Thus in alliance with Seville he conquered Toledo in 1085. Pope Gregory VII commanded Alfonso VI, as ruler of the capital of Christian Spain, to remove Jews from high political office. Alfonso ignored

the papal letter. Judah ibn Ezra, *almoxarife*, finance minister, and master of the household of Alfonso VII (1126–57), organised the settlement in Toledo of Jews fleeing the Almohads.

Joseph ibn Shoshan, eulogised by Sheshet Benveniste of Barcelona (d.1195) as ‘the ever vigilant guardian of the welfare and honour of the Jewry’, served Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158–1214) as *almoxarife*. Alfonso is documented as having granted Joseph a Toledan estate with ‘immunity’. To Joseph is attributed the foundation of the unique, five-aisled Toledan \*synagogue of la Blanca. The other remaining Toledan synagogue, now el Tránsito, was built by Samuel ha-Levi, *tesorero mayor* and diplomat of Pedro the Cruel (1350–69). He died, however, in his prison c.1360.

Christian rulers were less interested in the medical and linguistic skills of the Jewish elite than in their ability as tax collectors. There were, however, notable exceptions. Sheshet Benveniste, who had a sound knowledge of Arabic, was \*physician, *alfaquim*, to Alfonso II and Pedro II of Aragon, and in 1200 was sent by the latter as his diplomatic envoy to Morocco. Poet and patron of scholars, he was also a firm champion of Maimonides in Spain. Isaac Benveniste, physician to James I of Aragon (1213–76) organised a deputation to the 1214 synod at Montpellier that succeeded in ensuring that no new restrictions were imposed on the Jews. Even more remarkable, he led a delegation to the 1215 Lateran Council to canvas, unsuccessfully, against enforcement of the \*badge. However, in the lands of Alfonso IX (1188–1230) of Leon it was not imposed.

□ Baer (1961), 29–30, 32–5, 46, 49–51, 60, 68–9, 76–7, 91–2, 94–7, 100; Graetz (1894), 215–29, 290–6, 361–3, 384, 388, 508, 513, 524–5; Margolis & Marx (1967), 335; Cantera Burgos (1984), 56–149; Waxman, I (1960), 172, 217–18, 519–21; Shatzmiller (1994), 56–60; Roth (1959), 157–64, 172–4

### Jews of the English Court

The English Jewry stands in marked contrast to that of the Spanish kingdoms, Islamic and Christian. It was represented at the royal exchequer by an \*archpresbyter, whose remit extended no further than the Jewry. No English Jew held office at court, nor served as court physician, although Petrus \*Alfonsi, the Spanish convert, referred to himself as *medicus* to Henry I, and \*Master Elias, one of the sons of \*Master Moses, enjoyed an international reputation for his medical skills. Here one finds Jews acting only as agents in the private financial interests of members of the royal family and leading figures at court.

### Richard Earl of Cornwall as Patron

The first such agent, \*Abraham of Berkhamsted, served Richard, the king’s brother, in his day the richest man in England. The earliest reference to their relationship is in the close roll for 1231, when Richard intervened with the royal exchequer on Abraham’s behalf. Such royal patronage conferred high status within the English Jewry; Abraham was able to arrange the marriage of his daughter, Floria, to Leo, son

of \*Hamo of Hereford, the second wealthiest of all English Jewish magnates. In 1246 and 1249 Abraham was nominated a \*tallage assessor, evidently to represent the earl's interests. However, the fiasco of the icon of the Virgin Mary in 1250 placed him firmly in Richard's hands. The Jewry offered 1000 marks for Abraham to be kept in prison. He was freed, but granted to Richard. The award of his London property in Colechurch Street to Master Elias by 1257 probably represents the final rupture between Abraham and his patron. Nevertheless, on the latter's death ten years later, Abraham, with all his chattels and goods, was granted, to his heir, Edward of Germany.

### Richard and the Sons of Master Moses, 1257–72

By 1253 the earl's fiscal interests had widened. Richard was granted the right to levy a tallage on the Jewry in return for a loan of 1000 marks to the king, his brother, the third of four such loans that year. Matthew Paris reports that next year, on hearing of the tallage demand, \*Elias l'Eveske, as archpresbyter, made an impassioned speech before Richard, attacking 'the papal merchants who amass endless heaps of money', and sought permission to 'depart hence, never to return, leaving behind our houses and household goods'. Richard responded, 'whither would you fly, wretched beings? The French king hates and persecutes you.' Subsequent events suggest that Elias's speech made a profound impact on Richard, who was fully conscious of the value of the Jewry to the English Crown.

In February 1255 Richard, hard-pressed by his brother, granted him a further 5000 marks, for which he was assigned the Jewish \*community; '3000 marks over and above the said 5000 marks [were to] go in part payment of the money in which the king is bound to the earl for his jewels pledged to the earl at another time'. This led to a revolution in the affairs of the Jewry, and brought Richard into close contact with leading members of the London community. By September Hagin son of Master Moses was serving Richard as his '\*attorney'. In May 1257, for 1½ gold marks, 'at the instance of the king's brother', for whom they had 'laboured much', Hagin and his brother Cresse were granted freedom from all tallages and aids for five years. Next month, when Richard departed for Germany, both were described as his attorneys. Accused the following day of 'a great trespass touching Richard's debts', Elias l'Eveske was deposed from the archpresbyterate in July. Hagin and Cresse paid 3 gold marks 'for the commonalty of the Jews of England' that Elias should 'never again have and recover the said priesthood'; and that in future the archpresbyter should be 'elected by the commonalty ... and presented to the king for his assent'.

### Hagin son of Master Moses, 1258–81

The following February the community presented Hagin as their elected archpresbyter. Master Elias, his brother, also got his reward: Abraham of Berkhamsted's prestigious property in Colechurch Lane. Hagin came to office in particularly difficult times. The

\*1258 Petition of the Barons addressed matters ‘requiring attention’ in the realm, in particular serious abuses in the administration of the Jewry. In 1262 \*London’s Jewry was subjected to a spontaneous attack. Two years later the capture of Simon de \*Montfort the Younger led to a further assault, with the loss of some 400–500 lives; Cok son of Aaron, probably the wealthiest member of the London community, was run through by the leader of the mob. Hagin found safety in the Tower in company with the papal legate and the despised \*Cahorsins.

From his refuge Hagin secretly despatched Aaron Crespin with a group of Christians and Jews to Cok’s house where, by night, they dug up £1000 worth of gold and silver coin, cups, girdles and pieces of gold on land adjacent. These they delivered to Hagin. The patent rolls record that he was granted a third of Cok’s chattels and debts with the wardship of those of his sons. In spring 1267 the Jewry was attacked again, this time by Earl Gilbert de Clare and the \*Disinherited.

Peace finally restored later that year, Henry III sought to overcome the impact of ‘the recent troubles’ on both his London and \*provincial Jewries. Hagin managed in 1269 to negotiate a deal whereby, in return for a fine of £1000, the Jewry would enjoy a three-year respite from tallage – with the qualification that a full tallage would be levied if Henry, or his son the Lord Edward, left on crusade. A 6000-mark tallage was imposed in 1270, in which year Hagin’s brother and partner, Cresse, died. He was succeeded, not by his son, Cok Hagin, but by his brother, Elias, Master of the Law. Having hitherto sought to keep a low profile, Elias was now formally associated with Hagin in the invidious task of levying this sum in support of Edward’s crusade. Only 4000 marks being received, the shortfall was advanced by Richard of Cornwall, to be repaid by the Jewry. The brothers had to raise a further tallage, of 5000 marks, in 1272, in which year Earl Richard died.

### **Eleanor of Castile and the Family of Master Moses**

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that only two jurors stood by Hagin in 1273, when he had to face an inquest of 12 senior members of that Jewry to answer charges that he ‘did wickedly and falsely against his oath conceal the death’ c.1268 of Cok’s youngest son, Manser, and ‘caused the chattels ... to be divided between the two surviving brothers ... one to marry his, Hagin’s, daughter, and gave the other to Aaron Crespin’s daughter’. Seven jurors forsook him; three sought to hedge on their verdict. However, Henry III having died, final judgment was adjourned until Edward I and his queen, Eleanor of Castile, returned from crusade, in August 1274.

The \*1269 and \*1271 legislation, which forbade the sale of debts secured on land by Jews and their purchase by Christians, was now strictly enforced. Such Jewish fee debts could be acquired by a Christian only by Edward I’s grant or licence, or by Eleanor as payment by a Jew of \*queen’s gold. In November 1274 Hagin was imprisoned and ‘all his debts and chattels taken into the king’s hands’. They quickly passed into those of his

queen, who also acquired his houses in \*Lincoln and \*York. Some of his London property Hagin apparently retained in order, one must assume, that he could continue to speculate in loans secured on land on Eleanor's behalf. Nevertheless, in 1278 an inquest 'touching [his] lands, rents, houses and other tenements within the city' took great care to point out that Hagin did not have a private synagogue. He merely enjoyed 'ingress into, passage through and egress from the house held by Cok [his son] by a postern ... as far as the synagogue which is still in Cok's house, by Cok's mere licence and good pleasure and no otherwise.'

In 1275 internal conflict between members of the family of Master Moses reached crisis point. Cresse's son, Cok Hagin, was excommunicated (*see Herem*) by his uncle, Elias, as Master of the Law, for 'refusing to suffer himself to be tried according to the law and custom of the Jewry'. His goods, debts and chattels were granted by Edward to his queen. The same year, we learn, Hagin was held, not as usual under the control of the \*Constable of the Tower, but at Windsor. This was Edward's birthplace and, of all his castles, the one to which 'he was undoubtedly most attached'.

Late in 1279 Edward commanded the justices of the Jews that all debts due to Hagin, 'his Jew of London', whom he had granted to Eleanor, should be placed in a \*chest by themselves in order that she could recover the debts. A schedule drawn up in 1281, headed 'Manors bought by the king's consort', shows how, by a series of complex deals with landowners in debt to the Jewry, Edward and Eleanor acquired estates valued at '40 knights' fees and more', including the famous Leeds Castle in Kent; with these came the advowsons of 14 churches, assessed at 970 marks. At least £1730 worth of Hagin's bonds were involved, including loans secured on the lands of William de Leyburn (£680), John de Cameys (£500), William de Munchensi (£250), Bartholomew de Redham (£200), and Stephen de Chenduit (£100). As J. C. Parsons shows, 'the schedule barely hints at the full extent of Eleanor's acquisitions'. Imprisoned in 1280 on another charge of fraud, by May 1281 Hagin was dead.

### Cok Hagin, 1281–90

In 1281, 'at the instance of Eleanor, our dearest consort, with the consent of the community of Jews of England', the excommunicate grandson of Master Moses, Cok Hagin, otherwise known as Hagin son of (Deule)Cresse, was appointed 'presbyter of the Jews'. His position vis-à-vis Eleanor was similar to that of his predecessor, for she retained control of 'all those goods, debts and deeds' that he had forfeited as a consequence of his excommunication. As early as September 1283, such were Eleanor's relations with Cok Hagin and other Jews that John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury, felt obliged to write to warn her that 'usury is a mortal sin'. The previous year the London draper, Robert de Basing, a great exporter of Lincoln wool, received a nine-year lease on Sir Robert de Munteny's Essex manor of Ginges, held by Cok Hagin on account of 'divers debts in which he is bound to me'. To this, despite the provisions of the \*1271 Statute touching lands and fees



of the Jews, Eleanor gave her 'assent and consent in writing.' Basing, in return, granted Cok Hagin a property next to that formerly of Master Moses, stretching between Milk and Wood Streets. Cok Hagin's new powers led to a considerable improvement in his relations with his uncle. On Master Elias's death in 1284 he was included with his sons as guardian of his grandson, Leo.

### **Edmund Crouchback and \*Aaron son of Vives**

Younger members of the royal family followed Richard of Cornwall's example. In June 1262, with civil war not far off, Henry III took over the estates of his eldest son, Prince Edward, which provided him with an annual income of £2000. In return Edward was granted the English Jewry, which he sold to Peter Béraldi and 'his fellow merchants of Cahors'.

By December 1265 Henry's second son, Edmund Crouchback, earl of Leicester in 1266 and duke of Lancaster in 1267, had established a working relationship with the London Jew, Aaron son of Vives. He ensured that 'all Aaron's lands, rents and chattels which are now his pledges, in whosoever hands they be, shall be distrained to levy his debts'. In August 1270, at the instance of Prince Edward, Henry granted Aaron, 'with all his goods and debts quit of all tallages, aids, prests and demands', to Edmund. Aaron was given the right to his own \*chest 'wherein to deposit his \*chirographs in the place where he shall dwell in the lands of the said Edmund'; and from October to stay 'in any borough where other Jews dwell; so that he bear himself as a good and faithful Jew'.

In a charter confirming these privileges Aaron was required to render 'a pair of gilt spurs yearly at Whitsun'. These were a mere token. Other obligations bound him to Edmund, who took care in January 1271 that, 'in all pleas moved for or against' Aaron, a deputy appointed by Edmund would be 'associated with the justices...to hear and determine such pleas'. At the same time Aaron was granted that he may 'with the licence of the said Edmund, sell his debts to whomsoever he will, notwithstanding the [\*1269] provision lately made'.

Aaron was to benefit from the good relations between Edmund, his brother and Eleanor. Early in 1271 Edmund left on crusade with his brother, appointing his mother, Eleanor of Provence, as his attorney with extensive powers, and the duty to raise funds for him. He served with Edward at the sieges of Tunis and Acre. In the first Welsh war, 1277, Edmund commanded the royal army in the south. From his castles at Carmarthen and Cardigan he secured Aberystwyth and with it south Wales. At Rhuddlan, after the death of Llewelyn in 1283 in the second Welsh war, Edward reaffirmed the grant of Aaron to his brother, who was to be 'put in possession of the lands and goods of Aaron's debtors'. On Edmund's death in 1296 Edward was to speak of him as 'our dearest brother, always devoted and faithful to us and our realm. His loss has devastated us and the whole realm'.

In December 1275, following his return from crusade, Edward confirmed his father's grant to Edmund 'of the body of Aaron...and all his debts, goods and chattels', and

instructed the justices in various places not to 'meddle with Aaron's body nor his debts etc in the chest', but to allow Edmund 'to have full administration of the same to do what he chooses'. Such orders were repeated on several occasions. In November 1279, during the second \*coin-clipping crisis, the justices of the Jews were commanded that 'all matters concerning him and needing judicial examination shall be heard and determined before the king and the said Edmund'. Aaron's trade in debts with Eleanor was for sums as large as 1000 marks. On at least one occasion his repayment was 'in goods and chattels of certain condemned Jews'.

Analysis of the entries in the indices of the two last volumes of the \*plea rolls provides firm evidence of the dominant role of Aaron son of Vives by 1277–81. Between 1277 and 1279 one finds 94 entries for Aaron, compared with 54 for Benedict of Winchester and a mere 37 for Master Elias. For 1279–81 there were 208 entries for Aaron, only 56 for Master Elias; overall Aaron accounted for one-sixth of the total. Equally remarkable is the geographical distribution of his clientele – from Devon and Kent in the south, to Lancaster and York in the north, across over thirty counties. This may explain why, in 1271, he had been granted a licence 'to stay in the king's castle wherever he dwells, if war or disturbance arise, with his household and goods'. The last phrase is significant, for it provides some indication how the wealthier Jews such as \*Aaron of Lincoln and \*Isaac of Norwich might have been able to meet the dietary requirements of their religion whilst pursuing their business away from one of their houses. It also explains Edward's 1283 grant to Edmund of 'the lands and goods of Aaron's debtors, anywhere in England'.

### Eleanor of Castile and Edmund as Patrons

Rokéah has established that 269 Jews were hanged for coinage offences in London and Middlesex. These included eminent members of the community: Benedict son of \*Licoricia of Winchester, who had been appointed to the Jewish Exchequer by Eleanor as keeper of the queen's gold in 1276, was hanged in 1279, as was his son, Abraham. Nor did Eleanor's patronage serve Master Elias well. The 1279 fine roll records that he had to pay 1000 marks for 'trespasses and excesses' against the coinage: 550 marks in cash; the remainder at 50 marks a week. However, Edmund of Lancaster intervened firmly in favour of his protégé. The August close roll reveals that the \*Constable of the Tower was commanded 'at the instance of Edmund to inhibit, on the king's behalf, Master Elias from molesting Aaron by summoning him to a chapter of the Jews or by reason of any accusations made against him'. Furthermore, in November the justices of the Jews were 'not to intermeddle in matters concerning the person, goods or chattels of Aaron' without Edmund's consent.

On occasions, a *douceur* had to be paid by Edmund, through Aaron, to Eleanor. As Parsons comments, 'signs were not lacking that Edward extended his approval and protection to Eleanor's land gathering'. This was the case in 1280, when Aaron was obliged to grant to 'our dearest consort' the 500-mark debt in which Gilbert II Pecche was

bound to him, through which Eleanor gained control of the manor of 'Westclyve' (West Cliffe, near Dover). In return Aaron was to be recompensed from 'goods and chattels of certain condemned Jews'. Four years later further Jewish debts obliged Gilbert to grant his barony of Bourn to the Crown, its annual income of £124 suggesting a value of £1240. The Dunstable chronicler described Eleanor as 'the Spanish-born woman who acquired many of the best manors'.

In 1283 in a sharp letter to Eleanor, Archbishop Pecham wrote that her West Cliffe tenants had complained to him that 'they are destroyed and oppressed by the demands made of them and that unless pity takes hold of you it is better they leave their lands and go to beg their bread'. Three years later he wrote to her treasurer, pointing out that she was 'occupying many manors and has made them her own property – lands which Jews extorted with usury from Christians under protection of the royal court'; he beseeched him to 'bid her people entirely to abstain from the aforesaid practices, and restore what has been seized in this manner or at any rate make satisfaction to those Christians who have been wickedly robbed by usury'.

In February 1289, when he negotiated the acquisition of a further 10,000 ft<sup>2</sup> (930 m<sup>2</sup>) of land for the Cripplegate \*cemetery, Cok Hagin evidently had no inkling of what the following year held in store for the English community. On 1 September 1290, described as 'Jew of the king's consort', he was granted a licence to sell his London property to any Christian; the proceeds of the sale, however, were to go to the queen. In July, the month the \*expulsion was made public, Aaron was licensed to sell his houses and rents in London and elsewhere, but only 'with the licence and will of the said Edmund'. In the same month the justices were ordered 'not to molest' him 'by reason of any tallage to be assessed upon the Jews', and that 'the king or his ministers shall not intermeddle with the Jew or his goods and chattels without Edmund's will and licence'. In August, 'before Aaron shall leave the realm' enquiry was to be made 'by Christians and Jews what houses and rents Aaron has in London, Canterbury and Oxford by Edmund's will'. Details were to be delivered to Edmund together with a counter-roll of all Aaron's debts, which were to be levied according to the custom of the Jewry when required by Edmund. Stripped of his assets, Aaron was granted *un sauf conduit-spécial*.

Only for \*Canterbury do we find details of Cok Hagin's and Aaron's property at the expulsion. There they shared a house, their holdings valued at 28s 5d and 10s, respectively. Described as being 'next door to the \*synagogue', it was almost certainly the great stone house built c.1200 by Jacob *le Vieil* at the corner of High Street and Heathenman Lane.

On her deathbed, the very month of the general expulsion, it was Eleanor's wish that the administration of her estates should be the subject of a formal enquiry. Was Edward beset by similar fears? Did concern for her soul play some part in the erection of the Eleanor crosses?

□ Denholm-Young (1947); Rigg (1902), 73, 84, 87–8, 110, 118–20; CPR, 1247–58, 393, 396, 400–1, 403, 555–6, 564, 570–1, & 1258–66, 201, 511, & 1266–72, 141, 716, & 1281–92, 56, 336, 379, 384; CR, 1255, 170–2, &

## Jews' Garden

1257, 70–1; *CChR*, 1257–1300, 8, 41; *CCR*, 1272–79, 458, 470, 501, 547, & 1279–88, 5, 80–1, 433, & 1290, 91, 99; *CFR*, 1279, 114; Colvin, 1 (1963), 236; Williams (1970), 112; *Enc Jud*, 14 (2007), 22, & 17 (2007), 776–7; Parsons (1995), 119–56; E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (1951), 156, 177; H. Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, 5 (1930), 270–2; *Registrum epistolarum fratris Johannis Peckham, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. C. T. Martin, RS 77 (1882–85), II, 619, & III, 937–8

## Jews' Garden

A term generally applied to the \*cemetery. However, as Israel Abrahams points out, 'this... must not be confused with another Jews' garden, which surrounded the synagogue and was used as a promenade'. See Norwich in \*Cemetery.

□ Abrahams (1981), 77

**Josce** see Josce son of Isaac in Archpresbyter; London, Rabbi Josce; York, Benedict and Josce of York

**Joseph** see Lincoln, Joseph of

## Judeo-French

During the eras of settlement Jews adopted the languages of their host \*communities. Thus developed Judeo-Greek and Judeo-Arabic. Classical texts on Hebrew grammar and lexicography by Sephardic scholars had to be translated from Arabic into Hebrew to be available for scholars of the Ashkenazic world. MSS Oxford CCC 133, a partially vocalised copy of an Ashkenazic prayer-book, has on ff.349v and 350r notes in Arabic, written in a cursive Sephardic script, relating to payments made to the owner since his arrival 'in England'. (See Seals.)

Judeo-French of the langue d'oïl, called 'a phantom language' by Bannitt, was a latecomer. The earliest evidence relates to the *poterim*, 'interpreters', who translated the Hebrew into the French vernacular in order to teach children the Bible before and during the time of Rashi. Thus Judeo-French adopted the principal French dialects of the area of settlement: Burgundy, Champagne, Isle de France, Normandy and Picardy. For example, MS. Bodl. Or. 135, which in the fourteenth century was in Bishop John Grandisson's collection, has five folios with homonyms in the dialect of Champagne. Such provincial dialects of Old French were spoken in the home, in the street and even, on occasions, whilst at prayer. When writing, however, Hebrew characters with some diacritical marks were used. Rashi followed this example, using Old French glosses in the vernacular to propagate his works on the Bible and Talmud. Roth draws attention to 'some Judeo-French translations in verse of certain hymns'.

The Old French dialect used by the English community was Norman. If personal names are any indication, outsiders were quickly and clearly identified. Thus the 1220 \*plea roll identifies Angevin; by the 1270s Peitevin and Pictavin, referring to Jews of Poitou, were common. The use of Old French glosses is a characteristic of most of the rabbinic texts of the English Jewry. The \*Ramsey dictionary, as Olszowy-Schlanger

explains, has more than 1000 words in Old French spelt according to the Anglo-Norman dialect. These have been the subject of a special study by Professor Geneviève Hasenohr.

The language of the medieval Jew, it is said, was the language of the land on which he lived. Yet this was not the case in England. French was used in parliament and the law courts as late as 1290, but for the man in the street it was a foreign tongue. Those who drafted petitions to the justices in eyre, which had to be in French, were struggling, we are told, with the forms of a language that was 'far from being a living tongue.' Quite clearly, Jews who wished to conduct business with a man or woman in the street had to have a degree of English, and were thus members of a trilingual society. See Figure 19 under Worcester.

□ *Enc Jud*, 11 (2007), 423–6; M. Bannitt, 'Les poterim', *REJ*, 125 (1966), 21–33, & 'Une langue fantôme: le judéo-français', *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, 27 (1963), 245–94; Beit-Arié (1985); Roth (1949), 70–1; Olszowy-Schlanger (2003), nos 19 & 21, pl. 21, & (2013); G. Hasenohr, 'Le français du dictionnaire', in Olszowy-Schlanger (2008), xxvii–xli; Seror (1995); A. C. Baugh & T. Cable, *A History of the English Language* (1993, 4th edn), 132–5

**Jurnet** *see* Norwich, Jurnet of

**Justices of the Jews** *see* Exchequer of the Jews

**Kehillah** *see* Community

**Ketubah** *see* Women

### **Kiddush ha-Shem, sanctification of the name of God: England**

The Hebrew chronicles of the first and second crusades by Solomon bar Simson, Eliezer bar Nathan and the Mainz Anonymous portray martyrdom as *Kiddush ha-Shem*, death in sanctification of the Holy Name, the answer of many Rhenish Jews to the threat of their own forcible conversion and that of their children in 1096. Jeremy Cohen, however, has suggested that these chronicles 'elucidate the perspectives of those who survived much more than they explain the behaviour of those who died'.

Of the September 1189 attack on the London Jewry, Ephraim of Bonn reports that the Tosaphist Rabbi Jacob of Orleans died 'for sanctification of God's name', along with about 30 other Jews, 'some of whom slaughtered themselves and their children.' However Newburgh, for Dobson 'perhaps the most incisive and critical of all medieval English chroniclers', records that 'the lawless and furious mob...beat the Jews unmercifully with their fists and then sticks and stones'. Fleeing Jews 'were beaten so that they died; others, trampled underfoot, perished'. Houses were plundered and set on fire. This is confirmed by Roger of Howden, who reports that the common people rushed upon the Jews, stripped them and cast them from the king's hall. The citizens, hearing this, attacked the Jews in the city and burned their houses. Later the king caused the arrest of those who had set fire to the city and pillaged the houses and property of the Christians. The mob was interested in plunder, not baptism. The only conversion reported was that of \*Benedict of York, by his fellow townsman, Prior William of St Mary's Abbey.

Can Cohen's critique be applied to the events at \*York Castle, commencing on the evening of the Great Sabbath, 16 March 1190, which have become part of the debate on *Kiddush ha-Shem*? Hebrew laments for the York martyrs by Ephraim of Bonn, Menahem ben Jacob of Worms and Joseph ben Asher of Chartres provide valuable details not available in the English sources. Ephraim gives a total of 150 Jewish men, women and children killed, of whom some 60 were martyrs. Ben Asher identifies William of Newburgh's 'famous doctor of the Law who had come from ... beyond the sea to instruct the Jews of England' as Rabbi Yom Tov of Joigny.

To understand Yom Tov's response at York one has to turn to events at Blois on 26 May 1171. There, as a result of an unsubstantiated claim that a Jew had killed a Christian boy, charges were brought against the whole \*community. Attempts to bribe Count Theobald failed. After their accuser successfully survived trial by water – he floated – over thirty Jews were condemned. All having refused conversion, they were tied to stakes within a wooden tower and burned to death. Rabbenu Tam ordered that 20 Sivan be observed by the French, Rhenish and English communities as a day of fasting in honour of the Blois martyrs.

Many liturgical poems were composed about their sacrifice. In his lament 'Lord, Pour out Your Wrath' Yom Tov, who had acted as Rabbenu Tam's intermediary in discussions with the leaders of the Paris community, lauded the Blois martyrs, praising especially the leading role of rabbis Yehiel bar David and Yekutiel bar Yehuda: 'Among Your pious ones, remember Yehiel / who fought with brandished arm'; 'As for the blood of Your priest Yekutiel / his soul yearned for Your Name.' Like himself, they had been students of Rabbenu Tam in Champagne.

As Einbinder points out, 'Yom Tov's treatment of the fire incident is unique among the Blois poems.' His 'terse encomiums for Yehiel and Yekutiel, drawn from the language of battle and love, encapsulate the heroic ideal of the scholar martyr.' This is the role that Yom Tov played at York where he transmitted Ashkenazic 'martyrological ideals', as Einbinder puts it, 'not only in poetry but by personally slaughtering some 60 York Jews'.

□ *Enc Jud*, 12 (2007), 139–44; Goldin (2008), 203, quoting Ephraim of Bonn; Newburgh (1996), 555–8, 566–71; Howden, *Annals*, 2 (1853), 119–20; Cohen (2001); Eidelberg (1977); Chazan (2000); Dobson (2010), viii–x, 15–16; Einbinder (2002), 45–69; S. L. Einbinder, 'The Jewish Martyrs of Blois', in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. T. Head (2000), 537–60 includes poems by Ephraim and Hillel of Bonn and Yom Tov. For the laments for York: (Ephraim of Bonn) Roth (1964), 272; (Menahem ben Jacob) S. Schechter, 'A Hebrew Elegy', *TJHSE*, 1 (1894), 8–14; (Joseph of Chartres) Roth (1952a)

### King's Lynn *see* Lynn

#### Laving Stones

The expulsion returns for \*Winchester provide significant evidence relating to the burial rites of the English medieval Jewry. They record 'a stone of the value of 4s, on which the Jews washed corpses before burial'. This laving stone complied with the dictates of Maimonides that 'utensils from ... stone ... are not susceptible to uncleanness'. However, the records of the trials of the *conversos* at Ciudad Real, 1483–85, describe how the womenfolk, who also

sewed the shrouds, washed the bodies on top of apparently wooden tables. The use of laving stones was not restricted to the Jewry. One such, on which the abbots were washed prior to burial, can still be seen at the Cistercian abbey of Jervaulx in north Yorkshire.

### **Legislation and related matters concerning the Jewry** *see c.1136–post 1138,*

Laws of Edward the Confessor; 1164, Constitution of Clarendon; 1177, Jewish Provincial Cemeteries authorised; 1181, Assize of Arms; 1190, Charter of Liberties; 1194, Articles about Jews; 1201, Charter of Liberties; 1210, General Captivity; 1215, Magna Carta; 1218, Re-establishment of English Jewry; 1233, Statute concerning the Jews; 1241, Worcester 'Parliament'; 1253, Statute concerning the Jews; 1258, Petition of the Barons; 1269, Provisions of the Jewry; 1271, Statute ... Lands and Fees; 1275, Petition of Commonalty of Jews; 1275, Statute of the Jewry; 1276, Articles about Jews; 1287, Mini-Parliament; 1290, Writ of Expulsion.

### **Leicester**

County town. The castle belonged, not to the Crown, but to the earls of Leicester. During Stephen's reign the mint issued baronial coins in the name of the king and others. 'Jews of Leicester' appear in the 1185 \*pipe roll, and in 1193 Aaron of Leicester owed some £22 to \*Aaron of Lincoln, probably as his local agent. They made no contribution to the 1194 Northampton *Promissum*, but the 1205 close roll refers to a Benedict 'Jew of Leicester'.

In 1215 King John granted the custody of the de \*Montfort half of the honour of Leicester to Ranulf III de Blundeville, sixth earl of Chester, d.1232. Ranulf's status is clearly expressed in King John's will, where his signature in the witness list of the laity was preceded only by that of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, the *rector regni*. For Powicke he was 'the greatest baron of the realm'; for Carpenter 'highly ambitious and jealous of his rights'.

A principal member of Henry III's Council of Regency, Ranulf treated Leicester, and \*Coventry, as his own private property. The two Jewries were thus not amongst the 17 recognised \*communities of \*1218, and made no payments to the 1221, 1223 and 1226 tallages. The 1226 close roll shows that Ranulf was still powerful enough to persuade the Crown to order the \*sheriff of Leicester and Warwick to ensure that his Jews at Coventry and Leicester were 'not impeded nor molested'.

In 1231 Ranulf released his half of the honour of the county and portion of the borough to Simon de Montfort, who expelled the Jews. His charter (Figure 10) in the Leicestershire County Record Office reads:

Know all of you that I, for the good of my soul, and the souls of my ancestors and successors, have granted, and by this my present charter have confirmed, on behalf of me and my heirs forever, to my burgesses of Leicester and their heirs, that no Jew or Jewess, in my time or in the time of any of my heirs to the end of the world, shall inhabit, or remain or obtain a residence within the \*liberty of the town of Leicester.

Simon was not invested as earl of Leicester until 1239, after buying out his brother, Aumery's, claim. This was the first \*expulsion of a local community, but was to be followed in 1234 by three others.

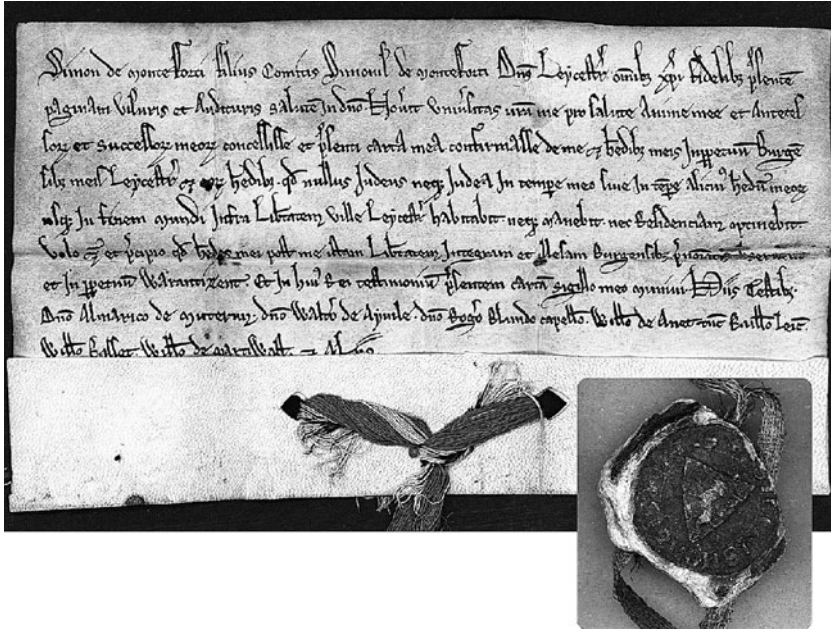


Figure 10 Simon de Montfort's charter of 1231 expelling the Jews from his borough of Leicester

Source: © Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland.

There has been confusion over the date of Montfort's expulsion charter. Levy, Bémont and others have suggested 1253. However, as Simon describes himself as *Dominus Leycestrie*, it must have been issued before his investiture as earl of Leicester in 1239. It can be dated precisely from a letter of Bishop Robert Grosseteste, as archdeacon of Leicester, to Margaret de Quincy, dowager countess of \*Winchester, the original coheirress when the earldom of Leicester was partitioned in 1207. She had granted refuge to the Jews expelled by Simon; not, as has been suggested, in Winchester but in her eastern section of the borough. Grosseteste, appalled by \*usury, counselled her not to permit the Jews to continue practising it, and on no account to profit from it herself, even indirectly. He was, however, protective towards the Jews, to whom the Law and the Prophets had been given and who therefore, in his view, bore unconscious testimony to the truth of Christianity, which he believed they would eventually embrace. He even made a favourable comparison between Jewish financial practices and those of the Cahorsins (see Usury). Grosseteste's letter, dated 1231, was clearly written after de Montfort had expelled the Jews.

The Jewry evidently remained in the countess's section of Leicester as late as 1244, when John *de Mardefeud* was appointed 'clerk for the making of \*chirographs between Christians and Jews', naming four Christians as pledges for his fidelity. Nevertheless, some sought pastures new. Moses of Leicester was operating in \*Lincoln, and Josce probably in \*Canterbury, where his son, Salle, was to play a





of a religious. On occasions there was a special office for the seclusion of the leper. The English Jewry therefore had to make its own provision for members who had contracted leprosy, or reconcile itself to their conversion. A London leper hospital appears to have been the resolution to this problem.

Davis's 'hospital' should not be confused with the *hospitium* or community hall recorded in London, which was such a feature of Jewish life. (See Jewish Court.) There are documentary references to an *hôpital* at Narbonne and at Marseilles, and of a *lepro-sarum* established in Provins by 1244 and Sens by 1246.

□ Davis (1969), no. 54; P. H. Cullum, 'Leperhouses and Borough Status in the Thirteenth Century', in *Thirteenth Century England*, Vol. 3, ed. P. R. Coss (1991), 37–46; C. Rawcliff, *Leprosy in Medieval England* (2006); H. R. Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals of England* (1909), 128–32, 273–6; Blumenkranz (1980), 26 n. 81; Metzger (1982), 78

**Lewes**, Sussex *see* Chichester

## **Liberty**

As Cam explains, this was a place in which 'the \*sheriff could not intervene without special orders'. Initially he had to advise the steward or bailiff of the liberty that he had received a copy of a royal writ, 'wherefore we command you to execute this writ and report to us what you have done in the matter'. If the steward or bailiff took no action and this was reported by the sheriff, he would receive another writ, by virtue of which he could enter the liberty and execute the original order. The procedure was clear, but on occasions the sheriffs apparently had their own agenda.

\*Bury was one of the greatest ecclesiastical liberties of East Anglia. It was made up of the 8½ hundreds granted to St Edmund by Edward the Confessor. This made the abbot virtually the direct ruler of west Suffolk. According to Ralph de Diceto, 57 Jews were murdered at Bury on Palm Sunday, 1190. The abbot claimed rights over the Jewry as within his liberty, which the king's officers firmly resisted on the grounds that, according to royal charters, all English Jews were under his protection. As Jocelin of Brakelond recounts, the abbot responded by banishing the Jews from the town.

At \*Sudbury the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk had to contend with the bailiffs of both the borough and the liberty of St Edmunds, which included Clare. In 1266 he received a writ relating to Moses de Clare of \*Sudbury, who by this time was under the patronage of Gilbert de Clare, the 'Red Earl' of Gloucester and Hertford, and lord of Clare Castle. The bailiffs of the liberty, to whom he sent the writ, conscious no doubt of the relationship between Moses and the earl, 'did nought in pursuance thereof'. Eight years later they failed to effect the execution of a writ, explaining that the bailiffs of Sudbury had 'withstood them'. Ordered to compel Moses and the Sudbury bailiffs to appear, the sheriff reported that they had 'absconded' and could not be found. The bailiffs of the liberty again failed to act in 1275 when those of Sudbury were charged with obstructing the king's mandate.

There are similar stories from other parts of the kingdom. At \*Stamford, after John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, had regained the borough, his franchise 'effectively withdrew the town from the royal administration of the shire, and made his seneschal sheriff within the town'. Ignoring the exchequer clerks' advice, to 'take with him a sufficient posse and enter the town', the sheriff of Lincolnshire failed on four occasions to get any response to writs relating to Jews within the town.

In 1270 the constable of \*Marlborough had similar difficulties with the bailiffs of the borough. Five years later, at \*Bristol the bailiffs of the liberty of the city 'did nought to help in the arrest of the malefactors' who had plundered the Jewry, despite their names being known; and at \*Devizes the constable of the liberty of the castle and borough prevented the sheriff from levying a \*tallage on the Jewry.

□ H. Cam, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (1963), 190–2; *PREJ*, I, 133, 234, & II, 128, 204–5, 220, 270

## Libraries and Books

For Sirat, 'medieval Jews built neither palaces nor cathedrals. Their books were their works of art and their treasuries. Consequently they offer us a unique insight into the intellectual history of those who wrote and read them.' At \*York, according to William of Newburgh, \*Josce and Benedict of York lived 'like princes of their people'. When the Jewry was attacked in 1190, Ephraim of Bonn reports that they were despoiled not only of their gold and silver but their 'splendid books, which they had written in great number ... there being none like them for their splendour or beauty'. The plunderers, recognising their value, carefully preserved them. Taken 'to Cologne and other places', they were 'sold to Jews'.

Books were also symbols of scholarly dynasties. In his ethical will of c.1190 Judah ben Saul ibn Tibbon, described by I. Abrahams as the 'father of translators' from Arabic into Hebrew, refers to his book-shelves as 'the most beautiful pleasure-gardens'. He tells his son Samuel:

I have collected a large library for your sake so you need never borrow a book... Look over your Hebrew books every month, your Arabic ones every two months, your bound books every three months. Keep your library in order ... Take care also of the loose, separate leaves ..., because they contain exceedingly important things which I myself have collected and written down. Lose no writing and no letter which I leave you ... Cover your book-shelves with beautiful curtains, protect them from water from the roof, from mice, and from all harm, because they are your best treasure.

Judah also recommends Samuel to practise writing in Arabic, and to read grammatical works on Sabbaths and festivals.

The same sentiments applied in English \*communities. At \*Norwich the title *Nadib*, that is 'generous', meaning patron of scholars and scholarship, was applied in the *Shetaroth* to \*Jurnet, his son \*Isaac and grandsons, Moses and Samuel.

At \*Hereford \*Hamo left his books to his second son, Leo, who was more scholar than man of business. When Leo died in 1234 his financial interest did not justify payment of \*relief, but he left the custody of his 'books and chattels', in that order, to his brother, Ursell, and mother, Contessa. Leo's widow, Abraham of \*Berkhamsted's daughter, Flora, remarried in 1236 and claimed these books and chattels. Ursell and Contessa obtained judgment in their favour, for which they paid the Crown four palfreys, an indication of the value of the books.

\*David of Oxford acquired an impressive library which, on his death in 1244, was included in the assessment of relief. The exchequer clerks were ordered to scrutinise his books; any found to be against the law of Christians or Jews were to be condemned. David's bible, a glossed psalter and some decretals were handed over to the royal library. In 1271 the marriage contract between \*Benedict of Lincoln's granddaughter, Judith, and Aaron son of Benjamin described in detail the gift of 'a precious volume containing all 24 books of the Hebrew Bible, written on calf skin, properly provided with punctuation, Targum, Haphtarot, and Masorah'. \*Master Moses, author of *Darkhei ha-Nikkud*, will have inherited the books of his scholarly father, Yom Tov of Oxford, author of *Sepher ha-Tenaim*. Moses' collection will no doubt have been inherited by Elias, his successor as Master of the Law, and after the \*expulsion on through the generations?

\*Synagogues were well provided with the Laws and other books. For his new \*London synagogue, on the south side of Catte Street, \*Aaron son of Vives paid Queen Eleanor £126 in January 1280 for a collection of books 'of their Law and others' of Oxford Jews convicted of \*coin-clipping. The \*Lincoln community paid £9 to acquire books of condemned Jews, presumably for the synagogue.

For books by medieval English Jews: *Darkhei ha-Nikkud* see London, Master Moses; *Sepher ha-Shoham*, London, Moses ben Isaac ha-Nessiah; *Etz Hayyim*, London, Jacob ben Judah

□ Sirat (2002), 17; I. Abrahams, 'Jewish Ethical Wills', *JQR*, 3 (1891), 453–5; Lipman (1967), 96

## Licences for Residence, Royal

In \*1218 Henry III's Council of Regency nominated 17 towns where the Jews could have 'their own \*community', where they could administer 'their own justice amongst themselves, except such as pertains to our Crown and justice'. Each community was to have its own \*chest. A number of other communities were subsequently formally recognised.

The first reference to a royal licence for Jewish residence where there was no recognised community was at \*Southampton in 1236, when the port's burgesses lobbied the Crown 'that no Jew shall remain in the town'; to this Henry III added, 'without the king's special licence'. The English Jewry displayed an extraordinary degree, by medieval standards, of mobility. This received a measure of formal recognition in \*1241, when delegates to the Worcester 'parliament' were invited from two counties, \*Wiltshire and \*Dorset, in addition to 19 communities. The problems posed for the Exchequer of the

Jews by such mobility were addressed by the \*1253 Statute, which ordained that 'no Jew be received in any town save in those in which Jews have been wont to dwell, except by special licence of the king'.

After de \*Montfort's defeat at the battle of Evesham, Henry III sought to stimulate the economy of the Jewry by providing royal licences, for a fee, either to move from one recognised community to another, or to reside elsewhere. At \***Bridgnorth** Josce son of Deulecresse and Meyr son of Isaac of Oxford paid 4 \*bezants (8 shillings) 'to tarry with their wives' in 1267. Seven years later Bonami le Prestre bought a licence to move there from Hereford.

In the 1270s Jews from the neighbouring communities of \*Northampton, \*Lincoln and \*Stamford paid to move to \***Nottingham**. In 1274 Josce of Germany and Solomon son of Solomon paid the Crown 4 bezants to reside at **Southampton**; subsequent riots by the townsmen led to an attack on the \*sheriff and his posse, with the consequent loss of civic liberties. Next year Moses son of Bonefei paid 4 bezants to move to **Oxford** from Worcester. The 1276 close roll records that the sheriff of Kent was commanded to permit 'Salle de *Roucestria* and Hak *Poleyn*, Jews, to dwell in the city of **Rochester**, in the houses wherein they previously dwelt, until the king shall ordain otherwise'. In the same year \*Aaron son of Vives paid 2 bezants 'that he may leave London and live at \***Canterbury**'. By 1277 Hagin son of Perez obtained a licence to reside permanently at \***Ipswich**. See also Expulsions, Local

**Licoricia** see Winchester, Licoricia of

## Lincoln

The history of medieval Lincoln has been illuminated by two outstanding but very different books: J. W. F. Hill's *Medieval Lincoln* (1948), in which a chapter is devoted to the Jewry; and Stocker's archaeological and historical survey of 2003. The city was one of the great commercial centres of medieval England. In the 1213–14 royal tallage of towns, Lincoln was second with \*Bristol after \*London, \*York being fourth.

The Roman legionary fort established c.AD 50 on the hill to the north of the river crossing at Lincoln has exercised a powerful influence on the topography of the medieval city. The site of the Roman camp became the bailey of the Norman castle (1 on Plan 6) within which the cathedral (2) was built. The medieval city was divided into Upper and Lower Towns (see plan), both within the Roman walls. As it flourished it extended down what is now Steep Hill (3) and through the south gate of the Roman castrum to The Strait (4), with its street markets, and the High Street (5). The south gate of the medieval city, the Stonebow Arch (6), gave access to the extensive riverfront that stretched from Brayford Pool (7) to the warehouses and docks east of the walled city. These were the centre of its rich trade in wool and lead. Indeed, the first element of the place name Lincoln is identical with the Welsh *llyn*, 'lake or pool'. The city had access to the sea by two waterways: westward along the Fossedyke canal (8), constructed originally by the Romans or Vikings, to the Trent river system near Torksey and thence the Humber; to

the south and east via the river Witham (9) to Boston and ports of the Wash. Jewish settlement followed this pattern, eventually spreading over at least ten parishes.

The earlier version of the so-called *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* of c.\*1136–38 refers to ‘the Jews *wherever* they are in the kingdom’. For O’Brien Lincoln ‘was probably the place of [their] composition’ by a ‘legal writer’ under the patronage of Bishop Alexander I the Magnificent (1123–48), who is credited with compiling an **Anglo-Norman** glossary of **Old English** legal terms whilst archdeacon at Salisbury. O’Brien notes the author had ‘a precocious knowledge of (and interest in) the legal position of the Jews’, thus raising the prospect of Jews at Lincoln at that time. Alexander’s successor, Robert de Chesney (1148–66), was also, as Dorothy Owen points out in the *ODNB*, ‘clearly interested in law’. He had ordered a glossed and corrected copy of Justinian’s *Digest* of 529, the major work on classical jurisprudence, and acted as a papal judge-delegate. Lincoln Jewry contributed £40 to the 1159 *Donum*. The only \*provincial \*community to exceed this sum was \*Norwich, at £44 6s 8d.

It is thus hardly surprising that Lincoln became the headquarters of \*Aaron of Lincoln, wealthiest of all England’s medieval Jews, who died in 1186. His activities in the town predate the death of Chesney, who borrowed from him to buy land for his new episcopal residence south of the cathedral, and for the 100 marks he paid for the Old Temple as his London palace in 1162. Chesney’s successor had to repay Aaron’s £300 loan, which had been secured on the cathedral’s ‘sacred vessels’ and one of its manors. Whilst Aaron’s business interests extended throughout England, Lincoln city and shire both played an important role. Many of the more important merchants and members of the cathedral clergy were amongst his clients. Evidence indicates that York’s Jewry was an offshoot of Aaron’s activity at Lincoln. Certainly, the major Yorkshire Cistercian houses of Kirkstall, Rievaulx, Meaux and Roche were in debt to him at his death, as well as Newminster in Northumberland.

According to the hundred rolls, Aaron owned all the property on the west side of Steep Hill within the south gate of the Upper Town, the castle’s outer bailey. His house (A on plan) was at the top of Steep Hill, on the north-west, facing what is now the square between castle and cathedral; no. 1 Castle Hill possibly stands on its site. Not surprisingly, after his death it was handed over to the constable ‘for castle purposes’. With the tranquillity of Henry II’s reign (1154–89), Jewish settlement began to extend beyond Steep Hill and the security of the south gate into the Lower Town, to the Corn Market and The Strait, where the late twelfth-century ‘Jew’s House’ (B), no. 1 The Strait/15 Steep Hill, can still be seen (illustrated in \*Houses). Later, Jews were to settle in the tightly knit parishes of the lower walled town, in the lanes on either side of the High Street.

In March 1190 William of Newburgh reports that the people of Lincoln, hearing what had been done to Jews elsewhere, ‘broke out in a sudden commotion against them’; but the Jews, ‘rendered cautious by knowledge of the fate of their fellows, betook themselves betimes to the fortified part of the town’, that is the Bail. The scale of 94 fines recorded in the \*pipe rolls for 1191 suggest that the mob was led by members of the city’s merchant

oligarchy: William fitz Warner, Lefwin the Moneyer, the last of a long line of city moneyers of that name, Ralf son of Lambert the draper and Reimbald the Rich of Wigford.

The average fine was £3 15s, but William fitz Warner had to pay £100, by far the largest. A man of substance, rector of the ancient church of St Paul-in-the-Bail (10 on plan), he held half a knight's fee in Stow. His father had been city bailiff c.1167–73, an office William never held. His cousin, William nephew of Warner, who was bailiff 1186–87, 1189–90, 1216 and the city's mayor in 1217, was not amongst those fined. Lefwin and Ralf each paid £26 13s 4d, Reimbald £13 6s 8d.

According to his *Life*, Bishop Hugh of Avalon (1186–1200), later canonised as St Hugh of Lincoln, 'brandishing the sword of the Spirit against his enraged and furious assailants, delivering the contumacious to Satan ... castigated with his tongue those who raised their swords to brain him'. At his funeral Lincoln's Jews responded with fulsome tributes, 'mourning and lamenting him as the faithful servant of the one God', running beside his bier, weeping and wailing, realising the prophecy, 'the Lord has caused all nations to bless him', had been fulfilled.

Despite the death in 1186 of Aaron, whose fortune had been seized by Henry II, Lincoln's contribution to the 1194 *Promissum*, nearly £300, was the highest of all provincial Jewries. London's payment, £471, represented 27% of the total; Lincoln's 16%. York was absent due to the events of 1190. The Lincoln Jewry's wealth was based on numbers; 45 taxpayers are listed compared with only 33 in London. Aaron's brother Benedict and four sons all contributed; Vives, the eldest, made the community's highest payment, £37 6s 8d, 13% of the total. He ranked only eleventh nationally, as his father's fortune had been seized by Henry II. During the minority of Henry III another son, Elias, established himself as a major member of the Lincoln Jewry. Lincoln's earliest assize roll, of 1202, reports that, when the body of a child was found outside the city wall, suspicion fell on the Jews.

### The early years of Henry III's reign

Lincoln was one of the 17 communities that received formal recognition by Henry III's Council of Regency. In spring \*1218 orders were sent to the \*sheriff and the constable of the castle to supervise the elections of 'the twenty-four' citizens, who were to ensure the safety of the Jewry from any injury or molestation, and not to allow them to be impleaded in any church court concerning matters of debt. Nevertheless the murder of three Jews, Moses, Deulecresse and his wife Sara, was reported in 1220. As no action was taken by 'the twenty-four', the sheriff was commanded to have those responsible, with the mayor, before the justices of the Jews at the exchequer court. This was the year Aaron's son Elias sent 26 men to extract payment from one of his debtors.

In the 1221 Aid, Lincoln, paying £52 10s 1½d, ranked third amongst the provincial Jewries. It had been overtaken by York, now fully recovered, and marginally by \*Winchester. Elias, Lincoln's major contributor, ranked merely thirteenth amongst the magnates. Two Lincoln-born Jews who had left to make their fortunes elsewhere were

prominent amongst the national magnates: \*Aaron of York headed the list, paying £28 15s in 1221; \*David of Oxford, still called 'of Lincoln' as late as 1241, was ninth in 1221 but third in 1223. Lincoln was again third in 1223, but by 1226 had dropped to eighth, probably due to the death of Elias. Hebrew deeds published by Davis show that members of the Lincoln Jewry continued to supply lands encumbered by debt to the monastic houses of the county, especially the Premonstratensians of Newhouse, but also the Augustinians of Thornholme, the Augustinian prioress of Greenfield and the Gilbertine prior of Bullington.

In his article, 'The Ordinary Jew in the Middle Ages', Roth drew attention to a list that provides a remarkable snapshot of the Jewish \*population of the town in 1240. The document evidently refers to the inquisition ordered by Henry III on 1 July that year (*see* 1239). The 100 entries record the names of 115 individuals, with sums allocated to 89. A number of female relationships are noted: daughters, mothers, even a grandmother and stepdaughter, but no wife. We must therefore assume that, despite the king's instructions, wives are subsumed under their husband's entry. The roll does not portray an affluent community, as only four are listed with more than £10: Peitevin son of Elias and his daughter Fluria, £17 2s 10d; Leo son of Solomon, £14 2s 1d; Jacob le Prestre and his son Pictavin, £12; and Abraham of Colchester, £10 6s 6d. Of the 89 people with assets, 41 owned less than £1. A further 26, we are informed, 'have nothing'; of these nine were women. Based on this roll, Roth gives an approximate total Jewish population for Lincoln 'in the region of' 250 or 300 souls. Subsequent data suggests Lincoln's was the largest of all provincial communities.

At the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament' Lincoln was represented by Leo and Abraham, sons of Solomon, Judas *le Fraunceys*, Josce of Bungay, Abraham of Colchester and Deulecresse son of Elias. For the 20,000-mark tallage of 1241–42 the Jewry paid £244 14s 3d, less than 3% of the total. By 1255, however, Lincoln was to rank second, with \*Winchester.

David of Oxford's wife, Muriel, was from a leading Lincoln family. In 1242 David decided to divorce her and marry \*Licoricia of \*Winchester. A group of Lincoln notables, including Peytevin the Great, probably Muriel's brother, referred to in 1230 as '*de Francia*', his son Benedict and Moses de Barbun, consulted the Paris \*bet din. This Henry III regarded as a blatant challenge to his authority over the English Jewry. David obtained his divorce.

### The Little St Hugh \*Ritual-Child-Murder Accusation

In 1255, when the body of the nine-year-old Hugh was found in a well, the community was ravaged by accusations of ritual crucifixion. Although this took place on 27 August, not at Easter, marks on the body were declared to be 'consistent with' a mock crucifixion. As at \*Gloucester, the presence of a large number of Jews for a wedding gave verisimilitude to the charge. The evidence strongly suggests that bishop and dean



carefully manipulated the proceedings. As at \*Norwich, Gloucester and \*Bury, their motives were apparently financial: the promotion of a new cult and offerings of pilgrims at the shrine of Little St Hugh, so-called to distinguish him from Lincoln's principal saint, Hugh of Avalon.

Under torture and promised indemnity, Jacob son of Leo, a Lincoln Jew, confessed. The arrival of Henry III transformed the situation. He ordered Jacob's immediate execution, despite Bishop Lexington's promise of immunity, and the despatch of 91 Lincoln Jews to the Tower. Peytevin the Great and others had already fled. Eighteen were hanged, their refusal to plea except before the customary jury of Christians and Jews being taken as an admission of guilt.

Amongst those charged was the Talmudic scholar Master \*Benedict, son of Master \*Moses of London, also known as Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole, but his family secured his freedom through the good offices of the Spanish diplomat, Garcias Martini of Toledo. Richard earl of Cornwall, to whom in February Henry had mortgaged the English Jewry for 5000 marks (£3333 6s 8d), ordered the release of the others. However, heavy fines were imposed. 'It was the king's will' that Queen Eleanor of Provence 'be satisfied of the £722 8s which the Jews of Lincoln owed as \*queen's gold', which was 10% of sums 'promised to the king'. Strong doubts remained in the minds of many, even the royal clerks. Writing in the charter rolls, one referred to 'the boy said to be crucified at Lincoln'; another wrote that the Jews were 'hanged for the crucifixion of a boy, as it is said'.

The houses of the hanged proved attractive investments. Another son of Master Moses, Hagin, here described as 'of Lincoln', having 'laboured much' in the service of Earl Richard, in 1257 bought eight, dispersed across five parishes. Shortly afterwards he was appointed \*archpresbyter.

### The Jewry's Last Quarter Century

The patent rolls show that in May 1265, after de \*Montfort's supporters had taken Lincoln, and burned the \*chest, *archa*, and its contents, Henry III appointed 24 named citizens to defend the Jews. Later he was to promise that 'none of their Christian debtors would be pardoned'. In November there was a further onslaught; the \*Disinherited from the Isle of Axholme, led by John d'Eyvill and Baldwin Wake, attacked the city and destroyed the principal synagogue. Master Benedict, his eldest son, Hagin, and other Lincoln Jews received Henry's guarantee that their debts would be levied and paid.

The Jewry faced even greater tribulations during the \*coin-clipping crisis, 1276–79. The most famous victim was Belaset, daughter of Solomon of Wallingford, who was hanged; her bond, for £4 13s 4d in cash, remained in the chest in 1290. Her stone \*house, now known as 'the Jew's House', (B on plan) still stands at the junction of Steep Hill and The Strait (Figure 9). The returns made by Hugh of Kendal of the fines and amercements of those found guilty make chilling reading. The total sum for Lincoln was £951,

more than twice that for Northampton, £452, almost four times that for \*Nottingham, £240, and two and a half times that for York, £376. The community had to pay £9 to recover the \*books of its condemned members.

To the \*1287 'mini-parliament' Lincoln sent four representatives: Master Benedict's son Hagin, Jacob of Brancegate, Jacob Leon and Solomon of London.

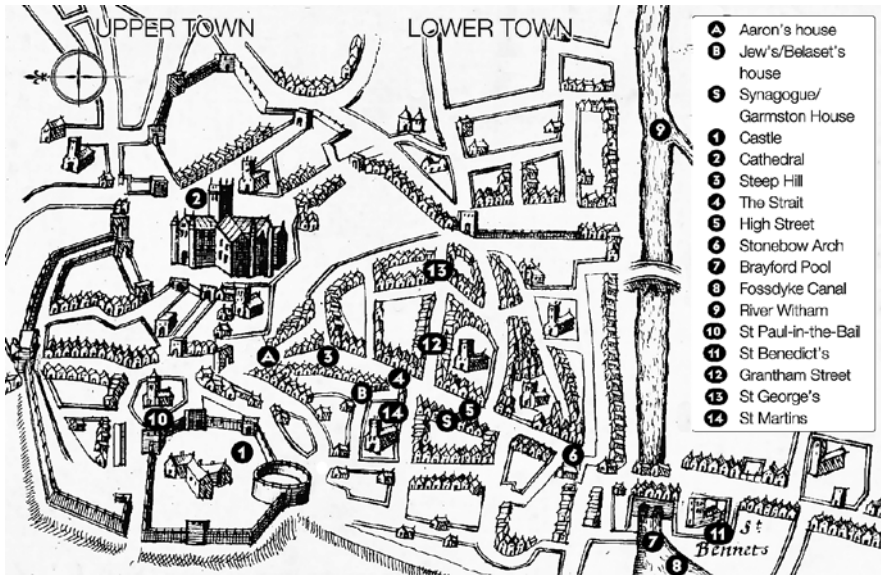
It is clear from the \*expulsion returns that in 1290, despite the ravages of the ritual-child-murder accusation in 1255 and coin-clipping crisis of 1276–79, Lincoln was not only the most affluent, but also the most numerous of all Jewish communities. The long and complex list of bonds in the New Chest has been analysed by Mundill. The bonds were worth £2620, more than double the value of those of its nearest rival, \*Hereford, £1017 6s 0d, which was also second in terms of numbers. Of 66 members named, 59 held bonds. Most of the loans had been contracted during the last twelve years of the English Jewry; a quarter in 1290. Jacob of Brancegate had the largest holding, thirty-two bonds worth £325, followed by Solomon of London, with twenty, valued at £232. Six holdings ranged between £152 and £106, six others between £88 and £54.

In its last years, Lincoln's Jewry was committed to commodity bonds. Of the total, 65% was for 208½ sacks of wool, 22.5% for grain, and only 12.5% for cash. This is not surprising, given the county's reputation as a sheep-farming area. When English wool export peaked in 1305, according to Platts 'a large proportion ... came from Lincolnshire'. Only five bondholders eschewed commodities: Jacob son of Hagin, with a single cash bond for £80, the other four with bonds worth less than £5.

These figures speak volumes for the extraordinary resilience of the Lincoln community. The relative affluence of the Lincoln Jewry has to be placed in the wider context of what has been described as 'the decline, or more likely, collapse of Lincoln's economy in the late thirteenth century', as evidenced by the city's inability to pay its fine for pardon after the defeat and death of Simon de Montfort. In 1267 Henry III called for an inquiry into the state of the city's economy. Bischoff has argued that this collapse was due to the growth of the Flemish cloth industry, coupled with the decline in popularity of the city's speciality, its expensive scarlet cloths.

### The Jewry

The Lincoln Jewry was unusual. The expulsion property lists show that, unlike at Norwich, Oxford and York, its houses were widely dispersed, over ten parishes: All Saints in the Bail, St Michael on the Mount, St John the Poor, St Andrew under Palace, St Cuthbert in the Corn Market, St George, St Martin in the Cloth Market and St Peter at Arches. South of the river, amongst Lincoln's leading citizens at Wigford, lived the scholar, Master Benedict, with 'three messuages' about a court, valued at 40s a year, in St Benedict's (11 on Plan 6) parish, and Ursell son of Sampson Levy further south, in St Mark's. As Lincoln's medieval parishes were amalgamated before the first detailed map of the city, buildings cannot always be precisely located.



Plan 6 Plan of Lincoln, from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611)

Source: © University of Bristol Library Special Collections.

In so far as there was concentration, it was in Brancegate, now Grantham Street (12), in St George's (13) parish, on the east side of High Street (5). Here Jacob of Brancegate and Manser of Bradeworth each had 'a good house, well built'. Josce of Colchester's house, also well built, had 'two chambers'. In this parish Master Benedict had a messuage with two shops and tenement, valued at 5s, evidently an investment. Another group lived in St Martin's (14) parish, on the west side of the High Street. According to Christopher Johnson, whose work on Lincoln's houses and its medieval Jewry continues, Floria daughter of Josce's *optima domus cum duabus shopis et pulcro exitu*, 'with two shops and a beautiful entrance', was on the east side of the Strait. Her portal was probably similar in design to, but with more elaborate decoration than, that of Belaset, which originally also had shops at ground level. Whereas the latter's house was valued at 19s 6d, Floria's was 30s per annum.

In December 1290 Hugh of Kendal valued the Jewish property in the town at £173. Comparison with his figure for York, £243, may surprise, given that community's much reduced status in the later thirteenth century. However York was a regional capital, where Fountains, Selby and other great abbeys, as well as the local gentry, were investing heavily in urban property, which was eagerly sought after.

In June 1291 the sheriff of Lincolnshire paid into the royal exchequer the £135 13s 4d he had received from the sale of Jewish houses in the town. This was £38 less than the valuation that Hugh of Kendal had submitted in 1290. Lincoln's more powerful

patricians recognised, it would appear, 'the last dish after the last course after which nothing more could be expected' from the English Jewry, and had taken care to protect their interests in Jewish property. The houses of Berechiah in St Benedict's parish, his son Hagin in Brancegate and Benedict le Comte in St John *le Poer* parish were all bought for £8 6s 8d by Robert *le Venour*, keeper of the city in 1291 and sheriff of the county in 1293–97. Similarly, at \*Hereford, the purchaser of \*Aaron II le Blund's house and the synagogue was Reginald, a member of the affluent Moniword family, city bailiff in 1274.

There is documentary evidence for a *scola* in both St Martin's and St Cuthbert's parishes. (See Synagogues.) The York expulsion returns report that the Jewbury \*cemetery in that town was held 'in common with the Jews of Lincoln'. However a Lincoln expulsion return refers to a '2s rent out of the burial-place of the Jews'. This is repeated in a late fifteenth-century Lincoln charter.

□ Hill (1948), 217–38; O'Brien (1999), 54–61; *ODNB*, 'Chesney, Robert de'; D. Stocker (ed.), *The City by the Pool* (2003), 177–9, 212–13; Hundred Rolls, 322b; *Survey of Ancient Houses in Lincoln*, ed. S. R. Jones et al., 4 (1996), 24, 101; Newburgh (1996), 565; Hillaby (2013); Douie & Farmer, 2 (1962), 17, 228; Davis (1969), nos 146–69; Causton (2007), nos 103–43; Stacey (2000), 170; *PR*, 1218, 179–80; *PREJ*, I, 5, 25, 31; *AM*, I, 340–48; Roth (1967); G. A. Langmuir, 'The Knight's Tale of Young Hugh of Lincoln', *Speculum*, 47 (1972), 459–82; Hillaby (1997), 91–8; *CChR*, 1257, 460; Mundill (1987), 250–307, & (1998), 184–98; J. P. Bischoff, 'Economic Change in 13th-Century Lincoln', PhD thesis, Yale University (1975); G. Platts, *Land and People in Medieval Lincoln* (1985), 145–7; Abrahams (1896); C. Johnson, 'A Second Jewish *Scola* in Lincoln', *Lincs Hist & Archaeol*, 13 (1978), 35–6; Johnson & Vince (1992); W. de G. Birch, *City of Lincoln: Catalogue of the Royal Charters and Other Documents* (1906), 136–42

### **Lincoln, Aaron of, d.1186**

Aaron was by far the wealthiest of England's twelfth-century Jewish financiers. The earliest evidence relating to him is in the 1165 \*pipe roll, where he was the junior partner of Isaac, eldest son and heir of the great \*Rabbi Josce of \*London, in making loans to Henry II. In that year £950 was repaid to Isaac, to Aaron a mere £100. In 1166 the sums were £730 for Isaac and £320 for Aaron. Some ten years later, when the partnership included Isaac's brother Abraham, some £600 was repaid. Foreseeing the potential dangers in making such interest-free loans in the hope of royal favours, Aaron withdrew from such transactions, which carried no direct profit but considerable risk. In 1177 a syndicate of Jurnet and Benedict of \*Norwich with the Londoners Moses le Brun and Josce Quatrebouches was accused of an unspecified offence and fined £4000. Le Brun, the major partner, was ruined.

### **Relations with Monastic Houses**

The years 1128–50 witnessed the foundation of some 50 Cistercian and Savignac monasteries, many in the north of England, especially in the remote hills and dales of Yorkshire and wolds of Lincolnshire. By the century's end their abbeys owned vast flocks of sheep.

In 1165 the Flemish moneylender William Cade of St Omer furnished the Cistercians of Louth, Lincs, the first daughter house of Fountains, with a loan for their building programme. This was secured on the abbey's wool production over the following six years. Cade's purchases were no doubt destined for his native Flanders.

Cade's death, c.1166, opened up highly significant business opportunities for Aaron. By that year the great Benedictine abbey of St Albans was in his debt. However, it was the land-hungry Cistercian houses that became his major clients. At his death 20 years later ten Cistercian abbots – of Rievaulx, Kirkstall, Meaux and Roche in Yorkshire; Louth Park, Revesby and Kirkstead in Lincolnshire; Newminster in Northumberland; Rufford in Nottinghamshire; and Biddlesdon in Buckinghamshire – owed him a total of some £4267; some £1000 was due from Roche alone. All but Biddlesdon belonged to the family of either Fountains or Rievaulx. Eventually the ten abbots negotiated collectively with Richard I who, desperate for money for his crusade, discharged their joint debt for a cash payment of 1000 marks, £666 13s 4d, less than 16% of its face value. The prior of Bullington, a Gilbertine house in Lincolnshire, with similar interests in sheep-farming, owed £252 10s.

In each case this represented money due to Aaron for his good offices in the acquisition of lands encumbered by debt, which enabled the abbeys to increase wool production and thus provide funding for their ambitious, and often competitive, building projects. Aaron's methods are illustrated by the fate of the East Yorkshire landowner, William Fossard, who raised loans secured on his estate from Josce of York and six other named Jews, either acting as Aaron's agents or having sold their bonds to him. In 1176, unable to meet Aaron's demands, which exceeded £1200, Fossard persuaded Abbot Philip of the Cistercian abbey of Meaux, near Beverley, to clear his debt in return for a complex deal relating to his lands. Meaux was to pay Aaron £840 spread over a number of years, with \*interest of £40 per annum.

Aaron was not alone in this trade with monastic houses. In 1170 Roger de Wanchy, lord of Stanstead manor, Herts, borrowed money from Moses le Brun on the security of that manor. By his death in 1180 some £280 was outstanding. Roger's heir, Michael, surrendered the manor to Henry II, who refounded Harold Godwinson's burial-place, Waltham, as an Augustinian abbey in 1184.

Neither Jews nor monks wished to advertise the means by which these new lands had been acquired. They are described by Richardson in his discussion of 'Jews and the Land', where he points out that 'many religious houses had business dealings with moneylenders', and that 'they were as profitable to themselves as to the Jews'. This had certainly not been the case with the forward sales of wool to Flemish merchants, such as that negotiated by William Cade at Louth, or later to Italians. Indeed in 1181 the general synod of the Cistercian order prohibited advance sales of wool exceeding a year. As will be seen, the fortunes of \*Aaron and Leo Episcopus of \*York were also based on monastic land hunger.

### The Range of Aaron's Interests

Only after his death do we get evidence of the full extent of Aaron's business activities. Instead of imposing the usual \*relief of one-third on his assets, as with Cade the Crown took possession of all Aaron's bonds, cash and valuables. Interest on his bonds, however, ceased on his death. In the *Gesta Regis* Howden reports that a large part of his treasure was lost at sea in February 1187, whilst en route from Shoreham to Dieppe. The *Scaccarium Aaron*, an offshoot of the exchequer from which the \*Exchequer of the Jews developed, was established to administer his bonds. The 1191/92 pipe roll records some 430 debts still outstanding. Totalling almost £15,000, they illustrate the extraordinary wide range of Aaron's business interests, geographically and socially.

His bonds extended from Northumberland to Cornwall, across some 20 shrievalties. The principal concentrations were in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, London and Middlesex, Leicestershire and Warwickshire, Norfolk and Suffolk. His Rutland bonds have been examined in detail by Richardson. Even here, the smallest of the English counties, the Augustinian priory of Brooke was amongst his clients, although it had only three canons. To conduct such nationwide interests, Aaron had a network of agents established at strategic points throughout the realm. Their activities on his behalf are illuminated by three remarkable manuscript survivals, published by Davis; two are dated 1182, the third 1183.

The first records Benedict ben Elias's receipt, in Latin and Hebrew, of £10 10s from the men of Barton-upon-Humber, Lincs. The second concerned the 'great debt' of the Yorkshire landowner, Richard Malebisse, leader of the 1190 attack on that Jewry. On behalf of 'my master Aaron' £4 was received from him by Solomon of Paris who, as Davis points out, 'was a wag, and no illiterate one either'. By a play on the name he refers to Malebisse as *Malabestia*, 'the Evil Beast', an extraordinary anticipation of Richard's actions at York eight years later. Finally, in 1183, Peitevin and Leo issued a starr acknowledging receipt of £109 5s 4d at \*Warwick from Hamelin de Warenne, earl of Surrey d.1202, whose great keep can still be seen at Conisborough, Yorkshire. At Warwick Aaron kept the outstanding bonds of the earls of Leicester and Chester, worth £725. At \*Chichester, a stronghold of the d'Aubigny earls of Sussex, Benedict and Deulebene served as his agents. Aaron's cash at the time of his death was held at \*Nottingham.

In respect of his loans to the upper ranks of the baronage, Aaron was the heir, not of Cade, but of Rabbi Josce whose clients, as the pipe roll of Michaelmas 1130 shows, included Ranulf II des Gernons, earl of Chester, and Richard fitz Gilbert, lord of Ceredigion, and his sons, Isaac and Abraham. Amongst Aaron's major debtors were Robert, third earl of Leicester, £553 2s 8d; Henry II's son, Geoffrey, duke of Brittany, £330; the earl of Chester, £233 6s 8d; Gervase de Cornhill and his son, Henry, £100; and the earls of Northampton, Sussex and Aumale. In addition, we know from A. C. Lawrie's *Annals* that William the Lion, king of Scotland, owed some £2800. Amongst the ecclesiastics Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, owed £102 0s 10d; Guion

(Guy Rufus), bishop of Bangor 1177–90, £45; Warner, prior of the Jerusalem Hospital, £33 6s 8d; and Walter, abbot of Westminster 1175–90, £16 13s 4d. In the *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani* Thomas of Walsingham refers to a visit by Aaron to the abbey, where he made himself at home. Thomas accused Aaron of ‘great pride’, and of bragging that his money had provided the shrine for St Alban: a home for Britain’s protomartyr when he lacked one.

## Lincoln

Aaron’s earliest recorded personal loan was, as Gerald of Wales tells us, £300 to Robert de Chesney, bishop of \*Lincoln 1148–66, who offered the cathedral’s ‘sacred vessels’ and an episcopal manor as security. The loan was possibly to finance his new palaces: in 1154 he paid 100 marks for the Old Temple in the parish of St Andrew Holborn, built c.1118 by the Knights Templars in their traditional circular style, to serve as his London palace; the next year, no longer prepared to lodge in the tower over the cathedral gate as his predecessors had done, Chesney purchased a site below his cathedral and the walls of the Bail for his Lincoln palace. Ultimately Aaron’s £300 was repaid by Henry II’s illegitimate son, Geoffrey, who was elected but never consecrated bishop of Lincoln.

As Hill explains, the list of Lincoln debts in the *Scaccarium* ‘gives a striking picture of Aaron’s grip on merchant and churchman’ in that city. His clients included such laymen as Elwin Net, city bailiff on a number of occasions; James, brother-in-law of Adam Fleming, the first mayor; Robert the constable; William, son of Fulk, founder of one of the cathedral chantries; Goddard, the moneyer for whom Pagan the moneyer stood pledge; Warin the draper; and John the mercer. Clients within the cathedral chapter included the dean and five canons: Roger son of William, Roger the Small, William *de Buggend*, William son of Godfrid and Alexander. Lesser clergy included John, priest of St Margaret’s, and Gregory, priest of St Faith’s. Similarly many citizens of York owed Aaron money.

The hundred rolls indicate that Aaron owned all the property on the west side of Steep Hill within the south gate of the upper city. His residence was at the top of Steep Hill, between castle and cathedral. After his death, it was granted to the constable of the castle.

## London

In London, as well as his brief association with Isaac son of the Rabbi, Aaron had close business links with a number of the leading Christian commercial families. These included the Cornhills, father and son. Of Gervase, the father, it has been said ‘few men stood so high in the city’. He was sheriff of London in Henry II’s earliest years; later of Surrey and then Kent. Aaron also had dealings with Peter fitz Alan, son of London’s first mayor, and his three sons. The two families were developing land between Aaron’s London house and the Walbrook, and borrowing from Aaron.

Aaron's house can be located with precision from a description in the 1232 charter roll. It lay 'in Lothebiri on Walebroc in the parish of St Olave', that is at or near its junction with Colechurch Lane. Immediately to the east, in St Margaret Lothbury parish, lay the house of \*Jurnet of Norwich. Both had direct access to the *magna scola*, the great \*synagogue. Aaron's house was subsequently acquired by le Brun. The chronicle of St Andrew's Cluniac priory at \*Northampton, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 281(2), records Aaron's sudden death at his London house the week before Easter, 1186.

### The Family of Aaron

The 1194 Northampton *Promissum* shows the payments made by Aaron's four sons: Vives £37 6s 8d, Abraham £24 0s 8d, Elias £7 and Benedict a mere 10s. His brother, also Benedict, who in 1203 owed 20 marks to convict Ursell, Jew of Lincoln as a forger, paid £1 16s 8d. All were still living in Lincoln. Vives' was the largest payment of the community, some 13% of the total. The pipe rolls show that, six years after their father's death, Benedict bought a number of his bonds that the exchequer had difficulty disposing of.

Elias proved to be a chip off the old block. The 1208/09 pipe roll shows that he paid 200 marks for £500 worth of his father's remaining debts, plus 6 gold marks for a superior selection. In 1218 he paid a further fine for the return of some £480 worth of his father's bonds, on which interest was still outstanding. He had the tacit support of Peter des Roches, at the exchequer, for the patent rolls show that in November the sheriffs of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire were instructed to command seven substantial men of the two counties to repay these debts to Elias. Like \*Isaac of Norwich, Elias took drastic measures to secure payment. In 1220 he sent a gang of 26 men (all named) who carried off the chattels – oats, corn, rye and barley – and uprooted most of the trees of Simon le Bret on account of his outstanding debts. Later, by night, his door was broken open; nine beehives, a hauberk, two crossbows and other objects were forcibly taken. Elias ranked thirteenth amongst the English magnates in 1221, and twelfth in 1223. The fine rolls reveal that two years later his payment of 30 marks a year 'for several debts' was reduced to 20 marks.

If one accepts William of Newburgh's description of the wealth of \*Josce and Benedict of York, it was they, Aaron's one-time agents, who were the immediate beneficiaries of his business interests. Ultimately his successors were \*Aaron and Leo Episcopus of York.

□ Jacobs (1898); Richardson (1960), 47–8, 59, 61–2, 74–6, 83–108, 115–17, 247–53; D. Knowles, *Religious Orders* (1948), 68–9; Walsingham, 1 (1867–69), 193; Gerald, VII, 34–6, 198; *CChR*, 1226–57, 168; Cam & Jacob (1929); Howden, *Gesta*, 2 (1867), 5; Davis (1969), nos 146–8; Hill (1948), 217–23; *PREJ*, I, 25; Johnson & Vince (1992), 15; Vincent (1996a), 177

### Lincoln, Joseph of

A second major scholar in the city is beginning to emerge from the shadows. He is described in 1236 as Josce *magister scholarum Judaeorum Linc'*, but for his son he was



Rabbi Joseph, 'Teacher of Righteousness'. His first decision is recorded in the *Etz Hayyim*: any Jew accusing his wife of infidelity without producing evidence should be placed under the ban (*see Herem*), for the charge may be an excuse to marry another at a time when his accusation left her forbidden to him. He also modified \*Benjamin of Cambridge's responsa, which forbade the drinking of milk bought from a Christian. Joseph permitted it in England where the milk came from cows, goats and sheep that all ruminates and have cloven hooves and are therefore not unclean.

□ Epstein (1940), 201–4; Roth (1948), 74–5, 79–80, & (1949), 32–3; Mutius (1995), 97–101; Urbach, 2 (1980), 509–10; Roth & Zadoff (2013)

### **Lincoln, Master Benedict of** (Berechiah of Nicole), d.1278

A son of Master \*Moses and brother of Master \*Elias, Benedict married a daughter of Joseph ben Aaron and appears in the literature as 'Benedict of London, a Jew of Lincoln'. Roth believed that, in his own day, he must 'have been considered a figure of first importance' in Rabbinic studies. He points to the evidence of a large number of marginal glosses in the Bodleian Library's MS. Mich. 502, the *Sepher Mizvot Katan*. More popularly known by its acronym, *Semak*, this is the *Lesser Book of Precepts* of Isaac of Corbeil, the disciple and son-in-law of Rabbi Jehiel of Paris. It includes a note on ritual fringes, *tzitzit*, which reads: 'I found written in the hand of Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole, who received the tradition from our Rabbi Moses, the mighty one, his father.' Further glosses include a long note on benedictions, another on sabbatical laws 'copied from the writings of the rabbi of Nicole', one on 'the laws of divorce from the mouth of Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole of blessed memory', and another on dietary laws.

In the *Etz Hayyim* \*Jacob ben Judah, who was his student, cites Benedict as an authority on the proper hour for the reciting of the Sabbath service on Friday evening and the permissibility of using nut paste. Despite his reputation as a scholar, Benedict was a keen businessman. A bond that he witnessed as \*chirographer prior to 1266 bears his seal and signature in Hebrew. Of the Lincoln bonds in the \*Westminster Abbey archives, his are amongst the most valuable: £20 in 1270, £94 13s 4d in 1274 and £40 in 1275.

Given his role within the \*community, it is hardly surprising that Benedict was amongst the 91 Lincoln Jews charged with complicity in the \*ritual-child-murder accusation of Little St Hugh in August 1255. His family was able to intervene. 'As it appears by an inquisition ... that he was not indicted of the perpetration of the crime, but only with consent to the death afterwards ... and the mother of the boy confesses that he is not guilty thereof', Benedict was released from the Tower and his houses and chattels returned. This was at the express wish of Garcias Martini of Toledo, who was negotiating the marriage of Prince Edward to Eleanor of Castile. The intermediary was, with little doubt, Richard, earl of Cornwall, to whom in February Henry III had pledged the Jewry.

Benedict resided in St Benedict's parish, at Wigford, just south-west of the bridge crossing the river Witham. Here also lived some of Lincoln's leading citizens. Benedict's decision to dwell away from the heart of his Jewry may have reflected a desire for the peace and quiet requisite for scholarship. The motives of his brother, Master Elias, in London and \*Isaac at Norwich were apparently different. Benedict bought his house from William Badde, and subsequently purchased 'a courtyard contiguous with appurtenances belonging thereto from William of Newerk'.

On the day preceding New Year, 1267, 'Rabbi Berechiah, son of Rabbi Moses, testified by his \*starr that he had sold this 'house with its courtyard and appurtenances' to his son, Hagin, whose maternal grandfather, Joseph ben Aaron, had provided the very considerable sum of £60 for its purchase. The agreement was to be borne out under a lien on Benedict's chattels, and other legal precautions were taken to maintain Hagin in his newly acquired rights. Yet the \*expulsion returns show Benedict living in the house 23 years later, when his 'three messuages' about a court were valued at 40s a year. As with Abraham ben Joseph Crespin at \*Nottingham, the starr would have enabled Hagin to avoid payment of \*relief on the property at his father's death.

In 1271 Benedict's daughter, Belaset, a widow, arranged the marriage of her daughter, Judith, to Aaron son of Benjamin. As a wedding gift she gave Aaron 20 marks and a 'precious volume' containing all 24 books of the Hebrew Bible. These were 'written on calf skin, properly provided with punctuation Nikud, [diacritical marks], Targum, Haphtarot [supplementary prophetic readings] and Masorah'. Belaset is not to be confused with her namesake of Wallingford, who owned 'the Jew's house' (B on Plan 6); nor is her husband, the chirographer Hagin 'son-in-law of Benedict', to be confused with her uncle, son of Master Moses, or brother (see Genealogy 6). In the same year Benedict was selling debts to Walter Giffard, archbishop of York 1266–79.

His son Hagin was the leader of his Jewry's four representatives to the \*1287 'mini-parliament'. The third wealthiest member of his community, in the expulsion records he had bonds worth £153, one of which included provision of 'a mewing hawk' and 'a beast of the chase each year'. Similarly at \*Hereford a bond of Bonenfaunt, eldest son of the community leader, Aaron, insisted that Brian of Brompton provide 'a robe made in the manner of a knight'. Hagin's house in St Martin's, alone in the survey to be described as *mediocris domus*, was assessed at a mere 6s a year. Yet linked to it were associated charges totalling £1 15s 8d: to Adam Ack 9s; for a messuage held by Gersy the Jew, 13s 4d; and an unspecified sum to the Gilbertine priory of St Katherine-without-the-walls 'for a plot of land in which Hagin's kitchen was built'. A fifteenth-century source reveals that Hagin paid an annual rent of 13s 4d for this land, more than double the alleged rent of his own house.

□ Mutius (1995), 102–16; Davis (1969), nos 154, 156; Roth (1948), & (1949), 37–8; Causton (2007), nos 103, 105, 118, 119, 125; Beit-Arié (1985), 1; CPR, 1266, 581, 617, & 1271, 567; Adler (1939), 43–5

**Loans, Inter-Jewish** *see* Usury**London**

The city had strong economic relations with \*Rouen even before the Conquest. One of King Ethelred's (979–1016) law codes imposed duties on the men from Rouen who brought wine and various types of fish to Dowgate in the port of London. It is not surprising, therefore, that William the Conqueror transferred Jews from Rouen to London. The family of the London \*community's first leader, \*Rabbi Josce, Rubi Gotsce, retained his house in the *rue aux juifs* until 1203, the year before Normandy was conquered by the French king, Philip Augustus. The earliest firm evidence of a Jewish presence in London comes from two famous disputations, recorded prior to 1100. The first, with the English bishops, is described by William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Regum*. It was probably held shortly after William II's coronation on 26 September 1087, which the leaders of London's Jewry will have attended, to present gifts and press for confirmation of their privileges. (*See* Introduction, para. 2.)

The second disputation took place at Westminster Abbey prior to 1093. Gilbert Crispin, fourth abbot (c.1085–1117/18) and one of the disputants, described it in his *Disputation of a Jew and a Christian* as 'friendly and warm throughout'. The other party was a Jew who had studied at the Talmudic academy at Mainz, the intellectual centre of the north European Ashkenazic Jewry at the time. He accepted Christ as a great prophet but, believing in one God, could not accept his divinity. Such discussions, as Abulafia and Evans pointed out, revolved around three questions: Is the Law of Moses still valid? Is Jesus the Messiah? Have Christians replaced Jews as the Chosen People? As Beryl Smalley explains, both Abbot Crispin and Peter Abelard in his *Dialogue of a Philosopher with a Jew and a Christian* 'show a tolerance and an appreciation of the Jewish point of view which contrasts strikingly with the bitterness of later controversy'.

The relationship between Abbot and Jew was not merely intellectual, for Crispin explains that the Jew's visit had been on 'business,' probably a loan for the abbey's building programme. This may have been the first Jewish loan to the abbey, but was far from the last. The 1130 \*pipe roll records that Jacob, a London Jew, and his unnamed wife, paid £40 for a royal writ to reclaim loans made to Crispin's successor, Abbot Herbert (1121–40). A century later, Abbot Richard of Barking (1222–46) repaid a 1000-mark loan from the two Londoners, \*Aaron I le Blund and Aaron son of Abraham, as partners of \*Aaron and Leo of \*York.

**The Topography of the Jewry** (see Plan 7)

The earliest evidence of the site of London's Jewry is found in a St Paul's Cathedral survey of c.1127 which refers to three adjoining plots *in vico iudeorum*, 'in the street of Jews'. The use of this term is unique; all later descriptions are *in judaismo*, 'in the Jewry'. The identification of these plots is ambiguous. They were in either St Olave or St Martin Pomary parish, looking towards St Olave's from the east side of either Colechurch or Ironmonger Lane, both of which stretched between West Cheap, now Cheapside, and

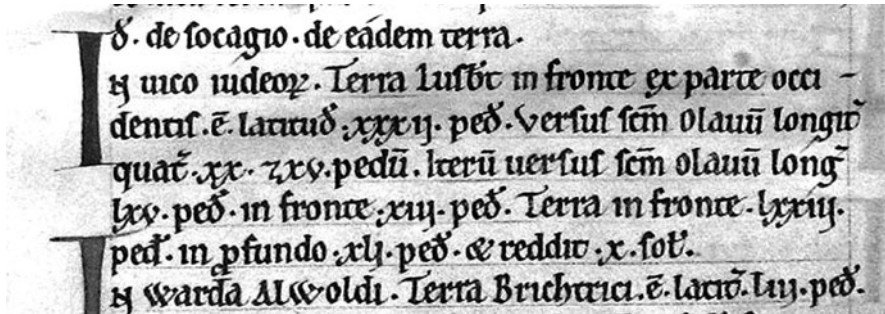


Figure 11 Extract from St Paul's 'Liber L', LMA CLC/313/B/001/MS25504, evidence of a street of Jews in 1127

*Transcription and translation: In vico iudeorum. Terra Lusberti in fronte ex parte occidentis est latitud' xxxij ped'. Versus sanctum Olavum longit' quater xx et xv pedum. Iterum versus sanctum Olavum long' lxxij ped' in fronte xiiij ped'. Terra in fronte lxxij ped' in profundo xli ped' et reddit x solidos. 'In the street of the Jews. The land of Lusbert in front on the western side is 32 ft [10 m] in breadth. Towards St Olave's fourscore and fifteen [95] ft [30 m] in length. Again towards St Olave's 65 ft [20 m] in length [and] in front 13 ft [4 m]. The land in front [is] 73 ft [22 m], in depth 41 ft [12.5] and renders 10s.'*

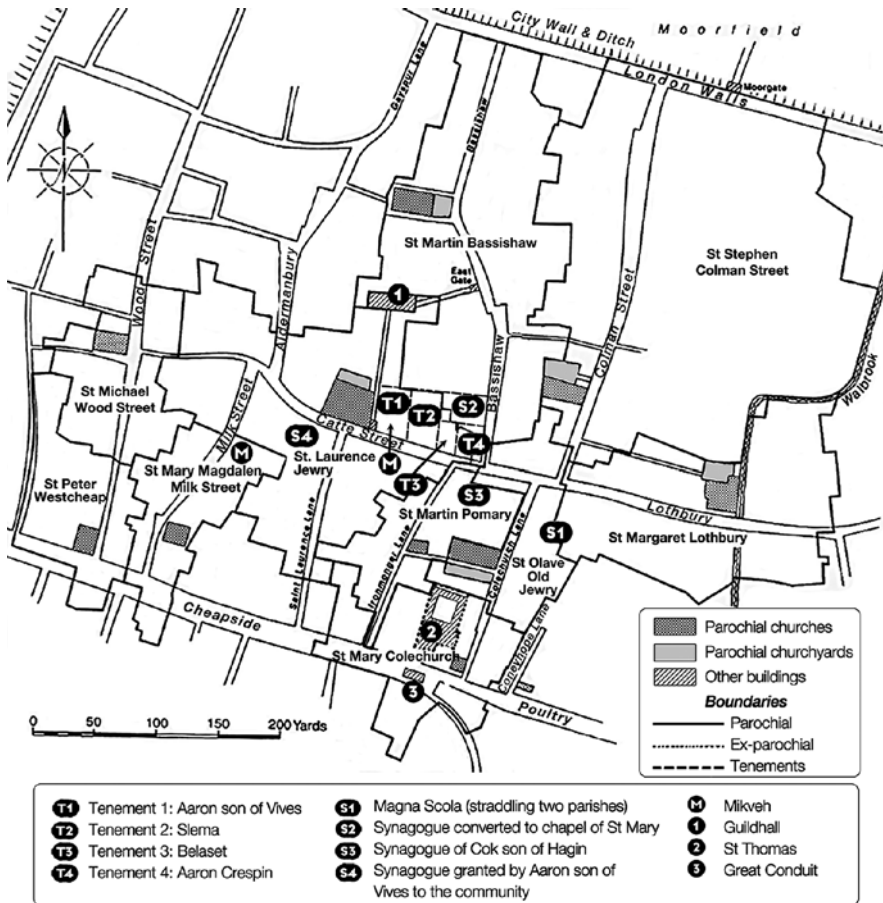
Source: © The Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral.

Catte, Cateaton, now Gresham Street. At the south-west corner of Colechurch Lane lay the church of St Mary; behind it was the birthplace of St Thomas Becket. Aaron I le Blund, who owned an adjacent property, was obliged to move. Colechurch Lane became Old Jewry only after the 1290 \*expulsion. In the *London Calendar of Wills*, 1327/28, it is *la Oldeiuwerie*, 'the district formerly held by Jews'.

London's Jewry, like all others in western Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was no ghetto. Jews and Christians lived side by side. Four parishes, however, were known as 'in Jewry': St Olave's by 1181, St Laurence during Diceto's deanship of St Paul's, 1180–c.1200, St Stephen's Colman Street and St Martin Pomary in later sources. Subsequently London's Jewish community extended across parts of six further parishes: St Mary Colechurch, St Margaret Lothbury, St Michael Bassishaw, St Mary Magdalene Milk Street by 1215, St Peter Westcheap and St Michael Wood Street.

These ten parishes were *in judaismo*. This term was not merely topographic but also juridical. The so-called Laws of Edward the Confessor of c.1136 state *Judei et omnia sua regis sunt*: the Jews and all their possessions belonged to the king. They thus lay beyond the jurisdiction of the mayoral courts, in that of the \*Constable of the Tower, a royal appointee. Citizens could seek redress of grievance against Jews only in the court of the Exchequer of the Jews. Thus in 1280 the close rolls required the mayor and sheriffs of London to cause any action against Aaron son of Vives 'to come before the justices appointed for the custody of the Jews, as the Jews of the realm ought not to plead or be impleaded elsewhere'.

For Keene the 'apparent absence [of Jewish settlement] from the streets to the south of Cheapside is striking'. The great attraction of this neighbourhood was access to West



Plan 7 London, area of Jewish settlement

Cheap, 'the principal market area of the city if not the kingdom', with its great conduit. By 1220 its frontage was occupied by shops, behind which were 'private bazaars known as selds', where 'numerous traders held chests, cupboards and benches where they stored and displayed their wares'. South of Cheapside, as Keene points out, Soper Lane 'in all probability contained sites for 20 or 30 traders...mostly in gloves and leather goods' c.1250. It is therefore not surprising that the Jews lived in the lanes running north from the Cheap. Their houses could be both spacious and relatively free from the hustle and bustle of the crowds. Such sites are also characteristic of the \*provincial Jewries, such as \*Winchester, \*Cambridge and \*Worcester. In towns such as \*Oxford and \*Gloucester, where the main thoroughfares formed a cross, the quietest street was chosen, on the south at the former and the west at the latter.

Another attraction was proximity to the *magna scola*. Although first described in a charter of 1212–13 as 'the great \*synagogue of Abraham son of the Rabbi', it was

almost certainly founded in the early twelfth century by Rabbi Josce himself, as first \*community leader. Its site (S1 on plan), behind the property line at the junction of Colechurch Lane and Lothbury, can be established from the charter, in which the earl of Essex granted to Chicksand Priory 'all the land with houses and appurtenances in the parish of St Mary Colechurch between the Great Synagogue to the north and 12 shops on Westcheap to the south'. Richardson believed that it lay east of Ironmonger Lane and west of Colechurch Lane, but Keene and Harding (1987) have established that the shops were between Colechurch Lane and Coneyhope Lane (plan). For its design Rabbi Josce was doubtless much influenced by the Rouen synagogue of c.1114, discovered in 1976 in the *rue aux juifs*, only 75 yd (70 m) west of his great house.

It is no coincidence that the London houses of \*Aaron of Lincoln and \*Jurnet of Norwich were situated on Lothbury, just to the north of the *magna scola*, to which they had direct access. As Aaron's was in the parish of St Olave and Jurnet's in St Margaret's, they can be precisely located on the plan. Jurnet's son, Isaac, and great-grandson Abraham inherited his property. In the thirteenth century Aaron I le Blund and Aaron of York had houses on the east side of Colechurch Lane, also giving access to the *magna scola*. In 1272 Henry III ordered the Jews to find an alternative for their synagogue, and in the meantime to be less noxious to the neighbouring friars. Tovey's interpretation was that 'those Locusts [the friars], having but a small dark Chapel... thought the fine Synagogue next to it more convenient... and beg'd it of the King'. The replacement, a building on the south side of Catte Street, was the gift to the community of \*Aaron son of Vives (S4 on Plan 7).

Settlement later crossed to the north of Catte Street. Thirteenth-century documentary evidence indicates four Jewish tenements (T1–T4 on Plan 7) fronting it, close to the Guildhall. When these were excavated by MoLAS in 1985–86, a stone \**mikveh* (M) was revealed at Tenement 1. Archaeological finds suggest Jewish settlement here in the third quarter of the twelfth century. The liberate rolls show that north of Tenements 3 and 4 lay a private synagogue (S2), facing east towards Bassishaw, now Basinghall, Street. This Henry III converted to the chapel of St Mary in the 1230s. There were other Jewish houses in Bassishaw and Colman Street. In the 1270s Master Moses' son, \*Jacob of Oxford, had property in the parishes of St Stephen Colman Street and St Margaret Lothbury.

Growing numbers led to settlement further west, in St Laurence Lane, Milk and Wood Streets. Keene has noted that house values were often enhanced by the fame of earlier residents. \*Master Moses took up residence in Milk Street in the mid 1230s, as did other members of the community. After Moses' death c.1268 members of his family paid considerable sums to acquire property there. The MoLAS 1976–77 excavations at 1–6 Milk Street uncovered a number of twelfth- and thirteenth-century stone cellared buildings fronting on to the east side of the street. Here in 2001 a second *mikveh* (M on Plan 7) was found to the rear of a property which, the 1290 expulsion returns show, belonged to Moses Crespin, who had inherited it from his father, Jacob, died c.1244. It was valued at some £4 in the expulsion returns. Fifteen other Jewish residents of Milk

Street are considered below. There is no documentary evidence for Jewish settlement further west than Wood Street.

The pattern of Jewish properties outlined above poses two problems. Stow in his *Survey of London* (1598) reports that a synagogue, built 'about the year 1231' on the north side of Threadneedle Street, was subsequently converted to a chapel. This is referred to in the 1250 close roll as in 'the Minor Jewry'. (See Synagogues.) However, it lay 400 yards east of any other documented Jewish property. Stow refers to another area, which he calls the *poore Iurie*. This name finds confirmation in the *London Calendar of Wills* in 1349, as *la Porejewerie* in the *Calendar of Ancient Deeds* for 1366, and in the 1390/91 patent roll as the Little Jewry in *Algatestrete*. Poor Jewry ran due south from Ald(East)gate, immediately below the city wall, some 400 yards (365 m) north of the Tower of London.

### The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130

This, the 'earliest surviving pipe roll', has been the subject of a study by J. A. Green, who draws attention to the financial 'exploitation of royal rights'. Payments in connection with 'inheritance, wardship and marriage were also productive of some very large payments', and 'the price set on large honours was still negotiable'. Green concludes that Henry's was 'a vigorous and predatory government, trying to keep up land revenue though the stock of land had diminished since the Conqueror's day'. The solitary pipe roll of Henry I's reign, 1100–35, it provides virtually the only evidence of the London Jewry, its leaders, their wealth and business interests until the next extant pipe roll, of 1155/56. Its brief entries explain why Henry, unlike the French king, was so concerned to maintain his sole, and tight, control of the Jewry. The extensive credit facilities available through 'his Jews' enabled him to rack up his cash demands on the upper ranks of feudal society. In addition, to ensure repayment of their loans, the Jews required the support of the royal courts. For this the Crown imposed a fine of 10% of the sum involved, 1 \*bezant (2s) in the £1. This Joseph \*Jacobs termed 'the royal ten per cent'.

The pipe roll shows that clients of London's Jewry included some of the most senior members of the English nobility. Rabbi Josce offered Henry ten gold marks (£60) for assistance in his claim against Ranulf II de Gernons, fourth earl of Chester, who with his mother owed Henry some £2000. This included £1000 on account of 'his father's debts for the succession to the lands of earl Hugh', acquired from Henry I in 1121; 500 marks for the agreement he and his mother had made with the king that she be excused from marrying (a fourth time) for five years; and 400 marks that his father had owed Herbert fitz Dudemann. His mother, the countess Lucy, owed £266 13s 4d to retain one third of her dower to dispose of as she pleased, to Ranulf, and 100 marks that she may do justice in her court among her own men. Ranulf, one of the most powerful men in the realm, was in Stephen's reign to seize 'almost a third of the kingdom by force of arms'.

Josce and his partners offered a further six gold marks against Ranulf's brother-in-law, Richard fitz Gilbert, third earl of Clare, who had extensive lands about his

castles at Clare in East Anglia and Tonbridge in Kent. A powerful lord in the marches of \*Wales, fitz Gilbert was also involved in expensive castle-building at Aberystwyth and Ceredigion. He made a counterclaim for royal support. Osbert of Leicester, Rabbi Josce's third client, owed Henry 1000 marks (£666 13s 4d) for 'relaxation of *malvolentia regis*', 'the royal ire'.

Ranulf de Gernon's massive debt illustrates the value of the Jewry to Henry I. It enhanced his ability to levy increasingly greater cash fines, \*reliefs and other charges on a group who, although wealthy, would not otherwise have had access to large sums in ready money, for this was an age when the hoarding of money by the great was considered dishonourable. In this feudal society, prestige and hierarchy were related to land-holding, the basis of power. Cash was to be spent on security (castles), the retention and acquisition of land, even charity. For these reasons Henry I considered the Jewry too rich a prize to be allowed to fall, even in part, into other hands. Hence his concern to restrict the Jews to London, where they could be under his full control – and protection.

The pipe roll also underlines the wealth, and taxable potential, of London's Jews. It records that they were fined £2000 for 'the sick man whom they killed', probably a medical failure. This sum approximates to the combined annual incomes of the archbishop of Canterbury, bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, and abbots of the wealthy monasteries of St Augustine's, Canterbury, Malmesbury, Ely and Chertsey that, while vacant in 1092, brought £2385 into the royal coffers. There is also evidence that Rabbi Josce and Manasser were receiving substantial sums *in soltis*, as repayment of loans made to the Crown. Such temporary and unprofitable loans to the Crown must have been a necessary element in the assessment of the risks and profits in their overall business transactions. The pipe roll concludes 'the Jews owe £1166 13s 4d'.

Deeds of St Paul's, witnessed by Richard de Belmeis, archdeacon of Middlesex, 1138–52, identify other members of London's early Jewry, Benedict son of Sara and Abraham son of Samson. A charter refers to all that land 'next to that part which Benedict the Jew holds, to wit from the post of the house of the said Benedict to the *via regia*', probably a reference to Cheapside, and a lane leading into it – Colechurch or Ironmonger Lane? A later tenant of St Paul's was Deulesault Episcopus, the community's principal contributor to the 1194 \*Northampton *Promissum*, who had held property 'in the parish of St Laurence', probably in St Laurence Lane or Catte Street. Shortly afterwards it was granted to Peter le Blund, another Jew.

### Provincial Jewries

King Stephen took a more relaxed view towards the Jewry. His reign (1135–54) was remarkable for the foundation of the provincial Jewries. These were to provide London's magnates with formidable partners, and rivals. The 1159 *Donum* imposed by Henry II is indicative: of the total raised, 37% was paid by London, the remaining 63% by 11 provincial communities. By 1194 their number had risen to 20, and London's contribution had



fallen to 27%. London's Jewish \*cemetery, outside Cripplegate, beyond the medieval walls, served these provincial communities until 1177. Other communal facilities included the slaughter-house, referred to in the 1275–78 plea rolls, and a *hospitium*. (See Jewish Court.)

### The Reign of Henry II, 1154–89

In 1158 Abraham \*ibn Ezra, the Sephardic scholar, writer and traveller, having spent five years in Rouen, travelled to London. This was apparently at the invitation of Rabbi Josce who, the evidence suggests, had already handed over control of the family business to concentrate on his scholarly interests.

His sons, Isaac and Abraham, developed close connections with leading members of London's patrician class. Early in this reign Isaac, the elder, bought a house from Gervase de Cornhill, \*sheriff of London, 1155–57 and 1160–61, and later sheriff of Surrey and of Kent. Its previous owner was Gervase's uncle, Ralf fitz Herlewin, sheriff in 1130. A clause in the charter restricted subsequent ownership to Isaac's heirs and those of his brother, Abraham.

Isaac followed his father's example, lending money to the king. The evidence is in the pipe rolls. As Richardson explains, he received payments \**in soltis* in 1157 and 1159, and between 1162 and 1166. Christian moneylenders, such as William Cade and the Rouen financier, William Trentegeruns, and his widow, known as *vicomtesse* of Rouen, also made such loans to the Crown. A passage in William fitz Stephens' *Life of Becket* reveals the system at work. As royal chancellor raising troops for the Toulouse expedition, Becket, short of cash, borrowed 500 marks from the Jewry.

The two major provincial magnates, Aaron of Lincoln, wealthiest of England's twelfth-century Jews, and Jurnet of Norwich, developed strong business interests in London. Aaron had close links with leading merchant families of the capital. These included land deals in the city with Gervase of Cornhill and his son, Henry. Aaron and Henry Cornhill joined forces with Peter fitz Ailwin, son of London's first mayor, and his three sons to develop three plots of land, one of which lay between Aaron's house on Lothbury and the Walbrook (see Plan 7).

By 1165 Aaron joined Isaac son of the Rabbi as a junior partner in making loans to the Crown, but within four years Isaac had withdrawn from this risky trade, which Aaron continued in partnership with Jurnet of Norwich. In 1177 a new syndicate was formed, of Jurnet, with his brother Benedict and the Londoners, le Brun and Josce Quatrebouches. They fell foul of Henry II, who imposed a fine of £4000 for an unidentified offence, of which le Brun had to pay half. The final syndicate, 1177–79, was made up by secondary figures of London's Jewry, led by Benedict son of Sara. It received almost £2000 *in soltis* in three years, and managed to avoid the royal ire. As Richardson points out, subsequently Henry II 'abandoned the policy of exacting loans from the Jews and relied upon taxation to give him the revenue he needed'.

At Christmas 1186, Henry II imposed the Guildford \*tallage on the Jewries of London, Sussex at \*Chichester, Essex at \*Colchester and Kent at \*Canterbury; the pipe

rolls provide no reference to other communities being included. According to Gervase of Canterbury, it totalled £60,000. Neither the community nor personal assessments are available, but arrears of members of the four Jewries can be established from later pipe rolls. They are of considerable interest, as they indicate a tallage liability across the social scale. Total arrears of the London community in 1191 were £3255. The details provide a hierarchy of London's 11 wealthiest Jews: le Brun owed £1000, as did Abraham, younger son of the Rabbi; his elder brother, Isaac, £526; and Abraham son of Abigail £327. By contrast two-thirds, including Potelinus and Hakelinus, sons of Benedict the Soldier, and Isaac Medicus, owed 10s or less, four as little as 5s. Forty people are named, of whom eight were women, and four men and a woman are described as *de domo*, 'of the household of', major contributors (Hillaby (1995), table 3). In 1187 Henry II imposed a further levy, on the London Jewry alone, of a quarter on all their chattels.

### The End of the Long Era of Personal Security

In September 1189, with their young king, Richard I, about to depart on crusade, the leaders of the English community, conscious of the fate of Jews at the hands of crusaders in France and Germany in 1146–47, were anxious to demonstrate their loyalty. \*Benedict and Josce, leaders of the York community, came to attend Richard's coronation at Westminster. However, as Matthew Paris recounts, women and Jews were excluded on account of 'the magic arts which they exercised'. When Jews around the palace door, pressed by the throng, found themselves within the portal, a riot began. Howden describes the coronation and subsequent banquet, but Newburgh's *History*, written some six years later, is our principal source for the attack on the London Jewry.

The Jews fled, but 'many were beaten so that they died and others, trampled underfoot, perished'. The Jewry was attacked from 3 p.m. to 8 a.m. Roofs were set afire, and the flames spread to adjacent Christian homes. Richard despatched his justiciar to put down the riot, whilst he and his guests were feasting. 'Only satiety of rioting, rather than reverence for the king, allayed the fury of the plunderers.' Thirty Jews, it is reported, lost their lives. Others gained the protection of the Tower. Amongst the dead, Ephraim of Bonn reports, was Jacob of Orleans, the eminent Tosaphist and noted pupil of Rabbi Tam. The York magnate Benedict was another famous victim. Howden recounts that, unable to keep up with his brother Josce, he was attacked by the mob. His neighbour, Prior William of St Mary's Abbey, York, rescued him and converted him in a nearby church. When interviewed by the king the following day Benedict announced that his conversion was forced and he remained at heart a Jew. When he died at Northampton a few days later, he was refused burial by both Christians and Jews.

The stark contrast between events in London in September 1189 and those at York Castle the following March is highlighted by that Jewry's absence from the list of communities assessed for the Northampton *Promissum* of 1194. London paid £471 6s 3d, 27%, its nearest rivals, \*Lincoln 16% and Canterbury 14%. Provincial magnates were now

sweeping the board. Of the six highest contributors Deulesault Episcopus, paying £97 10s 8d, was the only Londoner, second after Jacob of Canterbury at £115 6s 8d (Hillaby (1995), tables 4 and 5).

Isaac and Abraham, sons of the Rabbi, although not contributors to the *Promissum*, continued to play a major role in the economic life of both the London and Rouen Jewries. In March \*1190 Isaac travelled to Normandy to negotiate with Richard I's chancellor, William of Longchamp, the granting of a Charter of Liberties and confirmation of his family's major financial interests. Following Isaac's death in 1199 his son, named Josce after his grandfather, took control of the business. He sold the family home in the *rue aux juifs* a year before the duchy fell to the French king. In 1207 King John appointed him \*archpresbyter of the Jews, an office he held until 1236.

John's reign opened well, with his issue of the \*1201 Charter of Liberties to the Jews. Two years later, however, the London Jews complained to John that they were being molested. As the patent rolls record, the king wrote to the mayor that he had granted the Jews his peace, adding that 'if we give our peace to a dog it ought to be preserved inviolate'.

On his return from his Irish expedition in 1210, John imposed a £40,000 tallage on the Jews. Benedict *Parvus*, 'the Little', who ranked third in the *Promissum*, was executed to encourage payment. His Milk Street house was given to William de Warenne, earl of Surrey. The houses of others who could not meet John's demand were sequestered. Abraham son of the Rabbi's house in St Olave's parish was given to William Marshal, earl of Pembroke; he sold it to the London merchant, John Travers, who was shipping large quantities of grain from the Marshal's Leinster estates to London. Isaac of Norwich's house at the western end of Lothbury was granted to William Ferrers, earl of Derby. To William III d'Aubigny, third earl of Arundel, went all the land in St Laurence Jewry late of Isaac of Lincoln. Thomas de Neville, by 1213 sole justice of the Exchequer of the Jews, received the house of Abraham son of Muriel, 'so long as he sits at our Exchequer'.

In May 1215 the mayor, aldermen and burgesses of London threw in their lot with the baronial forces who now controlled the city. According to Roger of Wendover, they plundered John's supporters and demolished houses owned by Jews, using the stones to repair the city walls and gates. This probably explains how \*tombstones from the Jewish cemetery outside Cripplegate were found in nearby Aldersgate when it was rebuilt in 1617, others in Ludgate in 1586 and Moorgate, 1753. Those Jews who had not fled are described by the St Benet of Hulme chronicler as 'prowling the city like dogs'.

### A New Era: The Revival of the Jewry, 1216–39

After John's death in 1216 the Council of Regency, having crowned his nine-year-old son as Henry III at Gloucester, was desperate to restore the financial resources of the Crown. In \*1218 London's Jewry was one of 17 communities granted formal recognition. The Constable of the Tower was instructed to inform the bishop of London that 'our Jews are no concern of [his] ... You shall not permit Jews to be impleaded in any ecclesiastical

court on account of any debt.' A number of Jews bought back houses sequestered by John.

London flourished in the thirteenth century. Its population doubled, from 40,000 to 80,000–100,000. Four magnate families dominated London's Jewish community: those of le Blund (Genealogy 4), Crespin, l'Eveske (Genealogy 5) and Aaron son of Abraham (Genealogy 3). They paid 81% of its tallage in 1221, 75% in 1223 and 84% in 1241. They were providing loans for major figures in the city, including Richard Renger, wine and corn merchant, and Andrew Bukerel, pepperer and exporter of hides, who, Gwyn Williams tells us, between them 'monopolised the mayoralty for almost two decades' (1220–37). In 1236 Constantine, of the wealthy fitz Alulf clan, faced a demand for loan repayment from Aaron I and Leo II le Blund with Moses of Milk Street. Similarly, Aaron le Blund and \*Elias l'Eveske were suing Reginald Cornhill for an outstanding debt in 1249.

Nevertheless, the earliest tallage payments of Henry's reign show the revitalised York community in a dominant position. In 1221 it was assessed at £164 (25%), against London at £80 (12%), and provided six of the seven highest contributors. The Londoner Benedict Episcopus ranked merely twelfth. In 1223 the figures were York £269 (16%) and London £215 (12.5%). How far this was an accurate reflection of the comparative wealth of the two communities, events will show.

In 1232 Henry III founded the house of \*converts, *Domus Conversorum*, in New Street, now Chancery Lane, between the Knights Templars' Old and New Temples. He promised 700 marks, until lands and rents had been assigned for the maintenance of the converts and the building of their house and chapel. Three months later, he provided two chaplains to celebrate divine service. Vestiges of the chancel arch of the original chapel can yet be seen at the south-east end of the former Public Record Office.

Vincent (1996a) describes the palace revolution that took place at the Exchequer of the Jews in April 1234. Led by Archbishop Edmund Rich, the barons forced Henry III to dismiss his ministerial advisers, including the three justices of the Jews, Stephen de Segrave, Peter des Rivallis and Robert Passelewe. A commission of enquiry, established to investigate accusations of bribery and corruption, called upon 18 members of the London community to give evidence. The accused were shown to have increased a £500-tallage to £700 for their own benefit, and to have received bribes totalling 320 marks, one being to ensure the equalisation of London's tallage quota with that of York. The close rolls record that when Henry married Eleanor of Provence in 1236 the London community, mindful of the events following Richard I's coronation in 1189, took refuge in the Tower.

Segrave, back in office, was responsible in \*1239 for a dramatic change in taxation policy, a demand for a third of all Jewish chattels and bonds. The payments by 90 London Jews provide a remarkable insight into the distribution of wealth in the capital. The eight largest payments, ranging from some £245 to £17, accounted for over 90% of the total received. Seventy-one members paid less than £1; sixteen less than 1s; Vives son

of Samuel a meagre 2d (Hillaby (1993a), table 5). If each contributor was a head of household, a multiplier of 4 or 5 would suggest a \*population of 360 to 450. It is fairly safe to assume that there were others whose poverty was even greater than that of Vives son of Samuel, who were thus excluded. Nevertheless, Lipman's suggestion of a community not exceeding '1000 souls at the very peak' is questionable. The figures should be put in context with those suggested for major continental Jewries: Toledo, generally accepted as the largest in Europe, about 350 families according to Yitzhak Baer; Perpignan, largest in France, 200–250 families at the beginning of the fifteenth century; and 48 Jewish houses in Cologne in 1170.

London's six representatives to the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament' were amongst the principal contributors to the Third: Aaron son of Abraham (1), Aaron le Blund (2), Benedict Crespin (3), Elias l'Eveske (4), Jacob Crespin (6) and Leo le Blund (8). For the combined Third and 1241–42 tallage, London, assessed at 21.8%, was indeed overshadowed by York, at 47.6%. The personal assessments of London's magnates, Aaron le Blund and Aaron son of Abraham, were £800, Benedict Crespin and Elias l'Eveske, £200; those of York's two super-plutocrats, Aaron and Leo Episcopus, were £4000 and £1467, respectively.

\*Ritual-child-murder charges were raised in 1244, when marks on the body of a boy found in St Benet's cemetery were taken by the constable's officers to be Hebrew. According to Matthew Paris, converts were brought from the *Domus* in Chancery Lane and told, 'as they love their lives and limbs, out of their honour, affection and fear of the king to reveal the meaning of the inscription without prevarication'. Eventually they described the names of the child's mother and father. There were no executions, but Henry III used the occasion to impose a £40,000 tallage.

Henry commenced work on a new shrine at Westminster Abbey for Edward the Confessor in 1241, and four years later embarked on the rebuilding of the abbey. In that year the king obliged Elias l'Eveske, the archpresbyter, to sell the elaborate Scroll of the Law, used for the administration of oaths by Jewish witnesses in the Exchequer Court, to pay for a new chasuble for the priests serving at the altar. The 1246 patent roll records that of the \*relief that \*Licoricia of Winchester had to pay for the chattels of \*David of Oxford, some £2600 was to be devoted to the fabric, as were payments towards the outstanding relief on \*Hamo of Hereford's estate.

Henry's series of heavy tallages bit deeply into the fortunes of London's greater families. Early in 1252, on hearing of yet another levy, Aaron I le Blund, his son Samuel, and brother Elias I, together with their wives, tried to flee the realm. Pigona and Flora received a royal pardon, but their husbands had to provide financial security that they would neither attempt to leave the kingdom, nor seek to remove valuables. Only on full payment were their houses and possessions returned. Elias's son, Aaron II le Blund, moved to Gloucester then \*Hereford. Two years later, as archpresbyter, Elias l'Eveske made an impassioned plea to Henry III on behalf of the English community, for 'licence

and safe conduct to depart out of his kingdom that we may seek and find a mansion in some other place’.

The character of the London community was now changing. To prosper, one had to have a patron at court. In 1257 Elias l’Eveske, who had served Henry well in building up his gold treasure, was dismissed. He was replaced as archpresbyter in February 1258 by \*Hagin, a son of \*Master Moses, who, with his brother Cresse or Deulecresse, had been declared ‘quit for five years from all tallages’ the previous year. This was ‘at the instance of Richard [earl of Cornwall], the king’s brother’, to whom, the patent rolls show, Henry had mortgaged his English Jewry in 1253 in return for a loan of 1000 marks. The reason given for Cresse and Hagin’s privileges was quite specific, that they ‘have laboured much for the said Richard’. \*Master Elias, another brother, who had also served Richard well, was rewarded with \*Abraham of Berkhamsted’s valuable Colechurch Lane property. The community was to be dominated by the six sons of Master Moses for more than two decades (Genealogy 6).

### The London Jewry under siege, 1262–67

The events of these years are described by two remarkable London chroniclers, Arnold Fitz-Thedmar and Thomas Wykes. When a Jew was accused in 1262 of stabbing a Christian in Colechurch Lane, the mob broke into Jewish houses, carrying off all the goods they could find. Mayor and sheriff quickly restored order. In April 1264 the news that royal forces had defeated and captured young Simon de \*Montfort at Northampton roused the popular party in London, which was irrevocably committed to Montfort’s cause. Rumours spread that the Jews planned to burn down the city with Greek fire, were preparing false keys and had underground routes to betray the gates.

In the week before Palm Sunday the mob rose again, led by John fitz John, a de Montfort supporter who had been in debt to the Jewry for ten years. As the chroniclers show, the Jewry suffered a pogrom greater in size than that inflicted at York in 1190. According to Wykes, 400 Jews were killed, ‘without regard to sex or age’. Fitz-Thedmar describes how, during the mob rule,

all the property of the Jews [was] carried off; as many [Jews] ... as were found being stripped naked, despoiled and afterwards murdered by night, to the number of more than 500. Those who survived were saved by the Justiciars and the Mayor, having been sent to the Tower before the slaughter took place ... [with] the \*chest of \*chirographs.

They were joined by the papal legate, Ottobuono Fieschi, as well as the despised Italian and Cahorsin bankers (*see* Interest). Elias I le Blund died in the Tower, probably of his wounds. The great-grandson of \*Abigail, Cok son of Aaron son of Abraham, described by Wykes as ‘the most famous Jew in the city and the richest’, was killed by fitz John himself. Archpresbyter Hagin sent confidantes to a house adjoining Cok’s residence, to dig up his treasure: £1000 worth of gold and silver, gold and silver cups, rings, girdles and pieces of gold. This they carried off by night to Hagin in the Tower.

In April 1267 the forces of Gilbert de Clare, in collusion with John d'Eyville, leader of the \*Disinherited, entered London. Those Jews remaining fled once more to the Tower, which they then helped to defend. Saving their persons, their flight exposed their property, the stone and timber from which was used to barricade the Tower. Many had entrusted valuables to Christian friends and neighbours; subsequent cases before the Exchequer Court suggest that not all were returned. With de Clare's withdrawal in mid June, life and business in the city slowly began to return to normal. The disgrace and imprisonment of Hagin after Edward I's return to London in 1274, and his death in 1281, extinguished the power of Master Elias and his brothers. Hagin was succeeded by Queen Eleanor of Castile's appointee, Cresse's son, Cok Hagin, the nephew whom Elias had excommunicated in 1275. (See *Herem.*) In October 1272 Pope Gregory X, reissuing *Sicut Judaeis*, declared that the ritual-child-murder accusation was 'not to be believed'. Four years later, when a youth drowned in the Thames was claimed to be another ritual murder victim, no action was taken.

During the period of the \*coin-clipping commissions, which opened in late 1276, some 600 Jews were incarcerated, many of whom are named in the exchequer rolls. As the Tower could not accommodate this number, London Jews were imprisoned at the Guildhall. Rokéah has shown that 269 Jews from London and Middlesex were hanged. Londoners with the right connections made fine with the Crown. Thus Master Elias paid £666 for a 'trespass touching the king's moneys'.

For almost two decades the principal challenger to the sons of Master Moses had been the outsider, Aaron son of Vives. Given the support that Master Elias and his brothers had at court, Aaron needed a powerful patron within the royal family. His links with Henry III's second son, Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, are first recorded in 1265 when, 'at the instance of Edmund', he was granted that 'all the lands, rents and chattels which were Aaron's pledges, in whosoever hands they be, shall be distrained to levy his debts'. (See *Jews and the Court.*) In August 1270 Aaron was given the right to 'a chest wherein to deposit his chirographs in the place where he shall dwell in the lands of the said Edmund'. Nevertheless, he continued to live in London, and his bonds are found in the chests of many recognized communities. By 1280 he had presented the London community with a new communal synagogue, off Catte Street, for which he purchased, for £126, the 'books of the laws and others' of those condemned for coin-clipping at Oxford. The death of Master Elias in 1284 left what remained of the financial field open to Aaron.

The names of the city's delegates to the \*1287 'mini-parliament' are not recorded, but the London Annals reported that on 2 May 'all the Jews in England were seized and brought to London in carts'. This was the preliminary to the imposition of a £12,000 tallage, of which less than £5000 was received. In the same year \*Jacob ben Judah, *hazan* of London, completed his *Etz Hayyim*, 'Tree of Life', a codification of the Law on lines similar to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*.

## The Expulsion

In 1290 valuation of the houses of the London Jewry began even before the expulsion. Aaron's patron, Edmund, was to receive full details of his properties and rents in London, Canterbury and Oxford, and all his bonds, prior to his departure. Cok Hagin received similar treatment from Queen Eleanor. Edmund's one last favour to Aaron was *un sauf conduit-spécial*. From the port of London 1335 Jews left for the Continent.

Estimates of the annual value of Jewish property made prior to the expulsion provide an insight into the community at its end. The area of Jewish settlement still extended from Wood Street in the west, along Catte Street to Milk Street, Aldermanbury and Ironmonger Lane, to Colechurch Lane in the east (see Plan 7). The properties of only 22 members are listed, with a total annual valuation of some £67, fourteen at £2 or over. The highest, at £12 17s, was that of Antera, widow of Master Moses' son Vives, in Catte Street, followed by that of her brother, Elias l'Eveske, close to the site of the former *magna scola*, at £6 17s 4d. The Ironmonger Lane house of Master Moses' great-grandson, Leo son of Cresse son of Master Elias, was valued at £2 13s 4d.

This was the only house listed in Ironmonger Lane. There were three in Colechurch Street, three in Wood Street, four in Catte Street but five in Milk Street, where extensive excavations were undertaken in 1976. The most imposing structure discovered was the twelfth-century stone undercroft to \*Bonamy of York's property. A report on the 'Medieval Buildings and Property Development' of the street provides details of six tenements, of which at least four (nos 2–5) had enjoyed Jewish occupation. In a charter of 1276 Stephen Cheynduyt conveyed to Cresse, a grandson of Master Moses, a tenement in Milk Street in St Mary's parish, described as between the tenements of Henry de Frowyk on the south and Bonamy on the north. Patent rolls between 1250 and 1276 identify 15 significant Jews who held property in Milk Street: 5 members over three generations of the family of Master Moses, 3 members of the Crespin and 4 of the le Blund families, as well as Aaron son of Vives, and the York magnates, Aaron and Bonamy. After the expulsion Queen Eleanor granted Moses Crespin's house, valued at £3 19s, to Martin Ferraunt, one of her servants.

In Hugh of Kendal's accounts of Jewish property sold by December 1290, those in London were valued at £956, as against £243 for York. This figure excludes the property of those, such as Aaron son of Vives, who were given licence to sell prior to the expulsion, the beneficiaries being the Jews' court patrons.

See also Synagogue; Cemetery; Tombstones; *Bet Tohorah*; and Leper House, Jewish.

□ Hillaby (1995), & (1993a); Abulafia & Evans (1986), xxi–xxxii; Smalley (1983), 78; *PpR*, 1130, 149; J. A. Green, 'The Earliest Surviving Pipe Roll', *BIHR*, 55 (1982), 1–17; Howden, *Annals*, 2 (1853), 119–20; S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (1966); Fitz-Thedmar, 54, 66 and Wykes, 142–5 both give 1263 but agree that events took place after the king's victory at Northampton; Williams (1970), 224–5; Adler (1939), 258–63, & (1941); Richardson (1960), 8 n. 3, 161–75, 237–41; Keene (c.1985), & (1984); Keene and Harding (1987); Newburgh (1996), 555–8; Roth (1946); Bowsher, I (2007), 84–5, 117–19, 126–30, 159–61, & II, 336–9; Sermon



(1990); Blair et al. (2001); *AHT*, 3 (1989); Baer (1961), 190; Davis (1969), nos 185–95; Schofield (1995), 31, 75 fig. 84, 157, 203–5, 208

### London, Aaron son of Vives

The 1282 husting roll describes Aaron's father as the son of Peytevin *le Fort* and Slema; Aaron was not therefore, as has sometimes been assumed, the son of Vives son of Master Moses. The earliest reference to him relates to a grant of a house in Milk Street by Leo II *le \*Blund*, who died in 1259, his wife and their son; this is confirmed in the 1271 patent roll. Aaron was already a recognised figure in the \*London Jewry by February 1262 when, with some dozen other Jews, he paid an undisclosed fine 'that for five years the king will not cause any extent to be made, or any prorogation of terms, quittance, or gift of the debts due to them'.

After the disgrace of the \*archpresbyter \*Elias l'Eveske in 1257, Richard earl of Cornwall had appointed \*Master Moses' sons, \*Hagin and Cresse, as his \*attorneys. Behind them was their brother, \*Elias. This transformed the internal politics of the London Jewry; success now depended on a patron at court. By 1265 Aaron already had a profitable relationship with John de Warenne, sixth earl of Surrey 1240–1304 (see Stamford), to whom he confirmed the annual fees and debts wherein Walter de la Waude was bound to him. Henry III's second son, Edmund Crouchback, future duke of Lancaster and close associate of his brother Edward as king in his Welsh wars, recognised the significance of a personal Jew in terms of the value of Jewish bonds for acquisition in the land market. In December 1265 Aaron received Edmund's personal guarantee for his 'lands, rents and chattels'. For their relationship see \*Jews and the Court. He retained at least one private client. In 1268 he sold three debts of Robert de Boreham and his son William, totalling £120, to Gilbert de Clare, seventh earl of Gloucester, who foreclosed on the manor of Boreham in Essex.

In 1274 Aaron was accused of going to the house of Samuel, heir of Aaron I *le Blund* (see Genealogy 4), where he 'found buried...gold, silver and other treasure, tantamount to a large sum'. As treasure trove, this was due to the king. Aaron had no need of Edmund's support; an inquest of 24 London Jews swore there was no truth in the claim, which they declared had been made 'maliciously and falsely' by Josce of \*Warwick 'for some contention between him and Aaron'. Refusing to give pledges of peace, Josce was committed to gaol.

### Cambridge

Aaron had close ties with the \*Cambridge \*community. In 1266, at Edmund's instance, he was granted guardianship of Josce, 'son and heir of Samuelotus', Saulot Mutun, who had been killed in August, when the \*Disinherited from the Isle of Ely sacked the Cambridge Jewry. Aaron was granted 'his houses, debts and chattels, which belong to the king through his death, with the marriage of the heir, according to law and the custom

of the Jewry'. He was to render 5 marks a year for the customary \*relief of a third, but was free from tallage on the estate until this had been paid in full. The following year he was granted that, for five years, no pardon, quittance or prorogation of terms would be made of any debts due to Saulot Mutun. Under Aaron's tutelage, Josce became a successful member of his community. Two years after its \*expulsion from Cambridge he was permitted to live just across the Cam at Chesterton to supervise his property interests in Bridge Street. He was one of \*Huntingdon's two delegates to the \*1287 'mini-parliament'.

In 1273 Edmund's patronage gave Aaron the confidence to bring, probably with considerable satisfaction, a plea of trespass and assault against Geoffrey, dean of Cambridge, in the \*Exchequer of the Jews. Aaron claimed he had 'unlawfully demanded more rent than he owes, distraining him and his tenants in the town, and causing him and them to be distrained and flayed to his, Aaron's, grievous damage and against the king's peace'. The dean failing to appear, the \*sheriff was ordered to compel him. With no lay fee whereby he could be attached, the bishop of Ely was commanded to distrain him by 'his chattels ecclesiastic'. Among Aaron's more important clients in this area was Gilbert Pecche, lord of Swaffham (see below).

#### **Aaron and the lands about the Guildhall (see Plan 7)**

Cambridge was not Aaron's permanent residence, for a man with his ambitions had to live close to the Exchequer of the Jews. The patent, close and husting rolls indicate the considerable property interests that Aaron acquired in the area between the City of London's Court of the Hustings, in the parish of St Laurence Jewry, and Catte (Gresham) Street. At the Hustings all pleas of lands, tenements, rents and services within the city were held. Later known as the Guildhall, to its south lay a cobbled court, shielded from the clamour of the street by four tenements (1–4 on Plan 7) on the north side of Catte Street, between Bassishaw (Basinghall Street) in the east and the alley leading to the Hustings in the west. The documentary evidence shows that these were occupied predominantly by Jewish families.

This area, between Catte Street, Bassishaw and Aldermanbury on the west, has been the subject of a series of excavations, examined by Bowsher in *The London Guildhall: An Archaeological History*, 2 vols (2007). Of the four tenements on Catte Street, T1, the most westerly, the 1271 patent roll records, Aaron had 'bought long ago' as 'a void plot of land within the Jewry ... adjoining the way leading to the Hustings', from Flora le Blund, daughter of the London magnate, Aaron I le Blund, who had it from her brother, Samuel. Across the Hustings lane it faced the east end of the church of St Lawrence Jewry. North of this tenement lay the \**mikveh* discovered in 1985/86, of which the only archaeological evidence is a sherd of a London-type-ware serving jug of date range 1080–1200.

By 1282 Aaron held the adjacent plot (T2 on Plan 7), which had belonged to his grandmother, Slema, widow of Peytevin *le Fort*. Here excavations revealed some 88 vessels, many complete or almost complete, and dated c.1270–c.1300, which for Bowsher indicate

‘an assemblage of contemporary tableware disposed of in a single episode.’ This included at least 22 flared baluster jugs, some highly decorated; 7 jugs in north French style and 2 in Rouen style. It is suggested that this was ‘the fine tableware of the Peytevin family which Aaron may have inherited about 1281’, and that it was ‘used for entertaining on a lavish scale’. Possibly Aaron ‘deliberately buried the bulky tableware, perhaps with the intention of reclaiming it on his return if the political situation improved’ (Bowsher, I (2007), 159–61). Next door, Tenement 3 was the house of Belaset, widow of Leo Preciose, and subsequently of Abraham Motun. On the corner of Bassishaw and Catte Street, Tenement 4 belonged to Aaron Crespin from 1271 until 1280, when he ‘was hanged for a trespass against the coinage’. It was then bought by Sir Matthew Columbariis.

North of Tenements 3 and 4 lay the former \*synagogue that (S2 on Plan 7) Henry III had converted to the chapel of St Mary by 1233 and granted, with its \*cemetery, some 50 by 24 ft (15 by 20 m), to John fitz Geoffrey, a city notable whose house lay further north, in 1256. This property was assigned by Sir Roger de Clifford in 1280 to the mayor and commonalty of London. By 1285 it had been acquired by John de Bauquelle, as confirmed by royal charter in 1293. As Blackwell Hall, it was to become the city’s market for woollen cloth.

Given the status of his patron, Aaron was unaffected by provision 3 of the \*1271 Statute, that it was ‘not lawful for our Jews of London to buy... more houses than they now have in our city of London’, and he went on to make a number of purchases north of the Catte Street tenements, closer to the Guildhall. In 1275 he bought from John son of Geoffrey de Frowyk, a member of the major city family of pepperers, ‘a stone messuage adjoining the Guildhall [court?] on the west and the land late of Benedict le Chivaler, Jew, on the east’. The property was described as ‘in the parish of St Michael Bassishaw’. The witnesses included ‘Gregory de Rokele, mayor, Henry de Frowyk, sheriff... and the... [Christian] \*chirographers of the London \*chest.’ The deed was registered at the Exchequer of the Jews. His role as a developer becomes clear in 1276, when he ‘bought certain houses destroyed during the last war in this realm’ from Benedict and Abraham, sons of Deulecresse; ‘Aaron proposes to build more suitably’ on this unidentified site.

In 1280 Gregory de Rokesle, as mayor, was ordered

to cause the actions of John la Meare in the hustings of London against Aaron son of Vives concerning a messuage in London to come before the Justices of the Exchequer of the Jews for Jews ought not to be impleaded elsewhere.

In 1282 Henry de Waleys, mayor, and the Corporation of London sold Aaron ‘a chamber and garden’, for £100. These were part of the lands that Roger de Clifford had sold to the mayor and corporation during the mayoralty of Gregory de Rokesle in 1280.

What is remarkable about these purchases by Aaron from the city is that the officers had no reservations about the acquisition by a Jew of lands so close to their court house. Details of the careers of Rokesle, d.1291, and Waleys, d.1302, are instructive. Rokesle was mayor of London 1274–81 and 1284–85; Waleys 1273–74 and 1281–84. England’s leading wine merchants, they had much wider financial interests and were the only London

civic leaders to 'enjoy royal patronage'. Rokesle was royal butler 1275–78, and during Edward I's recoinage of 1279 was appointed keeper of the London and Canterbury exchanges, posts that he held until 1290. He worked closely with Edward's Italian bankers, the Riccardi. In 1290 he even lent the king £1000. Both acquired widespread city estates, Rokesle in 12 parishes, Waleys in 15. In 1299 the royal council met at the latter's hall in Stepney.

Appointed keeper and protector of the London Jewry in 1266, Rokesle was examiner of their accounts in 1276. Two years later he was responsible for the collection of the Jewish tallage, and in 1279, at the height of the \*coin-clipping crisis, collector, with Giles de Oudenarde, of houses and rents of condemned Jews – for Queen Eleanor's use. In 1284 Rokesle and Waleys were jointly responsible for the enforcement of the edicts on coin-clipping and falsification of moneys by alien merchants. After the \*expulsion Rokesle advised on the sale of Jewish property in London. The preparedness of these two men to sanction Aaron son of Vives' purchases can therefore be explained by the closeness of their relationship with the royal family, including Aaron's patron.

### **Relations with Master Elias**

Aaron was for many years the principal challenger to the supremacy of \*Master Elias and his brothers in the London community. As Master of the Law, and thus formal leader of the English community, Elias came to view Aaron's growing success with concern, for his patron, Richard of Cornwall, had died in 1272. His joint responsibility with his brother \*Hagin in the levying of the 6000-mark \*tallage of 1270 and the 5000-mark tallage two years later, coupled with Hagin's disgrace, had done little to enhance Elias's reputation within the London community.

Relations between the two men deteriorated further during the coin-clipping crisis in 1279, when a 1000-mark was imposed on Master Elias, to meet which he was granted permission to sell his London properties; it is hardly surprising that he envied Aaron's ability to continue speculation on the London property market. Aaron's plans to provide a replacement synagogue for the community must have been particularly galling. In 1280 Elias, invited to Flanders to treat the count's nephew, wrote to the Chancellor requesting a safe conduct. He referred to his 'fear of slanderers' and ended: 'Dear Lord, please conceal my requirements from Aaron son of Vives.' Necessity nevertheless brought the two together that year. In July Arnold Peleter of Gascony acknowledged that he owed them 'seven tuns of good \*wine made according to the Jewish rite'.

Aaron's greatest, if short-lived, achievement was the provision of a \*synagogue to replace the *magna scola*, closed in 1272 when the 'ululation' of the Jews disturbed the adjacent Friars of the Sack at their prayers. Archbishop Pecham, himself a Franciscan, receiving reports that a new synagogue was under construction, ordered Bishop Gravesend of London to prohibit its construction. What he did not know was that in

September 1272 Henry III had formally granted the London Jewry the right to 'build and construct another [communal] synagogue elsewhere, if they wish'.

Aaron's grant to the community of 'a messuage of stone with all its court', on a backland site south of Catte Street, was personally confirmed by his patron, Edmund Crouchback. Yet he secured additional confirmation through two further charters, the first witnessed in December 1280 by Rokesle as mayor and the two Christian chirographers. The second, the following July, was again witnessed by Rokesle as mayor, with Hamo Hauteyn and Robert de Ludham, justices of the Exchequer of the Jews, and the two sheriffs. This explained that it lay between the messuage late of Vives son of Master Moses on the east and that of Aaron on the west, with Vives' garden to the south. In January 1280 Aaron paid Queen Eleanor £126 for books of condemned \*Oxford Jews, 'of their Law and others'. These he presented to the synagogue.

Aaron's fame outlasted the \*expulsion. In 1301 a hustling roll charter refers to 'the great stone house which once was the school of Aaron son of Vives the Jew, with entry [passageway] to the same, four shops adjacent on the north and a \*herb garden on the south'.

See Jews and the Court: Edmund Crouchback and Aaron son of Vives; Synagogue.

□ Hillaby (1993a), 146–51; *CLR*, 1233, 199, 223; *CPR*, 1258–66, 201, 467, 632, 644, & 1266–72, 52, 572, & 1272–81, 52, 381, 389; *PREJ*, I, 158, 199–200, & II, 29, 160, 280; *CR*, 1256, 369–70; *CCR*, 1272–79, 317, 522; *CChR*, 1257–1300, 253, 434; Bowsheer (2007); Williams (1970), 245–8, 330–1, 333–5; *ODNB*, 'Ruxley and Waleys'; *PREJ*, VI, p. 72, no. 1225

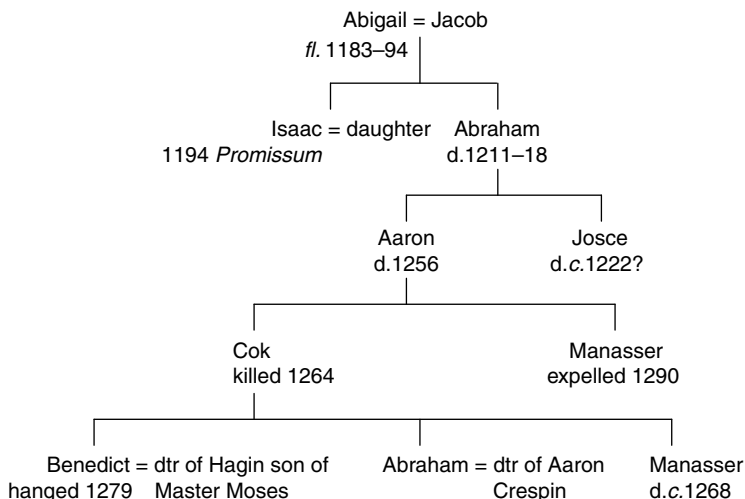
## London, Abigail and Family of

### Abigail and her son Abraham

Abigail was the earliest of the London matriarchs. Her family, like those of \*Rabbi Josce, Leo le \*Blund and Benedict I\*Eveske, can be traced over five generations, from 1175, when on the death of her husband Jacob she owed 200 \*marks for the custody of her sons, to the \*expulsion in 1290 (see Genealogy 3). That her eldest son, Abraham, was named after his mother, not his father, is an indication of Abigail's status and wealth.

Mother and son were working in partnership by 1183 when they lent 80 marks to William of Tottenham on the security of Tottenham manor. Another client was William d'Aubigny, earl of \*Arundel. For the Guildford \*tallage of 1186, Abigail was assessed at a mere 200 marks, Abraham at £388, of which £326 13s 4d was still outstanding in 1197. Towards the 1194 Northampton *Promissum* she paid £40 7s 8d, the fourth largest contribution from the London \*community, Abraham £33 13s 4d. Taken together, theirs was the third largest payment nationally, after Jacob of Canterbury, £115 6s 8d, and Deulesault Episcopus, £97 10s 8d. Abigail's son-in-law, Isaac, paid a mere £2 9s.

Abigail was dead by 1199 when Abraham paid a quarter of the \*relief of 100 marks for her lands, deeds, chattels and houses. In 1210 he was one of three magnates condemned to death for alleged tax evasion. Unlike \*Isaac of Norwich, he evidently failed to save



### Genealogy 3 The family of Abigail of London

Note: dtr daughter; fl. floruit.

his life, as next year his chattels were sold for 100 marks. In 1223 he was described by his son as 'the pious Rabbi Abraham'; for Roth, in medieval England the Hebrew term *Hasidim* meant more than 'pious' in the conventional sense.

### Aaron son of Abraham

In 1218 Aaron was amongst those involved in a case brought by William fitz Herlicun. Three years later he contributed £2 10s to the 'Aid to Marry', eighth of 24 London payments, and in 1223 paid £11 13s 4d, ranking seventh. Aaron appears frequently as a creditor; Peter son of William of Acton, whose debt to him in 1223 led to Lord Eustace of Fauconberg, bishop of London, acquiring 40 acres (16 hectares) of land in Acton, was again his client in 1235.

By the late 1230s Aaron's standing within his community had been transformed. He was one of the eight Jews who in 1238 were to investigate 'most cautiously and subtly touching Jews who are clippers of \*coin' with the justices of the Jews. Two years later he, Aaron I le \*Blund and \*Aaron and Leo of York were commanded by the king to give the abbot of Westminster, Richard of Barking, 1000 marks, to be deducted from their arrears for the Third. Aaron son of Abraham ranked first in terms of his community's contributions to this tax, paying almost 30% of the total; Aaron le Blund paid 26.5%. Rivals for financial dominance within their community, they ranked fourth nationally in the 20,000-mark tallage of 1239-42, each paying £800. However, this was half the amount paid by \*David of Oxford and Leo of York, and but a fifth of Aaron of York's 6000 marks. Aaron son of Abraham was one of London's six representatives at the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament', and one of six *maiores* to serve as assessors with Aaron of York,

the \*archpresbyter. The three Aarons with David of Oxford lent Henry III 400 marks in 1241 'upon pain of all they possess', and with Benedict Crespin and Moses son of Jacob in 1244 were commanded to repay the 1000 marks that the king owed certain Sienese and Florentine merchants.

In 1246, 1247 and 1249 Aaron acted as a tallage assessor with other magnates. In May 1249 he was to 'reside at the Exchequer, just as a justice of the Jews', on the same conditions as Elias l'Eveske, who had succeeded Aaron of York as archpresbyter in 1243. Next month the close roll records that if Elias l'Eveske 'shall sit there [at the exchequer] by the precept of the king then the king wishes that they [the justices] should receive Aaron son of Abraham as his associate'. In August the two men were appointed, with Aaron of York and Abraham of Berkhamsted, to assess a new \*tallage, ensuring that 'the rich be not spared and the poor not too much grieved'. Next year they were ordered to make inquisition into the chattels of Leo of York, then in the hands of his son Samuel, whose own estate they were very soon administering, later assessing the dower of his widow, Pucella. From early 1250 they worked to secure \*gold for Henry III, and in that year had to deliver £20 to Thomas, warden of St Mary's chapel in the Minor Jewry, the former \*synagogue, for its refurbishment and an icon of the Virgin, surmounted with tabernacle work of 200 canopies.

Aaron sought to secure his position through an ally at court, the hated Poitevin, Guy de Lusignan, the king's half-brother and count of Cognac. For a fine of 25 marks, Aaron negotiated with Henry in 1250 to reduce his tallage to 100 marks (£66 13s 4d) per annum for four years, during which period he was to have 'respite of his old debts to the king'. This sum was to be 'allowed to the community of the Jews in their tallage'.

In 1252 Aaron purchased from the Crown property in the parishes of St Stephen Colman Street, St Michael Bassishaw and St Olave, valued at £60, which had belonged to \*Rabbi Josce's grandson Josce. A grant of some of this property after his death revealed that it included six shops and three houses with a vacant plot behind, the total annual value being £12 9s 8d. In 1255, with Elias l'Eveske and his brothers, Jacob and Solomon, Aaron was pledge for the London Jewry's tallage payments.

He died next year, and his effects passed into the hands of the Crown. The queen took such bonds as she wished, and 1000 marks was paid to Richard of Cornwall as part payment of the king's debt to him. For the remainder, Aaron's sons, Cok and Manasser, had to pay a \*relief of 2000 marks, '10 marks of gold yearly, until the whole be paid'. That the total, some 3000 marks, was so much less than those levied on the estates of \*Hamo of Hereford (6000 marks) in 1231 and \*David of Oxford (5000 marks) and \*Leo Episcopus of York (7000 marks) in 1244, is a clear sign of the times.

### Cok son of Aaron

In addition to the relief Cok had to pay two gold marks for the wardship of his brother, Manasser, who 'should not be married without his [Cok's] consent'; Cok was to 'have

the keeping of all things which pertain to that marriage'. To be 'quit of inquisition and suspicion which the king has against them of chattels and moveables of Aaron, his father, concealed and carried away', he had to pay 20 gold marks; Aaron son of Benedict Crespin, whose daughter was to marry Cok's son Abraham, was also charged with 'withdrawing' Aaron's chattels. Cok was to have 'his own houses in London, his charters and muniments and other moveables' and, until further order, possession of those of his father's houses not granted to William de Valery.

Wykes described Cok as 'the most famous Jew in the city and the richest'. In 1259, when London bore almost a third of the tallage, he headed the list of guarantors, the two others named being Aaron I le \*Blund's son, Samuel, and Leo son of Preciosa. Cok's clients included some of the most powerful men in the realm, amongst them Sir Roger de Leyburn and Robert de Ferrers, sixth earl of Derby. Cok was killed in 1264, during the London riots, by the leader of the mob, John fitz John, a de \*Montfort supporter who had been in debt to the Jewry for ten years. From the safety of the Tower, archpresbyter \*Hagin son of \*Master Moses sent confidantes to dig up Cok's treasure: £1000 worth of gold and silver, gold and silver cups, rings, girdles and pieces of gold. Hagin, who sent Cok's infant son, Manasser, to Normandy, was charged in 1273, when he no longer had a patron to protect him, that he had concealed the child's death some years earlier and 'caused the chattels...to be divided between the two surviving brothers...one to marry his, Hagin's, daughter; the other he gave to Aaron Crespin's daughter'.

Amongst those to profit from Cok's landed property was Godfrey Giffard, who became chancellor in 1266 and bishop of Worcester, 1268–1302. He 'surrendered the houses to the king who, out of reverence for' Walter Giffard, bishop of Bath and Wells and later archbishop of York, granted them to the Giffards' sister, Alice. Both Godfrey and Walter were notorious traffickers in Jewish debts.

Cok's brother, **Manasser**, survived the massacre and served as a London \*chirographer, being replaced in 1267 by Aaron Crespin. Six years later a Thomas de London brought a plea of trespass and 'falsity and seduction' against him and other chirographers, Master Moses' sons, Hagin and Vives, and the Christian, John de Ferrun, who had also been replaced in 1267. The size of some of his bonds indicates that Manasser prospered. In 1273 he held a mortgage of £600 on the lands of John de Peckham. Two years later he was claiming repayment of two debts totalling £1500 from the heirs of John de Burgh. The Crown took £700 towards his tallage arrears of £821 8s 4d, and one of de Burgh's bonds, for £600, was taken from the London \*chest and delivered to the keeper of the \*queen's gold.

Manasser also survived the second \*coin-clipping crisis, when 269 Jews were hanged, but in January 1278 had to persuade Edward I to investigate his claim that:

a portion of clipped coin, with the forceps employed in clipping it, tied up in a cloth, was maliciously thrown on to the top of his house in the city of London and found there, by reason of which he was imprisoned on suspicion.



The findings are not known, but in November 1279 Manasser was realising some of his assets, selling a house in Bassishaw with a rentable value of 16½d. At the expulsion eleven years later only 4 of the 21 properties listed in London were valued over £4. The 'Manasser son of Aaron' whose house, worth £6 13s 4d, was bought by soldier and statesman Henry de Lacy, fifth earl of Lincoln, must surely be Abigail's great-grandson.

### Cok's sons

Cok had at least three sons. **Manasser** died c.1268. **Benedict** was hanged for coinage offences in 1279. His half messuage in St Stephen's parish was acquired for 100 marks by his uncle Manasser, probably to protect the family. Next year Benedict's half messuage in Colman Street and half messuage opposite St Mary Colechurch went to Gregory de Rokesle who, inter alia, also obtained property that had belonged to a third son, **Abraham**. As guardian following Cok's death, Hagin son of \*Master Moses arranged for Benedict to marry his own daughter, and Abraham that of Aaron Crespin. (See Jews and the Court.)

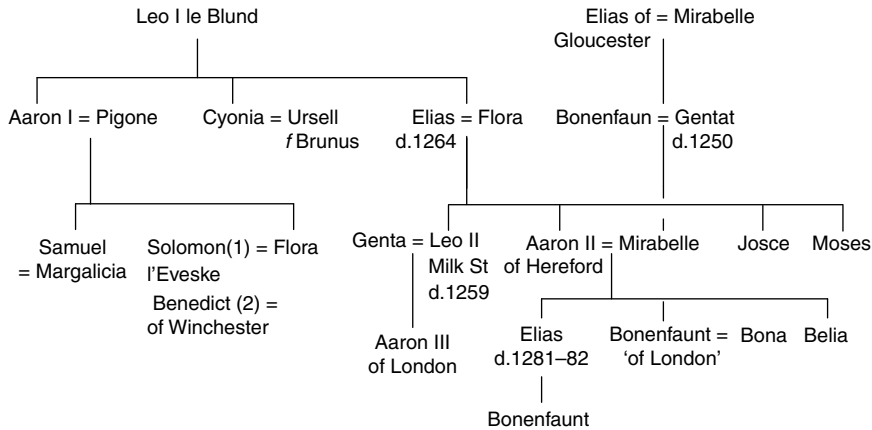
□ Hillaby (1985), 22–5, 30–1, 33–4, & (1993a), 121–8; Roth (1964), 118 n. 5; Starrs, II, 62–7

### London, le Blund Family of

Leo I le Blund and his sons, Aaron I and Elias I, were the leading figures of the early thirteenth-century \*London Jewry (Genealogy 4). Aaron headed the list of contributors to both the 1221 and 1223 tallages, paying 20% and 19% of the sum levied on his community. Elias ranked fourth and third; Leo, third and fourth. Together, they paid some 40% of the London total. Their only rival was Benedict, father of \*Elias l'Eveske, who was second in both tallages. Leo had paid a mere £3 15s to the Northampton *Promissum* of \*1194, less than 1% of the community total. This raises the fundamental question as to how he and his sons could have built up such considerable fortunes during the black last years of John's reign when, the St Benet of Hulme chronicler records, those Jews who had not fled were 'prowling the city like dogs'.

About 1220, Peter, a member of the powerful fitz Alulf family, granted Aaron and Elias a property stretching from the west side of Colechurch Lane to the land of the Hospital of St Thomas. Of considerable interest, this grant provides details of the three parts of the plot, including dimensions. The house is described as 'a stone chamber', 30 ft by 25 ft (9 by 7.6 m), with a middle storey and a (vaulted?) cellar. To the north-west was a privy, 10½ ft by 14 ft (3 by 4 m). The land to the front was 39 ft (12 m) wide, extending some 43 ft (13 m) from the road. The grant suggests that the le Blunds intended to build here. In May 1228 Henry III took the property into his own hands, returning it to the le Blunds the next month with the proviso that no Jew should live there. His motives were clear. It backed onto the hospital founded by Agnes, sister of St Thomas Becket, to celebrate his birthplace. Aaron sold the plot to the hospital for 40 marks. By April 1228

**London, le Blund Family of**



*Genealogy 4* The family of Leo I le Blund of London

*Note:* *f* *filius* son of.

he was living on the eastern side of Colechurch Lane, next to \*Aaron of York. Elias's house was on the other side of the lane, just south of St Olave's churchyard.

Much of the le Blunds' business was conducted in collaboration with leading financiers such as Aaron of York and the Londoners, Elias l'Eveske, the Crespin brothers and Aaron son of Abraham. Their clients were widespread and included such leading city merchants as Richard Renger and Andrew Bukerel, and such major families as the fitz Alulfs and Cornhills. In the 1236 close roll Aaron I was even dubbed amongst his peers as 'the Rich'. In \*1239, however, he lost his primacy to Aaron son of Abraham (*see* London, Abigail and Family of). For the Third of that year the latter paid some £245, Aaron le Blund £220. Both attended the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament', and were assessed at 1200 marks (£800) for the 20,000-mark tallage of 1241-42. Nationally, however, they ranked after Aaron of York, \*David of Oxford and Leo of York.

In 1249 Aaron son of Abraham was associated with the \*archpresbyter, Elias l'Eveske, at the exchequer. He had already negotiated tallage reductions with Henry III. Aaron le Blund could hardly have been surprised; this was a game he had played. In 1234, as he himself admitted, he and Elias l'Eveske had given 'two dishes and one cup of value £4 8s od' not to be tallaged more than they were already.

A total of 60,000 marks was imposed on the English Jewry between 1244 and 1250. This drastic rise in tax levels had profound implications for the le Blunds. Early in 1252 Aaron I le Blund, his brother Elias, their wives, Pigone and Flora, and Aaron's eldest son, Samuel, attempted to flee the realm with their realisable assets. They were apprehended and had to provide security that they would make no further attempt to leave the kingdom or remove their valuables. Only on full payment of the fine imposed were their house and possessions to be returned. The brothers lapsed into obscurity, but

Elias's son, \*Aaron II le Blund, left London to seek a new life in the provinces. By 1255 he was working in \*Gloucester where he married Mirabelle, daughter of Bonenfaunt, the former \*community leader, d.1250. Subsequently Aaron established a prosperous career as leader of a revived \*Hereford community, c.1265–90.

There is one last notice of Elias. 'At the beginning of the disturbances [of 1264] he fled with other Jews to the Tower and there died,' probably of wounds received. Aaron's son and heir, Samuel, may also have been a victim. The mirage of the family wealth persisted, however. In 1274 \*Aaron son of Vives was accused that, upon Samuel's death, he had gone to his house and there 'found buried beneath the earth gold, silver and other treasure, tantamount to a large sum which, as subterranean, belonged of right to the king'. A jury concluded that Josce of \*Warwick had 'maliciously made this false charge'. Next year an inquest into Samuel's 'house and rents with appurtenances in London' determined that they were not the king's escheat. Five separate holdings were deemed to be worth £3 8s 8d a year.

□ Hillaby (1993a), 107–20; Keene & Harding (1987), 292–3, fig. 10; Williams (1970), 51, 55–7, 94, 324–5, 329–31; *CR*, 1236, 272; *PREJ*, III, 57–8

## London, Constable of the Tower of

Jurisdiction in the London Jewry, for both Christians and Jews, lay not with mayor or sheriffs but with the Constable of the Tower, whose duties included maintenance of law and order within the Jewry. With wide powers of arrest and imprisonment, and of inquisitions into the deaths of Jews, he had his own court, and a serjeant to assist him. He was also responsible for the custody of prisoners within the Tower, including those Jews arrested on the orders of the justices of the \*Exchequer of the Jews, to encourage prompt payment of \*tallage.

Only four London parishes were described as 'in Jewry': St Olave, St Laurence, St Stephen Colman Street and St Martin. However, the evidence of the location of Jewish property in the thirteenth century indicates that residence eventually spread over some ten parishes (see Plan 7). Broadly speaking, almost all known Jewish houses were north of Cheapside and south of Catte, now Gresham, Street; east of Wood Street, and west of Colechurch Lane, later Old Jewry. There was some overflow to the north, at the southern end of Bassishaw, near the Guildhall, and Colman Street.

There are frequent references in the \*plea rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews to events taking place 'in the Jewry' during the years of the \*coin-clipping crisis. They record the arrest of certain Christians, such as John of Lincoln, for being in the Jewry 'by night', together with a number of 'Christian women'. These included one 'suspected of exchanging'; another fined 14s 'because she took silver into the Jewry'; and one more who 'fled the constable's serjeant, leaving her money behind'. Christians were also arrested for 'fighting in the Jewry'. Nicholas the Convert, goldsmith of London, 'had to pay £5 for his servants' so behaving, and a further £1 13s 4d because 'a cup and 12 spoons

[of silver] were found upon them'. One even finds 'a certain goldsmith' fined £1 1s for 'fighting in the Jewry'; 7s 11½d from a debauchee found 'at night in the Jewry'; £1 13s 4d from Aaron Crespin for 'hue and cry raised against the bailiff'; £1 from Aaron Potage, for gainsaying the serjeant; whereas Joppe paid merely 1 mark (13s 4d) when he fled the serjeant's custody.

This brought the Constable and his serjeant a wide range of financial benefits, regarded as legitimate perks of office. The plea rolls provide details of 'Receipts and Perquisites' received by the serjeant, William Graveley, from Jews incarcerated in the Tower between January 1275 and December 1278. These include £2 10s from 'the Jews of \*Stamford so that they be by themselves', and similar sums from the Jews of \*Oxford, \*Hereford, \*Bedford and \*Lincoln. Divers Jews paid £3 4s to be fettered singly. The Tower apparently full, the London \*community and two Jews from York were accommodated in the Guildhall. The former paid 3s 4d for access to 'their slaughter house'. Abraham son of Hagin was fined 10s 'for fighting in prison'; but 'to be outside on the Sabbath' cost two York Jews a mere 4s. Others paid £2 3s 4d 'so they could keep the New Year', and £2 to 'keep a festival'. Fourteen Jews gave £2 'to act as servants to other Jews', as did another twelve. \*Abraham of Berkhamsted's son, Isaac, on the other hand was paid £33 6s 8d 'for respite of imprisonment'.

The Constable of the Tower's final duty in respect of the English medieval Jewry was to superintend the embarkation in \*1290 of 1335 of its members on boats to carry them across the Channel to Wissant on the French coast.

See Coinage and Coin-Clipping Crises; Expulsion, General of 1290.

□ *PREJ*, IV, 148–94; Richardson (1960), 155–60

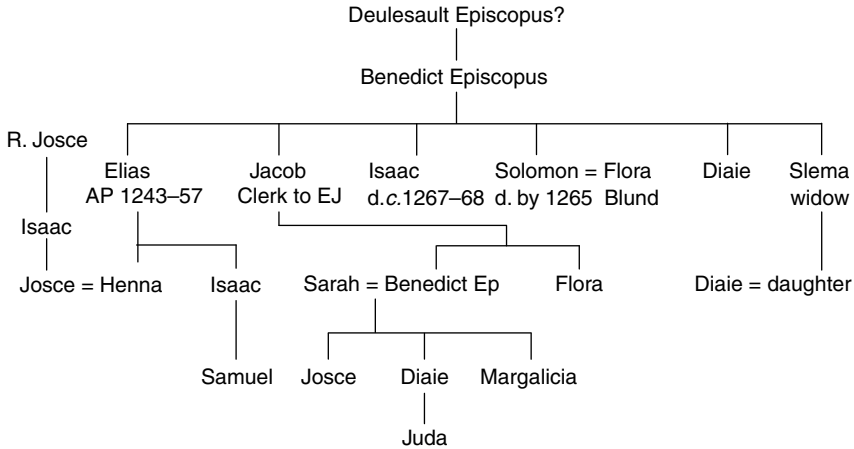
## **London, Crespin, Benedict of** *see* Attorney

## **London, Elias l'Eveske and his brothers, Solomon and Jacob**

The careers of Elias l'Eveske and his family were reviewed by Canon Henry Stokes in his *Studies* of 1913. The researches of David Carpenter have, however, opened up a new and significant chapter in the history of Elias, his family, and other English Jews, as traders in \*gold for Henry III.

Elias was one of the tragic figures of the thirteenth-century Anglo Jewry. His father, Benedict Episcopus, ranked second to \*Aaron I le Blund amongst London Jews tallaged in 1221 and 1223. As the Latin *Episcopus* and French *l'Eveske* appear to have been interchangeable, it is highly probable that Elias's grandfather was Deulesault Episcopus who was the \*community's major contributor to the 1194 Northampton *Donum*, paying 20% of London's assessment.

Elias's daughter, Henna, was the wife of Josce le Prestre, grandson of \*Rabbi Josce and \*archpresbyter 1207–35. In 1235 Elias and Henna made fine with the king of 1000 marks, as did Josce's son, Isaac, for 'having the king's grace and for removing all suspicion that



#### Genealogy 5 The Eveske family of London

Note: AP Archpresbyters; EJ Exchequer of the Jews; Ep Episcopus.

was had towards them' concerning Josce's chattels. Careful arrangements were also made as to the inheritance, protecting the rights of the \*women. Nevertheless, Elias was to serve as a London \*chirographer, an assessor for the 3000-mark tallage of 1237, and on the 1238 \*coin-clipping commission. One of the London delegates to the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament', his assessment for 1239-42 tallages was a mere £200, compared with the £4000 of \*Aaron of York.

In 1243 Henry III appointed Elias to replace Aaron of York as archpresbyter, with 'control of the exchequer rolls, and view and testimony of all future records of debt'. In this role he served his master, Henry III, well. Under the most difficult circumstances, he sought also to serve the English Jewry.

Henry commissioned a new shrine for Edward the Confessor in 1241. It was to be covered in pure gold, enriched with silver, jewels and enamel. The project reached a climax in 1244-45 when 20s of gold, 50 \*bezants and 306 \*oboli de musc' were spent. Although Henry had amassed more gold than he required, the close rolls reveal that in 1245, to Elias's humiliation, the justices of the Jews were ordered to sell the *Sepher Torah*, the elaborate Torah scroll used for the administration of oaths to Jewish witnesses in the Exchequer Court, together, one assumes, with its cloth mantel, *me'il*, and cloth, *mappa*, to ensure that it was firmly closed. The proceeds Henry used to pay for a new chasuble, alb, amice of gold thread, and cope with precious stones for the priests serving at the altar of Westminster Abbey. Later, Henry bought a two-handled gold cup from Elias for the same purpose, subsequently obliging him to return the 250 marks that he had paid for the cup.

Richard earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, left on crusade in 1241. As Carpenter explains, Henry had not taken the cross himself, but was soon building up funds of

gold for a projected English expedition, which he hoped would be led by his half-brother, Guy de Lusignan. Much of the credit should go to Elias. His brother, Jacob, usually known as 'the Clerk' but sometimes 'of \*Oxford', served as his deputy. In 1246, for 'services to the king and queen sitting at the \*Exchequer of the Jews', Jacob was given the Oxford house, a hall and messuage with four shops on its frontage, late of Josce of \*Colchester, Jew of \*Lincoln. This Roth identified as being on the post office site in Fish Street. The annual rent of 10s was to be paid to the London *Domus Conversorum*, house of \*converts.

Henry's gold was derived in part from Jewish 'gifts', fines and tallages, but also fines from urban, lay and ecclesiastical sources. Those paying fines were encouraged to settle in gold, dust, plate, or coins such as bezants or *oboli de musc'* for, Matthew Paris tells us, the king knew that 'in eastern parts gold is used as money'. An offer of gold certainly expedited business at the court.

Elias's relations with the Crown were far from easy. The close rolls show that in 1249 he was excluded from the exchequer and permitted to return only with \*Abigail's grandson, Aaron son of Abraham, as his 'associate'. With Aaron of York and \*Abraham of Berkhamsted, they were to 'assess the tallage of 500 marks and 26 gold marks and to take with them two middle class Jews and two poor Jews...so that the rich be not spared and the poor not too much grieved'.

From 1250 the internal supply no longer satisfied Henry's demand. Elias and Aaron son of Abraham, commanded to use silver to buy gold, were obliged to look further afield, especially to the northern end of the West African gold route, at Tunis and Kairouan. The liberate rolls reveal that in March 1251 they were granted £866 4s 8d from the Jewry to buy 129 marks 12s 5½d (£860 12s 5½d) weight of gold, at a rate of ten marks of silver for each mark of gold, for delivery in the wardrobe. The close rolls record similar instructions to buy gold on some five other occasions between December 1250 and July 1251. Where and how they acquired such quantities is not known, but as Jews they were particularly well equipped, through Sephardic and Italian contacts, to gain access to Islamic gold.

There were Jewish tallage demands in 1250 for 10,000 marks; 1251 for 3500; 1252 for 5500; and in 1253 for 5000 marks. The next year, presented with a 10,000-mark tallage demand by Richard earl of Cornwall, to whom Henry had mortgaged his Jews, Elias cracked. Matthew Paris records his outburst:

O noble Lords, we see undoubtedly that our Lord the King purposeth to destroy us from under Heaven. We entreat, for God's sake, that he will give us licence and safe conduct to depart out of his kingdom that we may seek and find a mansion in some other place under some Prince who bears some bowels of compassion and will observe some stability of truth and good faith. Let us depart, never to return, leaving here our houses and household goods behind us. He has papal merchants, rather his own (I will not call them usurers) who

amass endless heaps of money. Let the king depend on them. They it is who have destroyed and impoverished us. The King conceals his knowledge, exacting from us things we cannot give, even though he would pluck out our eyes, skin us and afterwards cut our throats.

Richard replied, 'Whither will ye flee, O wretches? The King of France [Louis IX] hateth and persecuteth you, and hath condemned you to perpetual banishment. Shunning Charybdis, you wish to be dashed on Scylla.' Nevertheless Richard moderated his demand – and Elias remained archpresbyter for another three years. In 1252 Aaron I le Blund, with his son and brother and their wives, had sought to flee the realm. The close rolls now reveal that the wardens of the Cinque Ports were commanded to apprehend any Jews seeking to leave the country.

Elias, his brothers, Solomon and Jacob, and Aaron son of Abraham were not averse to making special arrangements regarding their own tallage payments. Aaron paid a reduced rate for the 1247–49 tallages, and in 1250 Henry granted Elias, 'for long and faithful services' and 10 gold marks, that he would be tallaged at only £100 annually for the next four years. Jacob, 'at the instance of Queen Eleanor' was exempt for life 'from all tallages, aids and demands', for 5 silver marks a year. Solomon's tallage payments were fixed in 1252 at £20 a year for the next four years. The close and patent rolls provide no clue as to his role at the exchequer.

When Henry III returned from his Gascon expedition in December 1254, his need to buy support had exhausted the gold treasure for which so much effort had been expended. As Carpenter says, 'burdened with debt...his resources were tiny when set against his ambitions'. According to Matthew Paris, Henry III publicly complained, 'it is dreadful to think of the debts in which I am involved...I am deceived on all sides. I am a mutilated and diminished king: yea, indeed I am now crushed into pieces.' This may explain why Elias was retained in office until 1257. Indeed, with his brothers, Jacob and Solomon, and Aaron son of Abraham, he was pledge for the London Jewry's tallage payments in 1255.

In 1257 Cresse and \*Hagin, sons of \*Master Moses, who, we are told, had 'laboured much in the service of Richard earl of Cornwall', paid a fine of 3 gold marks, 'for the commonalty of the Jews of England', that Elias should never recover the presbyterate. The patent rolls report that Elias had committed 'a great trespass' touching certain debts that he had 'fraudulently received to his own use' but delivered as 'good and entire' to the earl of Cornwall. The treasurer and a justice of the Jews were commanded 'to convict this trespass and punish the said Ellis according to the quantity of his offence'. Jacob was dismissed at the same time.

The next year Elias was accused of ordering his servant to attack Hagin, who was gravely wounded. The charter rolls record that, to avoid the judicial consequences, Elias and his two sons converted 'from Jewish pravity to the Christian faith'. His property, in London and Northampton, thus escheated to the Crown. It was granted, for a fine

of 400 marks, to another of Moses' sons, \*Master Elias. The full nature of the triumph of the sons of Master Moses, and with it the battle for the patronage of the court, is a subject worthy of further study.

Another Eveske casualty was Elias's brother, Solomon. In 1259 the patent rolls record that from his chattels '85 marks 40d of gold, to wit, in bezants, 24½ marks, in [Almohad] obols of Musc' 31 marks, in divers money and in ingots (*cuneo*) 3½ marks and in leaf 26 marks, 40d were delivered into the wardrobe, to be deposited in the treasury'. The evidence thus strongly suggests that he also had played a major role in the purchase of foreign gold.

Outlawed, Solomon abjured the realm. However, the patent rolls show that in April 1261 Henry granted that 'he may come safely and securely, as the king has necessity that he comes for business specially affecting him'. In reality he was to serve Eleanor of Provence, at whose request in September he was quit of tallage for two years. In all probability he was required for his skill in acquiring gold. Solomon and his wife, Flora, remained in the country. The close rolls show that he was dead by November 1265, possibly a victim of the attack on the London Jewry in April the previous year. Flora remarried – the wealthy but ill-fated \*Benedict of Winchester. *See also* Gold; for later history of Jacob l'Eveske, Roth (1951), 67–8.

□ Hillaby (1993a), 130–7; Stokes (1913), 12–17, 30–3; Carpenter (1985); *Starrs*, II, & Index in III; *PREJ*, I (Index under Episcopus), & IV, 9, & V, 967; Stacey (1987a), & (1988), & (1992a)

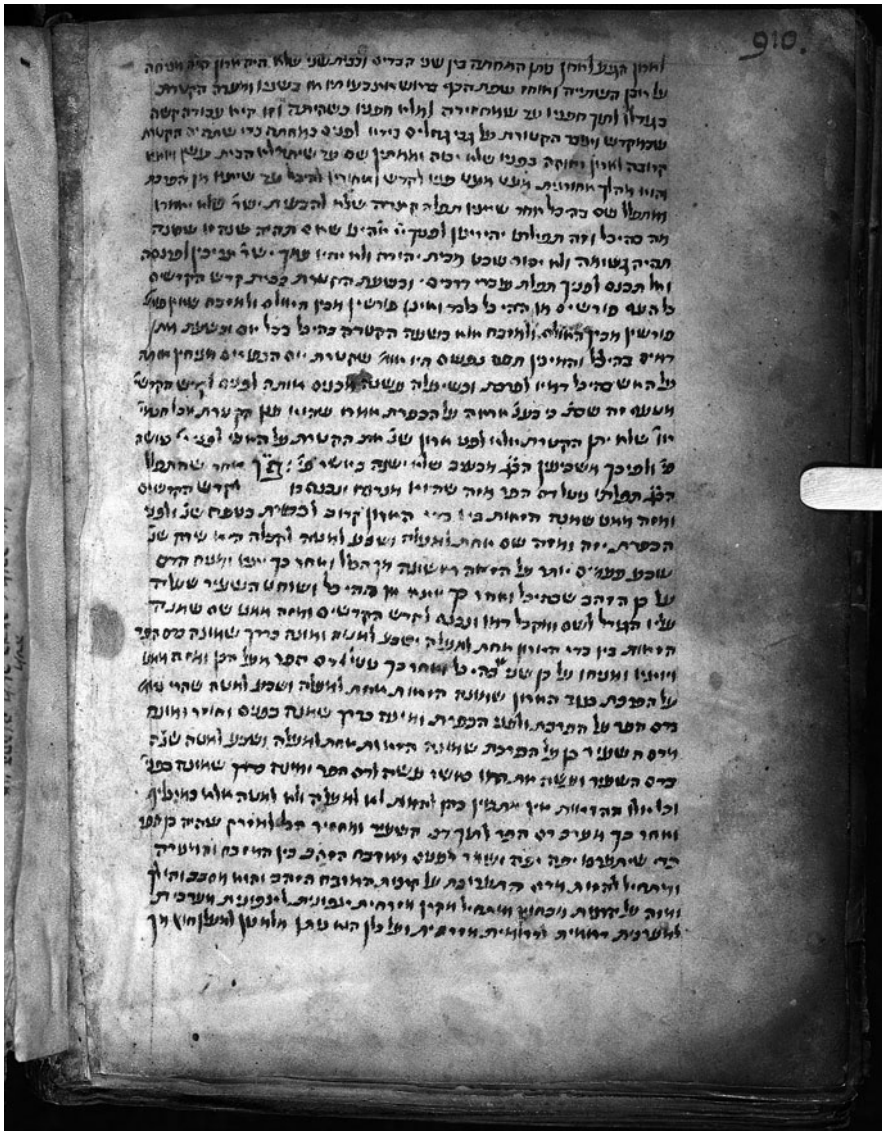
**London, Hagin son of Master Moses** *see* Archprebyter; Jews and the Court

### **London, Jacob ben Judah**

Sometimes described as 'hazan of London', Jacob was the author of *Sepher Etz Hayyim* 'Tree of Life'. His codification of the Law, as Roth and Zadoff point out, J. Woolf has described as 'the first clear example of intensive study of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*'. Jacob himself comments that the model for his work was that 'of our great master'. The arrangement he adopted is certainly based on the *Mishneh Torah*. However, on occasions he gets the order confused, for he openly admits that in the case of the minor festival of Hanukkah and the rules concerning the reading of the Megillah 'I forgot to write these laws after those relating to bereavement.' This is not the only indication that our sole existing codex, Leipzig University Library, B.H. 40, was a hastily written copy rather than the final document, for it contains corrections and marginal notes.

In his regard for Maimonides Jacob, a student of \*Master Benedict of Lincoln, was following a well-established tradition amongst the English medieval Jewry. For Roth and Zadoff, however, Maimonides 'never played more than a marginal role in Ashkenazic rabbinic works'. Nevertheless, Benedict's father, \*Master Moses, had incorporated *Mishneh Torah* into his legal writings as well as his glosses on Alfasi. Additionally, as they comment, Maimonides was 'the most frequently quoted source' in the commentaries of his brother, \*Master Elias, on *Mishnah Berakhot* and *Seder Zeraim*.



Figure 12a Jacob ben Judah's *Etz Hayyim*, p. 910

Source: © Leipzig University Library, B.H. 40 (Leihgabe Leipziger Stadtbibliothek).

Maimonides' achievement was to set out the Law, with no reference to the customary sources or differing opinion. A further influence on Jacob ben Judah was the *Sepher Mizvot Gadol (Semag)* of the Tosafist Moses ben Jacob of Coucy. There, although inspired by the *Mishneh Torah*, Moses provided attributions and authorities for rulings. Jacob ben Judah sought to supply omissions of *Halachah* made by Jacob of Coucy. In addition he provided English authorities, including Benedict of Lincoln and Master Elias.

Jacob divides the *Etz Hayyim* into two books: *Sepher ha-Torah*, concerned with ritual laws relating to prayer, benedictions and festivals, together with family law, including marriage, financial relations between husband and wife, and the *ketubah*; *Sepher ha-Mishpat* relates to civil and criminal law.

Jacob's *Etz Hayyim* was highly regarded and referred to in later medieval works. Roth and Zadoff draw attention to a page from another copy of the work, the Sephardic manuscript MS St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Evr. II A 744. The *Etz Hayyim* is quoted in a number of later medieval works, one of which, by Isaac de Lattes, a fourteenth-century Provençal rabbi, names 'Rabbi Jacob' as its author.

Israel Brodie, Chief Rabbi 1948–65, edited a three-volume Hebrew text of the *Etz Hayyim* in 1962–67. In his preface he asserts that Jacob's code is 'the most notable and certainly the most voluminous of the literary productions of mediaeval Anglo-Jewry to survive' and that, although not quoted as frequently as some similar works, 'it takes its place among the *Rishonim*', the Halachic authorities of the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries. As early as 1892 Kaufmann drew attention to the full significance of Jacob's work, in that it provides details of 'the prayer book according to the ritual of England before the \*expulsion', and offers 'proofs of difference and independence' from the French ritual, in both arrangement and text.

There has been debate as to whether the Leipzig codex is an autograph copy. The end paper bears details of a bill of sale, which includes the names of the author and vendor. This reads,

I the undersigned firmly declare that I have sold this book that I compiled to Rabbi [Isaac...] in exchange for 100 shillings... All this I have sold, a firm sale, permanent and absolute, legally valid, that I am unable to retract from this day now and for evermore, and what I have declared, I have signed. I declare... all is legally valid. [Jacob son of Rabbi] Judah.

Kaufmann points out that, in his tables of the calendar, Jacob takes the year 1287 as an example, giving direct confirmation of the date provided by the bill of sale. Israel Brodie, who examined the end paper under ultraviolet light, found that the hand that wrote the bill of sale in 1287 was that which wrote the text.

That the codex is an autograph copy was confirmed by Olszowy-Schlanger, whose particular interest is in the script. She has drawn attention to the use by Jacob of a very small cursive script; his letters 'rarely exceed 2mm'. Requiring fewer strokes than square

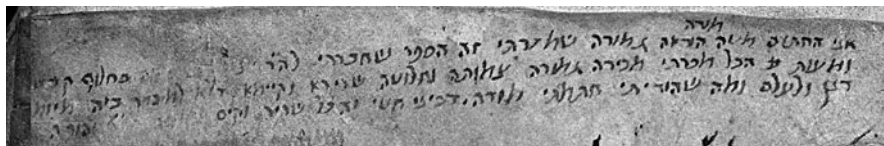


Figure 12b Jacob ben Judah's *Etz Hayyim*: Bill of sale on p. 911

אני החתום מטה [מטה *supralinear*] הודאה גמורה שמכרתי זה הספר שחברתי לה"ר [יצחק ...] בחלוף ק ד[ינר] ומעות פ [sic] הכל מכרתי מכירה גמורה צמותה וחלוטה שרירא וקיימא דלא למיהדר ביה מיומ[א] דנן ולעלם ומה שהודיתי חתמתי מודהי דביני חטי והכל שריר וקים [יעקב ב"ר] יהודה

Transcription and translation by Richard Sermon.

Source: © Leipzig University Library, B.H. 40 (Leihgabe Leipziger Stadtbibliothek).

characters, cursive and semi-cursive scripts were used when speed was important. Generally square characters were used for elegant or deluxe works, particularly biblical, liturgical and Talmudic texts, and for glossed texts in commentaries. Cursive script developed for use in private records, drafts and letters, but was soon adopted in owner-produced copies and compilations. Most *\*starrs*, where rapidity was required, were in cursive script. As Olszowy-Schlanger points out, Jacob's marginal notes and corrections show that the Leipzig codex was not the definitive copy. An additional incentive for Jacob for the use of cursive script of such a very small height was economy, the cost of parchment.

Susan Einbinder has drawn attention to Jacob's reference to the blow dealt to Jewish scholarship in his day:

Those who meditate on Your Torah have become fewer and the synagogues are abolished

Be zealous for Your Awesome Name, be zealous for the Sanctuary and for the Torah

See how her students have grown fewer, for want of bread and silver

Have pity on the people who walk in darkness with no teacher

Israel's hope is the Lord, who will save her in time of trouble.

□ Olszowy-Schlanger (2003), 30–1, 109, 116, 243–6, 262; D. Kaufmann, 'The Prayer-Book According to the Ritual of England before 1290', & 'The Ritual of the Seder and the Agada of the English Jews before the Expulsion', *JQR*, 4 (1891), 20–63, & 'The Ritual of the Seder and the Agada of the English Jews before the Expulsion', *JQR*, 4 (1891), 550–61, & 'The Etz Chayim of Jacob B. Jehudah of London, and the History of His Manuscript', *JQR*, 5 (1893), 353–74, & 'Was the Custom of Fasting on Sabbath Afternoon Part of the Early Anglo-Jewish Ritual?', *JQR*, 6 (1894), 754–6; Clanchy (1993), 128–30; Roth (1949), 39–43; Urbach, 2 (1980), 518–20; Einbinder (2000), 154–5; Abulafia (2013); Roth & Zadoff (2013)

### London, Master Elias (Elijah Menahem), d.1284

Cecil Roth first drew attention to the career of Elias, son of \*Master Moses, in his 1943 presidential address to the JHSE (see Genealogy 6). Describing him as 'the most illustrious English Jew of the Middle Ages', he added 'there are few Jewish scholars and probably few English commoners of [that era] whose lives can be constructed with such minuteness of detail'. Elias and his five brothers dominated the English Jewry from the dismissal of Elias l'Eveske as \*archpresbyter in 1257 until his death in 1284. Roth dealt not only with Elias's business and political career, but also with his work as rabbi and scholar, arousing great interest. A number of his commercial activities were examined by Mundill in 1997.

*The Writings of Rabbi Elijah of London* were the subject of a book published in Jerusalem by M. Y. L. Sacks in 1956. These included: Halachic decisions relating to *Zeraim*, the first of the six orders (*sederim*) of the Mishnah; a commentary, based on that of Rabbi Samson of Sens, on the tractate *Berakhot* (Benedictions); various notes on *Zeraim*; commentary on the Haggadah, 'the telling': Exodus 13:8, for Passover Eve; and a random collection of \*responsa and decisions.

The most recent analysis of Elias's writings, in terms of the light they throw on the particular character of the English medieval Jewry, is provided by Roth and Zadoff. They conclude that 'even a cursory glance at R Elijah Menahem's life and works reveals striking aspects that set him apart from his Ashkenazic counterparts'. Elias's inspiration, they suggest, did not lie principally with the French Tosafists of his time; rather with Maimonides.

Not surprisingly, Elias shared his father's interest in the work of the Sephardic scholars, notably the *Sepher ha-Halakhah*, 'Book of Laws', of Isaac Alfasi, d.1103, as well as Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* which, as Roth and Zadoff point out, was 'the most frequently quoted source in the commentary to *Mishnah Berakhot*... On frequent occasions, Elijah agrees with Maimonidean legal opinion and the overarching conceptual goal of the *Mishneh Torah*.'

Elias's broader goal, they explain, was to 'clarify the words of the Mishnah using the statements of law found in the Babylonian Talmud and to separate the complex discussion so as to provide the practical law and required practice'. For Olszowy-Schlanger, Master Elias's glosses on the *Sepher ha-Shoham* of \*Moses ben Isaac ha-Nessiah also reveal him as a scholar of biblical Hebrew.

Elias combined his work as a scholar, seeking to make the law available to the general membership of the English Jewry, with that of a highly successful businessman, politician and \*community leader. He was the real beneficiary of the family's 1257 coup against Elias l'Eveske as archpresbyter. His brother, \*Hagin, was elected to that onerous office the following year, whereas in 1259, for a fine of 400 marks, Elias Menahem was granted 'all the lands which Elias l'Eveske held in the city of London and borough of Northampton...when he was diverted from Jewish pravity to the Christian faith'. As

community leader Elias was, like Hagin, granted privileges in terms of exemption from taxation, but he managed to evade the personal degradation of imprisonment and the financial losses suffered by his brother.

Elias had the ability to find powerful patrons. In 1257 we read that, with his brothers Hagin and Cresse, he had 'laboured much in the service of the king's brother, Richard earl of Cornwall'. Elias was well connected not only at court but also amongst the highest echelons of the church. In April 1264, when he fled with other Jews to the Tower, one of his fellow refugees was the papal legate, Cardinal Ottobuono Fieschi, later briefly Pope Adrian V.

It was at the cardinal's request that in 1268 Henry III granted Elias four years' respite of \*tallage. 'What the said Elias was bound to pay for his tallage [was to be] assessed upon those least burdened by the said tallage.' Yet, with Hagin, he had to collect the Jewry's tallage of 6000 marks in support of Prince Edward's departure on crusade with Eleanor of Castile in summer, 1270. Two years later Elias was associated with Hagin, as archpresbyter, in assessing the 5000-mark tallage, apparently on their fellow members of the London Jewry.

By this time Elias had made a surprise move, to Candlewick, now Cannon, Street, well beyond the limits of the Jewry. There he purchased a stone house with a great solar, 'late of Jacob le Turk', with the considerable rental value of £5 per annum. Given his place in the social and religious life of the London community, this appears an extraordinary decision, but his reason was to become evident four years after his death. On quite different grounds, his brother \*Master Benedict of Lincoln and \*Isaac of Norwich had also removed themselves from the heart of their respective Jewries.

On his father's death in 1268 Elias had succeeded as principal warden of the Cripplegate \*cemetery, in which capacity he bought an additional 3000 ft<sup>2</sup> (280 m<sup>2</sup>) of land. As Master of the Law he was involved in the 1275 proceedings against his brother Deulecresse's son, Cok Hagin. Having excommunicated him, he pointed out that, 'according to the Law and Custom of our Jewry', the penalty for failing to conform for 40 days or more was the forfeiture of all Cok Hagin's bonds and chattels. In this case they went to 'our dearest consort Eleanor'. The next year Elias's son, Cresse, paid Eleanor 240 marks for the property in Milk Street of his grandfather, Master Moses.

The \*plea rolls show that, also in 1276, the queen mother persuaded Elias to 'remit and pardon in her presence all debts, pains and usuries in which the abbot and convent of Stratford at Bow are bound to him by any starrs or charters'. These totalled £350, some of which had no doubt been used to restore their buildings after Prince Edward's occupation whilst the rebels held the city in spring 1264. Elias was paid £100 and granted other bonds for the remaining £250.

During the \*coin-clipping crisis of 1278–79 Elias's influential friends saved him from the fate suffered by 269 Jews, including \*Benedict of Winchester; but he was fined 1000

marks to compound 'for trespass and excesses touching the King's money'. The fine rolls show that by July 1279 he had paid 550 marks; the balance was due at 50 marks a week 'from this present week'. About this time Elias laid similar charges, ineffectively, against his rival, \*Aaron son of Vives, who, as the personal Jew of Edward I's younger brother, Edmund Crouchback, was well able to parry his claims.

Shortly after, he responded with alacrity when the count of Flanders made a plea for his medical skills to cure a perilous malady from which his nephew suffered. He wrote to Robert Burnell, the Royal Chancellor, seeking permission to leave the country:

Whereas my name is known much in distant lands at more than its true value (which is nought), I have been requested by the count of Flanders to go thither in person... as a man can work better by sight than hearsay.

Elias ended his letter with the request, 'Dear Lord, please conceal my requirements from Aaron son of Vives'; such was the rivalry between the two men. For Robert Kilwardby, Dominican archbishop of Canterbury (1272–78), Elias was 'a man in whom he had signs of greater truth and goodness than any other Jew'.

At his death in 1284, Elias's widow Floria paid a \*relief of a mere 400 marks. Surprisingly, the clerks of the exchequer raised no query at such a low valuation. Later, accused of concealing goods worth £1000, Floria negotiated a deal whereby, for a fine of £1000, she was quit of tallage for life, and debts due to her would not be pardoned. Elias, who had been married twice, had six sons: Moses, Benedict, Abraham, Isaac, Leo and Cresse, who also died in 1284 (see Genealogy 6).

In 1288 it came to light at the exchequer during the trial of the justices of the Jews, Hamo Hauteyn and Robert de Ludham, that with their clerk, John de Baifeld, and the *custos rotulorum*, Adam de Winton, they had visited Elias in the relative seclusion of his Candlewick Street home, bringing exchequer records with them in order to tamper with bonds. It appeared that Elias had been granted bonds totalling more than the £250 outstanding from the pardoned debts of the abbot of Stratford. In the words of Brand,

it was suspected that the original entry had been deliberately altered on one or more occasions, erasing debts originally assigned to Master Elias once they had been paid and putting other debts which belonged to the king in their place.

Profits were apparently shared between Elias and the justices. The fine of £1000 imposed by the Crown on Hamo and Robert is a measure of the gravity with which the king viewed the matter.

□ Roth (1938), 16–18, & (1946), & (1952b), 56–8; M. Sacks, (ed.), *The Writings of Rabbi Elijah of London* (1956) (Hebrew); Olszowy-Schlanger (2012); Mundill (1997); Roth & Zadoff (2013); Urbach, 2 (1980), 499–506; Mutius (1995), 38–74; Hillaby (1993a), 137–46; Sayles, 1 (1936), clv–clix; Rigg (1902), 131–4; *PREJ*, III, 223–4, 285–6, & VI, 35–8; *CPR*, 1268, 205, & 1281–92, 193, 224; *CFR*, 1279, 114

### London, Master Moses of, d.c.1268

A member of what has been described as the most famous family of the medieval English Jewry, Moses was born in \*Oxford. His parents were Yom Tov son of Moses and the sister of the martyred Rabbi Elijah of York. Yom Tov is stated by his grandson, Moses son of \*Jacob of Oxford, in his \*genealogy, to be the author of *Sepher ha-Tenaim*, 'The Book of Conditions' (Genealogy 6). In his youth Moses was a student of Master \*Benjamin of \*Cambridge, who at Ramerupt had attended the school of Rabbenu Tam (1100–70). When Tam's own work on grammar, *Hakra'ot*, 'Decisions', was criticised by Joseph Kimhi, Benjamin rose to his defence. This may explain how \*Moses ben Isaac ha-Nessiah, who refers to Moses as his 'master', came to write the *Sepher ha-Shoham*, a major work of lexicography.

By the 1230s Moses had moved to London. Between December 1233 and August 1236 he appears in the close rolls on four occasions, as merely 'Moses of Milk Street'. The entries provide slight information, but suggest a courteous means of providing financial support for the most eminent figure in the cultural life of the English \*community by such leading members of the London Jewry as Aaron le Blund, Benedict Crespin and Aaron son of Abraham. The sums mentioned are small, a loan of £30 and a rent of £40. Other evidence confirms that Moses was certainly no man of business. He was not amongst the London's community's six representatives at the Worcester 'parliament' of \*1241. In the 20,000-mark tallage of 1241–42 he ranked twenty-second amongst his Jewry's 37 contributors, paying a mere £2 9s 4d, that is 0.2% of the London total. After his death in 1268, his widow Antera appeared personally before the Exchequer Court to pay the 10s \*relief levied on his chattels.

He is first referred to as 'Master' in the secular records for 1242 when 'Masters Moses of London, Aaron of \*Canterbury and Jacob of Oxford' formed the \*bet din that adjudicated on the legality of the divorce proceedings that \*David of Oxford had brought against the will of his wife, Muriel. Henry III intervened, on 27 August, forbidding them 'to hold henceforth any plea concerning David and Muriel who was his wife ... nor under any circumstances to distrain him to take or keep that wife or any other'. They were also 'firmly enjoined ... to hold no chapter in England henceforth'.

Moses' authority as Master of the Law is well illustrated in 1250, when Henry III authorised him to publish sentence of excommunication, \*herem, against all Jews who, having promised a subsidy for maintenance of their London \*cemetery, had not paid. A condition was attached, that the king, not the community, would receive the amends. In 1267 when the Canterbury community issued its \*herem ha-yishuv, ban of settlement, Master Moses' was the first on the 15 seals attached to the \*starr.

'Alarmed at the troubled state of the realm' after de \*Montfort's defeat of Henry III and Prince Edward at the battle of Lewes, Moses' sons Hagin and Vives, with other Jews, fled to Normandy in May 1264, for the space of a year, but Moses apparently remained in London. After their return his sons persuaded Henry III in 1266 to make no extent

on a number of his outstanding debts. On his death two years later he was succeeded as Master of the Law by his son, \*Elias.

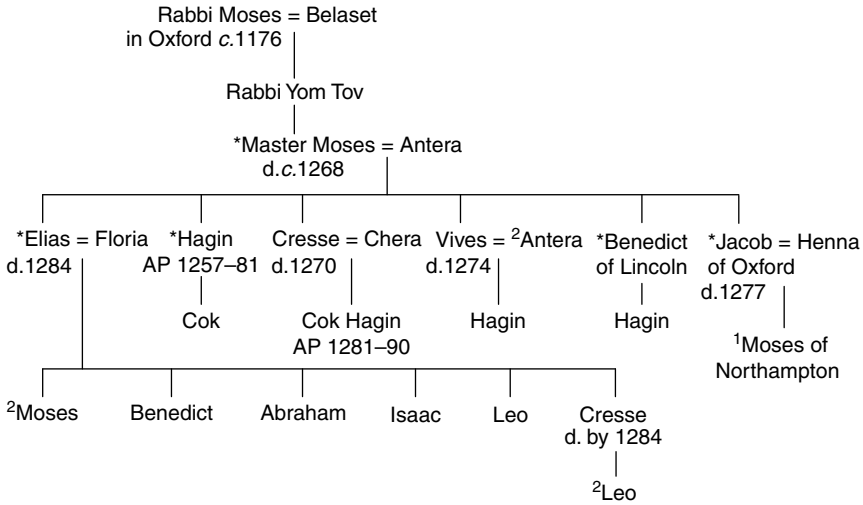
Moses' fame rests on his work as a grammarian and lexicographer. For Roth, his *Darkhei ha-Nikkud ve-ha-Neginot*, 'Ways of Punctuation and Notation' may be regarded 'as one of the culminating productions in the older tradition of Hebrew philological study in which the main subject was not the theory of Hebrew grammar'; rather it was guidance for 'the reader for accurate recitation of the Pentateuch in the synagogue and the scribe for meticulous transcription of the punctuated biblical text'. Indeed, in 1949 he pointed out that Rabbi Moses is referred to 'occasionally as *haNakdan*', a term applied to those concerned with punctuation and accentuation in Hebrew codices that 'one might render... "Grammaticus"', and in Bodleian MS Mich. 502 as 'the Mighty One'. Publication of the *Darkhei ha-Nikkud*, he explains, was 'most famously in the Bomberg Bible, printed in Venice 1524–25', where it was used for the marginal points of the Masorah.

More recently, in an essay entitled 'The Grammatical Literature of the Ashkenazi Jewry', Ilan Eldar discusses '*Darkhei ha-Nikkud* by Rabbi Moshe Ha-Nakdan', analysing Löwinger's 1929 Budapest edition. This has seven chapters. Eldar shares Löwinger's doubts as to 'whether the three appendices to chapter 5 or the last two chapters belong to the original work'. He therefore suggests 'an appropriate title... would clearly be *Darkhei Ha-Nikkud* (as appears in MS Oxford 2521/4) or *Sefer Ha-Nikkud* (as in MS. Munich 53/12 and in three manuscripts of the Parma library) rather than *Darkhei Ha-Nikkud Ve-Ha-Neginot*'. For Eldar Moses 'can be considered the first grammarian of the Ashkenaz school to have followed Hayyuj of Spain and drawn full conclusions from the linguistic research of the Spanish center'. Judah ben David Hayyuj (945–1000), born in Fez and later resident in Cordoba, was a pupil of ben Saruk. Founder of the scientific study of Hebrew grammar, he was author of four works in Arabic: 'The Book of Vocalisation', 'On Weak Verbs', 'On Doubled Verbs' and 'The Book of Punctuation' (*Sepher ha-Nikkud*). The first three \*ibn Ezra translated into Hebrew.

In Bodleian MS Mich. 502 are recorded a number of Master Moses' \*responsa on dietary matters, including rulings on the preparation of meat by salting, and on eggs. Mutius records decisions by Master Moses on debt and business law, as well as marriage and family law; Epstein his interesting judgment in relation to a divorce.

Moses and Antera had six sons, of whom five played a critical role in the life of the community in the late thirteenth century (Genealogy 6). \*Master Elias succeeded his father as Master of the Law, in which capacity he excommunicated two of his fellow Jews, including his nephew, Cresse's son Cok Hagin, in 1275. Hagin served as \*arch-presbyter 1257–80, and was followed in that office by Cok Hagin, 1281–90. \*Benedict or Berechiah, who lived in \*Lincoln, was another rabbinical scholar of some eminence. \*Jacob, owner of considerable property in Oxford, was keeper of Queen Eleanor's gold





*Genealogy 6* The family of Master Moses of London

Note: AP Archpresbyter. <sup>1</sup> Author of the \*Genealogy. <sup>2</sup> Owned property in London at expulsion, 1290.

(see Queen's Gold). His son, Moses of \*Northampton, was the author of the famous genealogy that he inscribed c.1294, whilst in exile, in the back of his *siddur*, now Schocken MS 19522(73). There he traced the English roots of his family back through his grandfather and great-grandfather, Rabbi Yom Tov, to Rabbi Moses of Oxford, and eventually to Rabbi Simeon the Great of Mainz, the light of the Jews of the Diaspora, who was the uncle of Rashi (1041–1105).

As Keene points out, house values were frequently enhanced by the status of previous residents. On 20 January 1276 Edward I granted Queen Eleanor a moiety of Moses' former \*house in Milk Street, then in the hands of his grandson, Cresse son of Elias. Within a day, she had the full messuage, which she then granted, 'as agreed upon between them', to Stephen Chenduit, a member of Richard of Cornwall's entourage. Three months later Cresse bought it back, for the considerable sum of £160. He sought by all means to protect his title. Witnesses to the conveyance included Gregory de Rokesle, mayor (1274–81); the \*sheriff, Ralph le Blund, goldsmith; and Henry de Frowyk, alderman of the ward. Moses' sons, Cresse, d.1270, and Elias also had houses in Milk Street. (See Plan 7.)

□ CR, 1231–34, 357, & 1234–37, 213, 263, 295, & 1242, 464; CPR, 1276, 129, 131, 137, 156–7; Hillaby (1993a), 137–9; Roth (1949), 35–6, 44–6, & (1951), 114–15; Rigg (1902), 42, 74, 79–80; PREJ, II, 154; Olszowy-Schlanger (2001), 3, 44, & (2011), 395; Eldar (1993), 35–6; Mutius (1995), 14–28; Epstein (1940), 196 n. 38, 200; Urbach, 2 (1980), 494–9

### London, Moses ben Isaac ha-Nessiah of

The author of the *Sepher ha-Shoham*, also known as *The Onyx Book*, the Hebrew being an anagram of Moses; for Olszowy-Schlanger (2012) it is ‘one of the most original and scholarly’ works in the field of medieval Hebrew linguistics. Moses describes himself as son not only of Isaac but also *ha-Nessiah*, ‘of the Countess’. As this was a popular female name in the English medieval Jewry, it has given rise to much speculation, from the time of Davis to the present day. There were notable examples at places as far apart as \*Hereford and \*Exeter. However, Roth notes two deeds published by Davis in his *Shetaroth* that refer to Contessa, widow of Rabbi Isaac of \*Bungay. In 1264 she had land in Norwich; by 1267 she was dead. Roth thus accepts that Moses lived in Norwich.

In the *Sepher ha-Shoham* Moses explains that he was a student of Moses ben Yom Tov ha-Nakdan, ‘the Punctuator’, that is \*Master Moses, author of *Darkhei ha-Nikkud ve-ha-Neginot*, who by 1241–42 was resident in Milk Street, London, where he died c.1268. Moses ben Isaac also mentions his youthful *Leshon Limmudim*, ‘Tongue of the Learned’, now lost. We can therefore be confident that he too was living in London in the mid thirteenth century. Only there would he have found others who shared his interests in grammar, and the specialist sources from which he was able to write his two works.

Two manuscript copies of the *Sepher ha-Shoham* survive. The earlier was discovered by the Austro-Hungarian scholar, Leopold Dukes, d.1891, amongst the Oppenheimer manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Consisting of 170 folios, it is now MS. Bodl. Opp. 152, no. 1484 in Neubauer’s 1886 *Catalogue*. Dukes described it in a series of articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* from 22 June 1849.

In the Firkovitch MSS of the Russian National Library, St Petersburg, is a codex that Roth suggested may be a copy made by \*Master Elias, Elijah Menahem son of Master Moses, on the basis of a mnemonic on the servile letters that embodied the name Elijah. For Olszowy-Schlanger, however, the copyist was one of Elijah’s students, ‘Aaron the young, the scribe’.

G. W. Collins worked to collate these two manuscripts for his edition of *The Onyx Book*, which he published in 1882, and in 1883 with additions and corrections as *The Sefer Haššoham: A Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon*. However he completed only 40 of the 140 folios of the codex. A further Hebrew edition was embarked upon under the editorship of Benjamin Klar of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. The first part, the introduction and section on verbs, was published by the \*Jewish Historical Society of England in 1947, with a general introduction in English by Cecil Roth. Klar’s tragic death the following year has left the work incomplete. Olszowy-Schlanger is heading a team of doctoral and post-doctoral students at the *École pratique des hautes études* in Paris to produce a critical edition and commentary, beginning with the second part, on nouns.

The work commences with a general introduction to the Hebrew language, the alphabet, the formative letters and their role. The lexicon is divided into three sections: the first is concerned with the verbs divided into seven classes relating to their method of inflection; the second deals with nouns, divided into 162 forms following David Kimhi's classification; the last treats of the rules of vocalisation and accents. As Roth points out, this section is closely related to the *Darkhei ha-Nikkud* of his tutor, Master Moses.

For Eldar the *Sepher ha-Shoham* is 'the most outstanding contribution by any scholar in Ashkenaz to the grammar of Hebrew'. For Olszowy-Schlanger it is the first written in the Ashkenazic world to adopt the grammatical approach of the classic Spanish school initiated by Judah ben David Hayyuj (c.945–1000) (see London, Master Moses). It is of particular interest in terms of the evidence it provides of the remarkable range of Sephardic and earlier authorities available to the English Jewry in the thirteenth century. These, she notes, were 'much less peripheral' than might have been imagined.

Menahem ben Saruk (c.910–70) was the author of the first lexicographical work in Hebrew, *Mahberet*, 'Book of Solutions'. Dunash ben Labrat (920–90), born in Baghdad where he was a student of Saadia Gaon (892–942), moved to Fez and ultimately to Cordoba where his patron was Hasdai ibn Shaprut (see Jews and the Court). In his *Teshubot*, he not only criticised ben Saruk but distinguished between transitive and intransitive verbs, and divided such forms between lighter and heavier, weaker and stronger. Jonah ibn Jannah (990–1050), we are told 'practically completed the structure of Hebrew grammar'. Two of his major works, 'The Book of Critique' and 'The Book of Roots', were translated by Judah ibn Tibbon into Hebrew; the latter, Roth points out, Moses ben Isaac ignored. Yet Moses was even in correspondence with the Russian, Isaac of Tchernigov. For Solomon Parhon see Ramsey.

David Kimhi's father, Joseph (c.1105–70), had emigrated c.1150 from Spain to Narbonne, where he wrote 'The Book of Remembrance', a text book on grammar. In *Sepher Galui* Joseph looked critically at Menahem ben Saruk's *Mahberet* and Rabbi Tam's comments on it. This work, Roth tells us, 'was much used' by Moses ben Isaac. David (1165–1235), the more famous of Joseph's two sons, wrote the *Mikhol Compendium* in two parts, a grammar and the dictionary that came to be known as the *Sepher ha-Shorashim*. His elder brother, Moses, wrote 'the first concise methodical text-book of Hebrew grammar' that displays the influence of ibn Ezra.

□ Moses ben Isaac Hanessiah, *The Sepher ha-Shoham* (The Onyx Book), Part I, ed. B. Klar (1947); Davis (1969), nos 44, 58; Olszowy-Schlanger (2003), 3, 7, 37, 45, & 'Manuscripts hébreux et judéo-arabes médiévaux', *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études (EPHE), Section des sciences historiques et philologiques*, 140 (2009), 43–5, & (2012); Eldar (1993), 39–41; Waxman, II (1960), 8

### London, Rabbi Josce (Rubi Gotsce) and sons, Isaac d.1199, and Abraham

Rabbi Josce was one of the most significant figures of the English medieval Jewry. He is clearly portrayed in the solitary extant \*pipe roll of Henry I's reign, for the financial year ending Michaelmas, 1130, as the leader of the \*London \*community. As such he must have played the major role in establishing the terms on which its members could operate as moneylenders within the realm. Yet he maintained a considerable house in \*Rouen and, one would assume, his financial interests in Normandy. His mansion stood on a prime site, on the south side of the *rue aux juifs*, in a block of buildings extending eastwards to the *rue des Carme(lite)s*, which led into the *rue grand pont* and south to the *rue du gros horloge*. It was retained by his family until the early years of the thirteenth century.

The pipe roll entry, where the clerk renders his name as 'Rubi Gotsce', includes details of fines paid by the London Jews for assistance in the royal courts for recovery of their loans. It also records details of loans to two of the most powerful members of the English aristocracy. One of the rabbi's claims was against Ranulf II des Gernons, who had succeeded his father, Ranulf I, in 1129. Only by means of Jewish loans could Ranulf and his mother meet Henry I's demands for the payment of fines totalling some £2000. It was therefore in Henry's interests to support the Jewish claims. This illustrates the double benefit to the king who, through the availability of Jewish loans, could also rack up his demands.

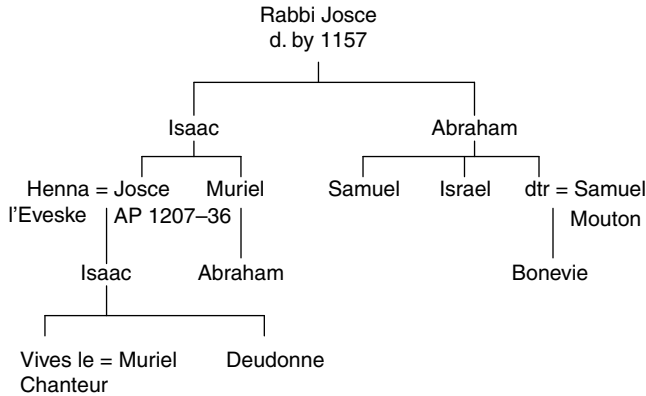
Rabbi Josce also operated in partnership with Jacob and Manasser in making loans to Ranulf II's brother-in-law, Richard fitz Gilbert, a direct descendant of Duke Richard I of Normandy, who as lord of Ceredigion faced an expensive programme of castle-building. He was also receiving money, in this case 180 silver marks, *in soltis*, usually repayment of loans made to the \*sheriffs.

The first reference to London's great \*synagogue comes only as late as 1213, when it was referred to as *magna scola Iudeorum que fuit Abrahe filii Raby*. This is not to say that it was built by the rabbi's eldest son, Abraham, only that it came into his ownership on his father's death. There can be no doubt that the original building was the work of the rabbi. It is inconceivable that, as community leader and scholar, he would have failed to provide worship facilities.

The only clue we have as to the appearance of the *magna scola* is that, as its founder, Rabbi Josce will have looked for inspiration for its design to the Rouen synagogue that he knew so well, less than 330 ft (100 m) down the *rue aux juifs* from his house. Excavated in 1976 in the courtyard in front of the Palace of Justice, it was oriented west-east and measured 46 ft 5 in by 31 ft (14.14 by 9.46 m), with its entrance on the south. One would therefore anticipate the construction of the London synagogue on a similar scale and plan. Rabbi Josce's *magna scola* was in all probability one of the Jewish buildings destroyed by the baronial forces when they captured the city of London in 1215, the name being retained for its successor.

On Rabbi Josce's death, his Rouen property was divided between his two sons. Isaac, the eldest, who died in 1199, inherited the western part; Abraham the eastern, which

## London, Rabbi Josce (Rubi Gotsce) and sons, Isaac d.1199, and Abraham



### Genealogy 7 The family of Rabbi Josce of London

Note: AP Archpresbyter; dtr daughter.

he sold at the end of the twelfth century to Josce, son of the Rouen magnate, Bonnevie. Isaac's son, Josce, who was to become \*archpresbyter of the English Jews in 1207, sold the portion he inherited to Josce and Brun, sons of Bonnevie, in 1203 (see Golb (1998), 370). The following June Rouen surrendered to the French king, Philip Augustus. Isaac's daughter Muriel ranked eighth amongst London Jews in 1194, paying £21 3s 4d to the Northampton *Promissum*.

### Patron of ibn Ezra

We have fleeting, but highly significant, glimpses of another side of Rabbi Josce's character. In Rouen he became the patron and close friend of the great Sephardic scholar, \*Abraham ibn Ezra, whom he invited to stay as his guest in London. Grammarian, philosopher, translator, astronomer and astrologer, composer of hundreds of *piyyutim*, liturgical poems, ibn Ezra also wrote secular poetry originating from the Andalucian school. His arrival in 1158 will have created a sensation in the Jewry.

A number of clues point to Rabbi Josce as ibn Ezra's patron in London, whom he described as 'a truthful and God-fearing man above many', and for whom he wrote two books, *Yesod Mora* and *Iggeret Shabbat*. A note on the fragmentary copy of ibn Ezra's *Second Commentary on Genesis*, composed in Rouen, reads: 'I, Joseph son of Jacob of M..., heard the interpretation of this section viva voce from [ibn Ezra], and recorded it in my own words.' Another note, by the same scribe, to ibn Ezra's *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, probably the last of his works written at Rouen, reads: 'I, Joseph son of Jacob of M..., copied from the author's manuscript; I also added a brief explanation to his text as he had explained [it] to me while he was composing.'

There has been much debate about the toponym. As Sarna explains, 'the printed texts read here Modville, which has been variously interpreted'. Golb (1998) provides a pair of what he describes as authentic forms, found in MS Montefiore 34,2 f.53v, available on

microfiche at the Library of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, and BL Add MS 27038 f.80v, concluding that derivative scribal errors 'clearly have their roots in the authentic spellings for Morville'. He thus suggests that the patron was a certain Joseph of Morville in Shropshire. There is no trace of Jewish settlement in Shropshire, except between 1267–75, when a pair of families lived at \*Bridgnorth, never a formally recognised community. The only Jewish settlement in the west midlands at the time was at \*Worcester in 1159, when it paid a mere 2 marks to the \*tallage. In Normandy are two possible candidates: a Hugh de Morville joined the entourage of David, earl of Huntingdon, who became king of Scots in 1124; and at Mirville there is significant archaeological evidence of an important centre with an eleventh- to twelfth-century seigneurial motte.

There has also been debate as to the identity of Joseph son of Jacob. Roth, who suggested the toponym was Moreil, 'perhaps Moreilles in La Vendée', had no doubt that he was 'a scholarly patron of Hebrew letters...living in London in 1158...to be identified with the wealthy "Rubi Gotsce" or Rabbi Joseph'. This attribution, he explains, was first made by M. D. Davis. Golb asserts that Roth is in error, and that Rabbi Josce 'had already been dead a long time'. As he produces no evidence for the date of Josce's death, he must be assuming that it was by 1157, when we have the earliest pipe roll record of Josce's son, Isaac. As this was the year before ibn Ezra's arrival in London, it probably reflects instead Isaac's readiness to take over responsibility for the family business, thus allowing his father the time to pursue his scholarly interests more fully.

There is no record of any other member of London's twelfth-century community called Josce. The rabbi combined great wealth with scholarship and active links with Rouen. As Roth showed, his 'scholarship was so great and so celebrated that he is often called in the rolls "Rabbi", *tout court*'. Furthermore, Isaac and Abraham are invariably called 'sons of *the* Rabbi'. There can therefore be no doubt that Roth was correct in identifying ibn Ezra's patron as Rabbi Josce. Indeed, the fact that he continued his business activities on both sides of the Channel, as indicated by the retention of his house in Rouen, explains how he came into contact with ibn Ezra, and eventually persuaded him to cross the Channel and continue his studies in London.

□ *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, I, comp. A. D. Neubauer (1886), no. 1234.9; Roth (1949), 19–20 nos 1–3, (1952b), 60, & (1964), 7 n. 4, 8, 31, 126 n. 1; Golb (1985), 275–81, & (1998), 225–6, 253–96, 304–7; J. le Maho, *La Motte Seigneuriale de Mirville (XIe–XIIe s.)*, Centre de Recherches Archéologique de Haute-Normandie (1984, Rouen); Friedländer (1894–95); N. Sarna, 'Abraham Ibn Ezra as an Exegete', in Twersky & Harris (1993), 1–27; Lancaster (2003), 1–21; Richardson (1960), 2, 8, 39, 44, 60, 62, 65, 84, 109, 121, 172–3, 237–40, 255

**Lyme Regis** *see* Expulsions, Local

## **Lynn**

Founded by the bishops of \*Norwich in 1096, in just over a century Lynn equalled \*Lincoln as the fourth port on the south and east coasts. Outside \*London, only Boston

and \*Southampton handled larger volumes of overseas trade. The town's success was due to its position on the Wash, at the head of the Great and Little Ouse, down which large quantities of grain were brought from \*Cambridge, St Ives and \*Huntingdon. Imports from Iceland, Scandinavia and the Baltic included furs of grey squirrels, beavers and sables. Royal purveyors bought spices, wines, goshawks and gyrfalcons; even a polar bear was brought here, for onward transmission to the Tower of London. Not until the reign of Henry VIII did the borough pass from the bishops to the Crown.

The rapid expansion in trade led to the doubling in size of the town. Soon after coming to the throne in 1154, Henry II closed William d'Aubigny's \*Castle Rising mint, amongst a number of others. However d'Aubigny, first earl of \*Arundel, had a firm economic interest in the development of the port of Lynn. This is explained by Dorothy Owen, who has shown that Henry I had granted his father

the *misteria* [bailiwick] of Lynn, with a mediety of the market, and toll and other customs of the port, with its moorings for ships; the way of the water and the passage, with all pleas... with all free customs and liberties within the town and without.

John's charter of 1204 confirmed to the earls of Arundel the liberties and customs that they anciently held in Lynn.

Between 1146 and the 1160s the old Saturday Market and King's Staithe were augmented by the foundation of a Tuesday Market and Common Staithe at Newland, north of the river Purfleet. Here Rising's Jews resettled, and no doubt served, amongst other things, as money changers for foreign traders. Jews Lane entered Tuesday Market at its south-east corner; only in c.1860 was it renamed Surrey Street. Deulebene of Rising provided loans for both d'Aubigny's brother and the Augustinian prior of Lynn. The Newelonde Survey of 1267–83 describes the Jewry as 'on the north side of the town, to the east'.

In January 1190 Lynn was the site of the first attack on a provincial Jewry. William of Newburgh describes how Jews attacked a convert who passed their houses. He fled to the nearest church, but the Jews 'with perverse fury and violence, began to attack that church, to break the doors open and drag the fugitive out. A loud shout was raised from within – "Help for the Christian!"' Newburgh suggests that, for fear of the king as protector of the Jewry, the locals acted cautiously. Some young sailors, however, attacked the Jews, who took to flight; some were killed. Their houses were looted and burned. Loaded with plunder, the sailors sought their ships, and quickly departed. The locals, when questioned, blamed 'the strangers', but the day after the massacre, a 'celebrated Jewish \*physician' was the final victim. The men of Lynn, as compared to those of Lincoln and York, were treated lightly. The Michaelmas 1190 \*pipe roll shows they were fined a mere '40 marks for murder'.

Lynn was not formally recognised as a \*community in \*1218; nor does it appear in the thirteenth-century Jewish tallage rolls. However, \*Isaac of Norwich had a house in

the town in 1218, and six by the time of his death in 1235. Given his concern to establish a quay for his Music House in Norwich, it seems probable that Isaac's Lynn properties were in King Street, facing the shore. Three years later Lynn's Jews were ordered to maintain one of the royal \*crossbowmen. Isaac's grandson, Abraham, still had four houses in the town when he died in 1248. The \*plea rolls show that Benedict the Jew also had a house there at his death c.1268. In 1270–71 carriage of the \*chests of the king's Jews of Norwich, Sudbury and Lynn to the Tower of London cost £1.

□ *PpR*, 1190–91, 94; 1191–93, 182; *Rot Litt Claus*, I, 367; Lipman (1967), 104; *Excerpta*, II, 47; *CLR*, 1271, no. 1417; Newburgh (1996), 563–4; E. Carus-Wilson, 'The Medieval Trade of the Ports of the Wash', *Med Archaeol*, 6–7 (1962–63), 182–201; H. Clarke & A. Carter, *Excavations in King's Lynn 1963–1970* (1977), 424–31; E. & P. Rutledge, 'King's Lynn and Great Yarmouth: Two Thirteenth-Century Surveys', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 37 (1980), 94–5; D. M. Owen, 'Bishop's Lynn: The First Century of a New Town?', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 2 (1980), 141–53, & (ed.), *The Making of King's Lynn* (1984), 42, 84, 96, 269; H. J. Hillen, *History of the Borough of Kings Lynn*, 1 (1907), 54

### **Madox, Thomas, 1666–1727**

His *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer* was first published in 1711, in which year he was appointed Historiographer Royal. Madox devoted Chapter VII to the records of the \*Exchequer of the Jews: 'Let us now speak briefly concerning the Exchequer of the Jews.' Forty pages describe the records under eight headings: I. Of the Revenue of Judaism; II. Of the Exchequer of the Jews; III. Of the Justices of the Jews; their Appointment to their Office, their Privilege, and Jurisdiction; IV. Of the Jewish Characters and Stars; V. Of the \*Chirographers and Cofferers of the Judaism; VI. Certain Laws or Assizes of the Judaism; VII. That the Revenue of Judaism and the Exchequer of the Jews were under the Direction and Controll of the Treasurer and Barons; VIII. The Conclusion.

A separate index was printed in 1741. A second edition of the *Antiquities*, with index, was published in two volumes in 1769, and reprinted by Greenwood Press, New York, in 1969. Madox also included a section 'of the Jews' in his proposed *Feudal History*, BL Add MS 4542 ff.8–103v. The importance of his work relates to the great care he took in his referencing to provide a Latin text of his sources, primarily the \*pipe rolls, leading the way for Tovey to write his *Anglia Judaica*.

***Magna scola*** see Synagogue

### **Manuscripts, Medieval Hebrew**

Recent decades have witnessed major advances in the study of Hebrew palaeography and codicology, principally under the leadership of Malachi Beit-Arié. These provide the wider context into which English medieval Hebrew manuscripts must be placed. Of particular interest is Chapter 1 of Beit-Arié's *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West: Towards a Comparative Codicology*, in which he discusses 'medieval Hebrew manuscripts as cross-cultural agents'. He estimates that, of the 70,000 handwritten Hebrew



books worldwide, about half are medieval. The Bodleian Library, with the British Library and the *Biblioteca Palatina*, Parma, boasts one of the three greatest collections of Hebrew manuscripts. Beit-Arié has published a *Supplement of Additions and Corrections* to Neubauer's *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford* (1886–1906).

Beit-Arié points out that 'surviving medieval codices represent only a small fraction of the Hebrew books produced in the Middle Ages'. Hebrew manuscripts were copied by individuals for their own use, and for their descendants. As Gutwirth notes, this became 'a formula of the colophon of medieval Hebrew manuscripts'. Privately owned and privately used, they stand in marked contrast to Christian books, which were predominantly produced, and subsequently safeguarded, by religious institutions, whether regular, living according to a rule, or secular, living in the world. Beit-Arié describes the dangers attendant on 'the individualistic nature of Hebrew book production and consumption'. In many cases, as texts were copied by scholars for their own use, they were confident that 'they were entitled, and even obliged, to improve the copied text by applying their own critical judgment', thereby creating texts that 'often transformed or distorted the original'.

By contrast, \*Rabbi Josce, leader of the early \*London \*community and Abraham \*ibn Ezra's patron in \*Rouen and London, sought to copy his work verbatim. He writes on the fragmentary copy of ibn Ezra's *Second Commentary on Genesis*: 'I...heard the interpretation of this section viva voce from [ibn Ezra], and recorded it in my own words'; and on his *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, he 'copied from the author's manuscript; I also added a brief explanation to his text as he had explained [it] to me while he was composing'.

### Manuscripts of English origin

In *Les manuscrits hébreux dans l'Angleterre médiévale: étude historique et paléographique* Judith Olszowy-Schlanger provides an invaluable study of 28 manuscripts, with illustrations, that she concludes have 'all the indications to suggest an English origin, or at least their presence and use in medieval England'. These she divides into three categories: 16 are bilingual Hebrew–Latin (Figure 13); 3, Hebrew manuscripts with Hebrew annotations (see Figure 12, from Leipzig, University Library, B.H. 40 under London, Jacob ben Judah); and 9, Hebrew manuscripts reused by Christians. MS. Bodl. Or. 621 (on cover) is a thirteenth-century Hebrew psalter used by at least three Christian Hebraists. Loewe notes that the Hebrew text is 'closely written...clearly by a Jew, but not a professional scribe' and that it was 'probably intended for normal Jewish use'. The psalter is profusely annotated in the margins, in French and Latin, with transliterations of the Hebrew and notes relating to both vocabulary and grammar. The manuscript was later acquired by Thomas Gascoigne, Chancellor of Oxford, 1444–45. (See also Figure 3, Bodleian MS. Laud Or. 174 under Bury.)

For each manuscript, the palaeographic evidence is supplemented by an examination of such details as the parchment, ink, quiring, prickings and rulings, page layout and the

Hebrew script. Prickings, used to guide rulings, can help identify English manuscripts. As Olszowy-Schlanger observes, 'continental Franco-German codices were pricked in the inner and outer margins from 1264 onwards ... Anglo-Norman Hebrew manuscripts employed this technique a century earlier.'

### Relations between English medieval Hebrew and Christian Scholars

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed radical changes in the attitude of Christian clergy, regular and secular, to the evidence that Jews and Hebrew sources could provide in terms of exegesis, the critical interpretation through variant texts of the Bible. Heeding the advice of Jerome and Augustine, Prior Hugh of the abbey of the canons of St Victor in Paris sought not only to study the Vulgate in discussions with French Jews, but also to study the Hebrew language, in order to transliterate the words of the Hebrew text for himself. He discussed with Jews their own forms of biblical exegesis. His pupil, Andrew, an Englishman d.1175, went further. With his fellow canon, Richard, he used the works of Rashi and other rabbinical scholars in his commentaries on the Old Testament. As Smalley points out, Richard even accused him of 'judaizing', saying 'in many places the Jewish opinion is given as though it were not so much the Jews' as his own, and as though it were true'.

For Beryl Smalley (1983) Andrew 'forms the background for the biblical scholarship of Robert Grosseteste', and through him of the Franciscan friars, whose Reader he was at Oxford, 1231–35. As bishop of Lincoln, she tells us (1939), Grosseteste had three or four psalters in one volume, with the version in Hebrew superscribed word for word, the *superscriptio Lincolniensis*. The original is not extant, but three other Hebrew psalters are so inscribed.

The earliest is MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College 10 of c.1230–40. This is divided into three columns. The first two provide Latin versions: Jerome's Gallican text, translated from the Greek; and his later translation from the Hebrew. The third column provides a Hebrew text that includes signs for cantillation; the translation is 'superscribed so that the Latin words come exactly over their Hebrew equivalents'. As Beit-Arié points out, 'only in England can we find tangible evidence that these interests of Christian scholars involved cooperation between Hebrew and Latin scribes'. The two other English psalters with the *superscriptio Lincolniensis* are MSS Cambridge, Trinity College R.8.6 and Oxford, Corpus Christi College 11, both dated after 1250. All three manuscripts are described, and illustrated, by Smalley (1939) and Olszowy-Schlanger (2003), nos 3–5.

### A Mid Twelfth-Century Christian Hebrew Text

In this context the *Psalterium Hebraicum* of MS Scaliger Hebrew 8 (codex Or. 4725) of Leiden University Library is of particular interest. It has been described by G. I. Liefstinck as 'the voice of Jacob but the hand of Esau', for its Hebrew lettering is 'by a hand used to Latin script and Latin initials'. It is glossed by this same hand in a 'highly



Figure 13 'The voice of Jacob but the hand of Esau'  
Source: © Leiden University Library codex Or. 4725, fol. 1r.

## Mark

abbreviated' Latin translation in the inner margins and 'a more extensive spiritual gloss framing the Hebrew text' in the outer. The multicoloured initials can 'scarcely be recognised as Hebrew characters.' The scribe must have been an English Christian who could understand Hebrew very well. As Raphael Loewe commented, 'the interesting thing about the manuscript is the inclusion of a gloss not concerned... with the literal sense, but with the spiritual sense.' As far as Liefstinck knows, this 'combination of a spiritual gloss, as found in a Christian psalter, and a Hebrew text' is unique.

The manuscript was in the library of St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury in the fourteenth century. A note inscribed at that time records that it had been acquired by John Sturrey, precentor. The extraordinary thing, as Liefstinck points out, is that the manuscript was written by an English hand 'dating from the middle of the twelfth century'. This raises fundamental questions about English Hebrew scholarship, for it was about this time that Andrew of St Victor was writing his *Octateuch*.

Hebrew manuscripts continued to play a significant role in the cultural life of England after the 1290 \*expulsion. Bishop John de Grandisson of Exeter (1327–69) acquired an important collection, which included \*Westminster Abbey Manuscript 1, a Hebrew pentateuch that later belonged to Richard Bruarn, who held the chair of Hebrew at Oxford 1548–49 and gave the manuscript to Christ Church College; MS. Bodl. Or. 135 was also in Grandisson's collection. Its major text is the *Mahberet ha-'Arukh* of Solomon ben Abraham ibn Parhon. 'Written in Hebrew, [this] transferred to Christian countries the advances in Hebrew philology made under the influence of Arabic linguistics in Spain.' Grandisson's enthusiasm for Hebrew probably stems from his days at the university of Paris, where he studied theology under James Fournier, later Pope Benedict XII. In 1527 Henry VIII relied on Robert Wakefield's knowledge of Hebrew manuscripts to support his divorce proceedings against Katherine of Aragon. (See Ramsey.)

See also Bury; Genealogy; London, Jacob ben Judah; Ramsey; Seals; Starr.

□ Beit-Arié (1985), 11–13, & (1993), 8, & (2011), & 'The Individualistic Nature of the Hebrew Medieval Book Production and Consumption', *Zion*, 65 (2000), 441–551 (Hebrew); E. Gutwirth, 'History, Language, and the Sciences in Medieval Spain', in Freudenthal (2011), 522; Smalley (1939), & (1983); Olszowy-Schlanger (2001), & (2003), & (2009); A. Graboïs, '*Hebraica Veritas*', *Speculum*, 50 (1975), 613–34; Loewe (1957), & (1966), 23–48; G. I. Liefstinck, 'The "Psalterium Hebraycum" from St Augustine's Canterbury Rediscovered at Leyden', *Trans Cambridge Bibliographical Soc*, 2 (1955), 97–104; Sirat (2002); van Boxel & Arendt (2009)

## Mark

A measure of weight representing 8 oz (227 g), used chiefly for silver and gold. An ounce was equivalent to 20 silver pennies, so the value of a silver mark was 160d or 13s 4d, that is two-thirds of a £ sterling. In England it was a unit of account, often preferred to the £ for large amounts. A gold mark was equal, at most, to 10 silver marks. Thus, in 1249 when Hak of \*Worcester was ordered to pay his \*sheriff 'all the pennies which are the

value of a gold mark<sup>2</sup>, this would have represented 1600 pennies, £6 13s 4d; in practice often £6. *See also* Bezant, Obol.

□ Rigg (1902), 111 quoting Madox, 1 (1769), 277, 487; *CR*, 1249, 249–50

### **Marlborough, Wiltshire**

The site of a royal castle where in April \*1201 King John issued his charters to the Jews of England and Normandy and the Jews of England. Three years later he granted the town a borough charter. Henry III visited the castle frequently, and spent £2000 on its improvement as a royal residence. A small Jewish \*community was living here by 1234, under the authority of the constable of the castle.

Amongst the \*Wiltshire delegates to the Worcester ‘parliament’ in \*1241 were the brothers Isaac and Solomon, representing Marlborough, which was now a recognised community. How far the £26 attributed to \*Wilton was a joint contribution to the 1241–42 \*tallage, the records do not reveal, but Isaac and Solomon stood as joint pledges with the Wilton delegates of the same names for its payment. In 1244 the \*sheriff of Wiltshire fined them, as Marlborough’s \*chirographers, for failing to answer the summons touching the tallage of 60,000 marks.

The Jewry’s tallage assessment in 1253 was £8 15s 9d, and for the tallages of 1255 when, with \*Bedford, \*Bristol, \*Norfolk and \*Northampton, it ranked eighth amongst 21 communities, £40. Isaac served as the Jewry’s leader for over a decade. Solomon’s goods, rents, bonds and houses were valued at £52 18s 4d at his death in 1268. His widow, Muriel, made fine with the king in 5 \*bezants, 10s, to pay the \*relief of £17 12s 9d at 2 marks a year. Solomon and Muriel had at least five sons: Lumbard, Solomon, Sadekin, Jospin and Abraham are recorded in the \*plea rolls. All but the last made their livelihood in the borough.

There were scrutinies of the Marlborough \*chest in 1261, 1269 and 1273. Those using the chest included Sweteman or Asher, the son of \*Licoricia of Winchester and \*David of Oxford, and Hagin, son of Abraham of \*Berkhamsted, Richard earl of Cornwall’s notorious personal Jew. Hagin accused Solomon’s son Jospin of ‘causing him, by fraud, to be arrested and carried by night to Wallingford Castle and there to be imprisoned for a year’.

The plea rolls for 1268 provide dramatic evidence of the impact that a conversion could have on a Jewish family. Jospin denounced his brother Lumbard, claiming that following his daughter Joiette’s conversion he had replaced her bond with Hugh Lovel, rector of Radbourn, with one in his own name. The original bond, Jospin declared, belonged to the king by reason of Joiette’s conversion, and he bound all his goods and chattels to the Crown in support of his claim. Marlborough’s Christian chirographer and six of his fellow citizens were called to Westminster to give evidence. As so often in such exchequer cases, the outcome is not known.

The constable of the castle was involved in a major confrontation with the two bailiffs and burgesses of the borough in 1270. Seeking to deliver a royal writ, transferring a case to the justices of the Jews in Westminster, he met with such resistance that he was unable

to execute it. On royal authority, he summoned the bailiffs and 12 'richer burgesses' to the castle to explain their conduct. They produced Marlborough's royal charter, wherein the king forbade that they be impleaded about any tenement in the town, except in their own borough court and according to the Law of the City of Winchester. When charged with 'trespass and contempt' against the king, they said that they should not answer in the absence of the king. They were thus adjudged to be in the king's mercy. Sheriff's claims of inability to follow up exchequer demands on account of \*liberties were not infrequent, but rarely pursued in such a salutary manner as on this occasion.

In 1273 Marlborough, with its castle, was assigned by Edward I to his mother, the dowager queen, Eleanor, who stayed there in 1272 and 1274. In the last year the constable of the castle was in mercy as he had not paid any of the £20 tallage assessed on the Jews of Marlborough in the previous year. In January 1275 tallage was assessed at £35 17s 1d. That year, the Jews were \*expelled from Marlborough, with their chest, as from Eleanor's three other dower towns, \*Gloucester, \*Worcester and \*Cambridge. They were deported to \*Devizes which, with its strong and costly castle, belonged to the king. The community was placed under the protection of its constable. (*See Expulsions from the Queen Mother's Dower Towns, 1275.*)

The Jews managed to retain their houses in Marlborough until Edward I's visit in 1280 apparently prompted his mother to sell them the following year. The sale details name eight of the expelled Jews: Benedict, who had been hanged on \*coinage charges; Solomon and his two sons, Jospin and Lumbard; Lumbard of Petersfield; Lumbard son of Lumbard; Cok son of Aaron; and Sweteman, whose house Queen Eleanor granted to her marshal. Sweteman ultimately returned to \*Winchester. In the Devizes New Chest, 1282–90, thirteen bondholders are named as 'of Marlborough'. Eleven were from one family: Solomon son of Simon, known as Cok *le Riche*, his five sons and one daughter, three grandsons and one granddaughter.

The abbot of Glastonbury, one of England's most ancient monasteries, was a business partner of the Marlborough Jewry, anxious to extend his conventual estates. Following the example of \*Aaron of Lincoln's patrons, the Cistercians of northern England, he bought the outstanding debts of William of Middleton for 100 marks from Jospin son of Solomon, Salle son of Josce and Sweteman. They granted him extended terms in 1277: 40 marks down and 30 marks the following Michaelmas and Easter.

The sites of the Jewish houses sold by Eleanor in 1281 have not been identified, but such evidence as there is suggests that the Jewry lay to the north of St Mary's church, close to the marketplace, in what in 1536 and 1540 was Silver Street, now Silverless Street. At the eastern end of the town, it was remote from the castle, which lay beyond the church of SS Peter and Paul at the western end of the great High Street. Evidence of a \*synagogue is provided by proclamations read out there in 1270 and 1275.

□ CR, 1241, 355; PREJ, I, 107, 202, 204–5, 224–5, 267, 294, 305, & II, 161, & III, 61, 273–4, 278, 307; Rigg (1902), 1–3, 42–3, 85, 112–13; VCH, *Wiltshire*, 12 (1983), 208; CPR, 1272–81, 27–8, 76, 428–9; Mundill (1998),

165–8; J. H. Stevenson, 'The Castles of Marlborough and Ludgershall in the Middle Ages', *Wilts Archaeol & Nat Hist Magazine* (1992), 70–9

**Masters of the Law** *see* Cemetery; Community; *Herem*; Jews and the Court; London, Aaron son of Vives; London, Master Elias; London, Master Moses

**Melcombe Regis** *see* Expulsions, Local

**Mikva'ot** (pl.): *Mikveh*, ritual bath; literally a 'collection' or 'gathering' (of water)

The use of the Jewish ritual bath, the *mikveh*, is based on the Mosaic laws of purification. Leviticus 15 provides the text of the law concerning the ritual impurity of men and women arising from their issues, and their purification. Detailed commentary on purification came with the codification of ritual law in the Mishnah. M Mikva'ot treats the ways in which people became ritually unclean: through contact with specific defiling objects, including a corpse, or through an unclean flow from the body, especially menstruation or childbirth.

Leviticus 11:36 states that 'a spring, cistern or gathering of water (*mikveh*) shall be clean'. Spring, river or rain water, 'in the hands of heaven', was pure or 'valid'. Water carried 'in the hands of man' was 'drawn' and thus invalid. Built into the ground, the *mikveh* had to be filled with a minimum of 40 *se'ah*, somewhat less than a cubic meter (generally taken as 750 litres), of valid water.

Reich has suggested that two *mikva'ot* found on the Temple Mount, on either side of the western Hulda Gate, may belong to the Hasmonean era, 140–37 BCE. Others have been found at Masada and Qumran, some 150 in Jerusalem and 500 in Judea, Galilee and beyond. At Qumran the steps were divided: unclean, one entered down one side; purified, one left up the other. In Israel *mikva'ot* were linked with early synagogues, as at Gamla in the lower Golan, and Meiron and Khirbet Shema in Galilee. In the Greco-Roman world, however, as Steven Fine points out, '*mikva'ot* do not seem to belong to the standard repertoire of structures associated with the Diaspora synagogue'.

### European Mikva'ot

When did *mikva'ot* arrive in the West? Third- and fourth-century inscriptions in Rome's Jewish catacombs, and those of the fifth century at Venosa, are indicative. A few phrases on a Venosa tombstone of AD c.800 are, at present, the first tangible witness of the arrival of the Talmud, and thus Rabbinic culture, in Italy and the West. The earliest documentary evidence of a medieval *mikveh* in the West is from Rome, in 1088, when Nathan ben Yehiel, poet and author of the talmudic lexicon '*Aruch*', tells us that he built a ritual bath.

Otherwise one has to rely on archaeological evidence from German-speaking lands. There the monumental type, reflecting both wealth and communal pride in the face of great adversity, was a radical departure from the early tradition in Israel. These *mikva'ot* are outstanding for their depth to water level, 26 yd (24 m) at Friedberg, and for their staircases. They are of two types. The first has a single, vertical shaft, as at Cologne, Friedberg and Andernach, where 50 steps led down to the pool. The second, as at

Speyer, c.1110, and Worms 1185–86, has a vertical shaft for light and ventilation and a separate, diagonal, shaft for less precipitous access. All were within the Jewish court, close to the synagogue.

In France similar, later, *mikva'ot* can be seen: of the late thirteenth century at Strasbourg; in that of 1343 at Carpentras, near Avignon, 43 steps lead to a ritual bath of 43 ft<sup>2</sup> (4 m<sup>2</sup>). The recently restored Montpellier *mikveh*, adjacent to the former synagogue, has a long staircase leading to the great pool in a large barrel-vaulted chamber. Rivalling the German *mikva'ot*, it possibly exemplifies facilities available at other large Jewries of southern France. In Catalonia, at Besalú, the *mikveh* is a vaulted chamber some 18 by 15 ft (5.5 by 4.5 m), cut out of the rock. In \*Rouen, about 16 yd (15 m) to the west of the synagogue, lie the remains of another rectangular structure, some 23 by 33 ft (7 by 10 m), entered down ten steps. This Bernard Blumenkranz believes was the communal *mikveh*. The question thus arises as to whether Rabbi Josce made similar provision in \*London, close to his *magna scola*.

### Private *Mikva'ot*

In marked contrast, a number of much humbler, cellar *mikva'ot*, small subterranean barrel-vaulted chambers with a rectangular stone- or rock-cut pool, with access usually by a few stone steps, were brought to light at Rothenburg ob der Tauber in 1985 and Sondershausen, 1998–99. The former has been described as ‘but a small bath in the cellar of a private house’. Two *mikva'ot* discovered on development sites in London are similar to these in terms of construction and size. Both fulfil the requirement that the *mikveh* should hold a minimum of 40 *se'ah* of water. These discoveries are of considerable importance for, whilst the documentary evidence relating to the London Jewry is rich, archaeological evidence is very limited.

### Two London *Mikva'ot* (M on Plan 7)

The first was excavated by MoLAS in March 1986, at 81–87 Gresham, formerly Catte, Street, some 71 yards (65 m) south-east of the Guildhall courtyard (Figure 14a). As *mikva'ot* were not on the English archaeological agenda, the initial excavation report identified it as a subterranean strong room. It is fortunate that Richard Sermon had the specialist knowledge to recognise its true character. Heuberger's standard work on the German *mikva'ot* cannot be found in any British university library, nor the British Library.

In 1990 Sermon confirmed this identification through documentary evidence relating to the Jewish occupation of four tenements (T1–T4 on Plan 7) spanning the area between the alley leading to the Guildhall on the west and Basinghall Street on the east. The occupants of these four plots on the north side of Catte Street are known: Tenement 1, on the west, belonged to \*Aaron son of Vives; 2 to his grandmother, Slema, widow of Peytevin *le Fort*; 3 to Belaset, widow of Leo Preciose; 4 was acquired in 1271 by Aaron Crespin, who was hanged for \*coinage offences in 1280. Sermon also showed that



(a)



(b)



Figure 14 Two London *mikva'ot*. (a) Gresham Street *mikveh*, excavated in 1986; (b) Milk Street *mikveh*, excavated in 2001

Source: © Museum of London Archaeology.

a plot to the north of Tenements 3 and 4 had housed a synagogue until its conversion by Henry III to the chapel of St Mary in the 1230s. Archaeological evidence suggests that 'it was probably erected towards the end of the twelfth century since the foundations were dug through earlier pits containing pottery dating to c.1140–c.1220'.

The *mikveh* lay at the rear of the large stone-fronted house on Tenement 1. Steps, of which two remain with vestiges of a third, led east to a paved floor, which was almost square, 3 ft 5 in by 3 ft 9 in (1.05 m by 1.15 m). Steps and floor were made up of similar blocks, but traces of decayed wood suggest they were originally covered with timber treads. Assuming an original depth of 4–5 ft (1.5 m) of water, there would have been an additional five steps, and a water capacity of some 2800 litres, adequate for the immersion of an adult male. No evidence was found as to the water supply; nor as to how the structure was made watertight. As leakage would have invalidated its use for ritual purification, it would originally have been mortar-lined. For plans, cross-section and photograph of the *mikveh* see Bowsher, I (2007), figs 78 and pp. 115–16.

The remains of the second *mikveh*, found by MoLAS at 1–6 Milk Street in 2001, were more extensive than those at Gresham Street (Figure 14b). Substantially built, it is of high quality, squared ashlar blocks, bonded with lime mortar set within a construction pit. It consisted of a minimum of seven steps leading into an enclosed, apsidal-ended bath chamber measuring 3 ft 11 in by 9 ft 10 in (1.2 by 3 m), including the steps. The stonework of the apse was particularly finely carved, with very narrow and tight-fitting joints between the ashlar blocks, presumably to make it watertight. Given the high standard of the structure, it is inconceivable that the bath would not have had a stone or tiled floor above the natural brick earth, later robbed. The fill contained the base of a mid thirteenth-century London-ware baluster jug. As at Catte Street, archaeology is supported by documentary evidence, for the property where the *mikveh* was excavated is recorded in the expulsion returns as having been owned in 1290 by Moses Crespín. His father, Jacob, who died c.1244, ranked fifth in the hierarchy of London's Jewry in 1221. The *mikveh* is now on view in the Jewish Museum.

### A \*Bristol *Mikveh*?

It was suggested in 1987 that Jacob's Well in Bristol was a *mikveh*. However, ease of access was a fundamental requirement of medieval *mikva'ot*. A passage from the mid fourteenth-century *Ethical Will of Rabbi Eleazar of Mainz* indicates the standards expected of the womenfolk of his family. They 'must be as scrupulous as possible to undertake their ritual immersion with care, accompanied by trustworthy women lest anyone encounter them. They should cover their eyes while returning home so that they won't see anything unclean.'

Continental practice shows that *mikva'ot* were found within the Jewry, usually a short distance from the synagogue. Jacob's Well at Bristol, however, is more than a mile (over 1.5 km) from the site of the city's first Jewry, and further from its successor, close to

the castle. At this location, a visit to the *mikveh* would have exposed the womenfolk, regularly, to a lengthy and very hazardous journey along Brandon Hill which, in the late twelfth century, is referred to as ‘the waste land of St Brendan’, the anchorite who sought seclusion here. A distant and sequestered site such as this was wholly inappropriate for a *mikveh*. In May 2002 Jacob’s Well, reinterpreted as a facility related to the Brandon Hill Jewish cemetery, was declared a Scheduled Ancient Monument. See \**Bet Tohorah*. John Steane has suggested that a stone-built culvert at \*Oxford ‘may be part of the Mikveh’. It bears no relationship to the two *mikva’ot* excavated in London, but has the characteristics of a monastic rere-dorter.

□ R. Reich, ‘Ritual Baths’, in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Middle East*, 4 (1997), 430, & ‘Two Possible Miqwa’ot on the Temple Mount’, *Israel Exploration J*, 39 (1989), 63–5; D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe*, 1 (1993), & 2 (1995); H. Künzl, ‘Mikwen in Antike und Mittelalter’, & ‘Mikwen in Deutschland’, in *Mikwe*, ed. G. Heuberger (1992, Frankfurt am Main), 9–88; Asaria (1959), 90–106; M. Gechter & S. Schütte, ‘Ursprung und Voraussetzungen des mittelalterlichen Rathauses und seiner Umgebung’, in *Köln: Das gotische Rathaus und seine historische Umgebung*, ed. W. Geis and U. Krings (2000, Cologne), 69–196; H. Künzl, ‘Eine mittelalterliche Mikwe in Rothenburg ob der Tauber’, *Trumah*, 1 (1987, Wiesbaden), 223–41; F. Nicol, ‘Juden in mittelalterlichen Sondershausen – archäologische Untersuchungen einer Mikwe aus der Zeit 1300’, *Alt-Thüringen*, 34 (2001), 228–45; Sermon (1990); Museum of London Archive Report, Site Code GDH85, Group 32; Bowsher, I (2007), 71, 84–5, 117–20, & II, 336–8; Blair et al. (2001); Hillaby (1993a), 128–30; R. R. Emanuel & M. W. Ponsford, ‘Jacob’s Well, Bristol, Britain’s only Known Medieval Jewish Ritual Bath (*Mikveh*)’, *TBGAS*, 112 (1994), 73–86; Hillaby & Sermon (2004), & (2007); R. R. Wasserfall (ed.), *Women and Water* (1999); Steane (2001)

**Mints** see Provincial Jewries

**Monasteries and Abbeys, Jewish relations with** see Bury; Lincoln; York; York, Aaron of; Pawnbroking and Pledges

**Moneylending** see Interest and Usury

### **Montfort, Simon de (1208–65) and the English Jewry**

Simon de Montfort’s father, Simon III, led the crusade against the Cathars of Languedoc (1209–18). When Simon was only eight, his mother, representing her husband as governor of Toulouse, gave its Jews the choice of death or conversion. Fully conscious of the importance of the Jewry for the economic well-being of the city, her husband countermanded her order.

From his father, killed in 1218, Simon IV inherited not only a rigid orthodoxy but, as coheir to the Beaumont earls, a claim to half the honour of Leicester and the lordship of the borough, together with the stewardship of England. On receiving his share of the honour in 1231/32, Simon expelled all Jews from his part of \*Leicester. His charter (illustrated under Leicester, Figure 10) describes this as an act for the salvation of his soul and those of his ancestors and successors, and for the relief of the Leicester burgesses

from \*usury. The Jews merely moved to the eastern part of the town, under the control of Simon's great-aunt, Margaret Countess of Winchester, a coheiress of the original earldom, split in 1207. Yet on \*David of Oxford's death in 1244, Henry III pardoned a debt of £110 11s that Simon and his wife, Eleanor, the king's sister and dowager countess of Pembroke, owed David.

Simon was appointed lieutenant of Gascony in 1248. With his removal from this office came a break in his relationship with the king. In May 1257 he fell out violently with Henry III's half-brother, William de Valence, leader of the Lusignans. Simon was one of the seven lords to launch the movement of reform at the Westminster parliament. Article 25 of the \*1258 Petitions of the Barons, Clause 17 of the 1258 Provisions of Oxford, and Clause 23 of the \*1259 Provisions of Westminster sought to address their deep concerns about Henry III's handling of the Jewry, in particular the role of his court favourites and unscrupulous officers at the \*Exchequer of the Jews in relation to estates encumbered by debt. The fate in 1253 of Walter II de Lacy, lord of Meath in Ireland, Ewias Lacy, Ludlow and Weobley, each with its own great castle, was an object lesson for many. Walter had borrowed vast sums from \*Hamo of Hereford, whose son, Ursell, had to find £4000 as \*relief on his death. When Ursell died his brother, Moses, had £3000 outstanding. On his death de Lacy's bonds were taken over by the Crown. Walter died, in debt, a few months later. His lands were distrained by Henry III whom he had served loyally after John's death in 1216, when he was amongst the small group of barons who took him to be crowned at Gloucester, and subsequently in Ireland.

On the outbreak of civil war in 1264, de Montfort's son, Simon, was defeated and captured at \*Northampton in April 1264. Infuriated at the outcome and, according to the Dunstable chronicler, prompted by rumours that the Jews had forged keys to the city gates, made underground routes lest the keys failed, and prepared Greek fire to burn down the city, the \*London mob rose. The mayor and justiciar fought hard to restore law and order. The \*chest, *archa*, and a number of Jews were secured in the Tower, where they were joined by Lombards and Cahorsins, and the papal legate. Fitz-Thedmar refers to over 500 'massacred'. Wykes describes how John fitz John killed Cok [son of Aaron] son of Abraham, the wealthiest member of the community. Simon, however, claimed a share of the plunder.

In 1262 Gilbert de Clare, 'the Red Earl', succeeded his father, as seventh earl of Gloucester, but was deprived of part of his inheritance. Refusing to pay homage to Henry III, in May 1263 he joined de Montfort. The next year Simon dubbed the young earl in the field prior to the battle of Lewes, but relations between the two deteriorated rapidly. Later Gloucester accused de Montfort of taking too much booty from the London Jews. On Gilbert's arrival at \*Canterbury in April 1264, Jews were slain and the chest, with its bonds, taken to Dover Castle. It was Simon's eldest son, Henry, who sacked \*Worcester, where Jews, including the community leader, Josce son of Hak, were killed and the chest and its contents despatched by the earl of Derby to his castle at Tutbury. Other chests were also the objects of attack, as at \*Lincoln and \*Bristol. At

\*Gloucester, when de Montfort's sons, Henry and Simon, gained control of the city by stratagem, the Jewry was to suffer. The community leader, Jacob Couperon, and a Christian \*chirographer were killed.

After Simon's victory at the battle of Lewes in May 1264, some 60 men received royal writs pardoning debts and \*interest owed to Jews. The beneficiaries included prominent supporters, such as John d'Eyville and Simon's own retainers. Later, like Henry III's Council of Regency in \*1218, de Montfort began to realise the financial significance of a prosperous Jewry. In 1265 he therefore sought to mollify the Jewry by promising protection if they abandoned the castles where they had sought refuge, and returned to life in the towns – a vain gesture when, according to the chronicler Rishanger, the kingdom 'trembled with the horrors of war'. Later that year, on his way to the west in support of his father, Simon the younger sacked and plundered \*Winchester, killing many Jews. On 4 August de Montfort, with his eldest son, Henry, and many of his chief supporters, was killed at the battle of Evesham.

This was not the end of the attacks on the Jewries. In August 1266 the \*Disinherited, based on the Isles of Axholme and Ely, attacked first Lincoln, and then Bedford, \*Cambridge and \*Norwich, killing Jews and seizing prominent citizens and the chests. The final episode was in April 1267, when Gilbert de Clare's forces, together with some of the Disinherited, entered London. Jews who had remained fled once more to the Tower. Others moved to Normandy.

His throne secure, Henry III sought to stabilise the position of the English Jewry, by annulling or pardoning its debts, including those stolen from the chests, 'provided reasonable proof be given'. Furthermore, all lands, tenements and chattels 'now their gage shall be distrained according to the laws and customs of the Jewry, to whomsoever they belong'. By 1270, however, a new round of tallages began, with further levies in 1273, 1276, 1277 and 1278. One of the consequences of the baronial attacks was the dispersal of a number of Jews from the recognised \*communities to more remote and seemingly safer locations, such as \*Bridgnorth, \*Ipswich, \*Lynn, \*Sudbury and \*Arundel.

□ Stacey (1991), 137–50; C. Bémont, *Simon de Montfort* (1930); J. D. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (1994), 15–16, 33, 56–8, 62, 78–9, 268, 315–16, 360; *AM*, IV, 141–5; Fitz-Thedmar, 66

**Moses** *see* London, Master Moses; London, Moses ben Isaac haNessiah; Sudbury, Moses de Clare

**Newbury** *see* Expulsions, Local

## Newcastle-upon-Tyne

The 1189–91 \*pipe rolls record that 'Samuel, Jew of Newcastle owes 20 marks'. However, there is no reference to payments from a Newcastle \*community to the 1194 Northampton *Promissum* or the Jewish tallages of 1221, 1223 and 1226.

In terms of seaborne trade, Newcastle was eighth amongst the provincial ports of the east and south coasts in 1203. Its exports were not only wool, for its coal trade had already begun. In the 1223 tallage on royal boroughs, it ranked fifth, after the provincial centres of \*York, \*Bristol, \*Lincoln and \*Oxford.

With its brisk maritime trade, Newcastle would have been a magnet to Jews. In July 1234, the townsmen proffered the considerable fine of 100 marks, that their borough charter of 1213 should be renewed with the additional clause: ‘that the good men shall have this liberty, to wit that henceforth no Jew shall remain or have any residence in the said town either in our time or that of our heirs as is more fully contained in the king’s charter which they have to that effect’. Other towns followed Newcastle’s example, most significantly the port of \*Southampton in 1236. (*See Expulsions, Local.*)

It is unclear whether the charter implies a Jewish presence prior to 1234 or simply fear of an overflow from the York community. Two eighteenth-century references suggest the former. A release of October 1700 relates to two messuages ‘situated in “Newcastle-upon-Tyne”, in a certain street or place there called Silver Street, alias Jew-Gate’. In 1736 Henry Bourne records that ‘Mr. Nicholas Lamb, whose house is in this street, finds it called Jew-gate, in his writings.’ As the street forms the northern boundary of All Saints churchyard, Jew-Gate was not far from the Quayside. Today its western end has been encroached upon by the motorway leading from the north across the Tyne Bridge.

□ *PpR*, 1189–90, 242, & 1190–91, 20; *CR*, 1234, 466; H. Bourne, *History of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne* (1736), 88; J. Brand, *History and Antiquities of Newcastle upon Tyne*, I (1789), 359, & II, 140; Dobson (2010), 10

**Newton in Purbeck** *see* Expulsions, Local

**Nicole** *see* Lincoln

### **Northampton**

On the strategic route to the North, 65 miles (100 km) from \*London, and on the river Nene, giving access to the ports of the Wash, the town was of considerable importance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Its \*tallage was exceeded in 1172 only by those of \*London and \*Lincoln, and in 1176 only by London. Here Thomas Becket had been tried and condemned in 1164. King John visited the castle on no less than 30 occasions. Crown purveyors attended the All Saints fair, which was of international standing. The university established here in 1261 by students from \*Cambridge was suppressed four years later by Henry III, who feared their sympathy for de \*Montfort’s cause.

The castle (*see* Plan 8), built by Simon I of Senlis, first earl of Northampton, passed into royal control on his death c.1110. After Henry I died in 1135, it was regained by Simon II, who held it until his death in 1153. During Stephen’s reign Simon’s mint struck one, possibly two, independent issues. The Jewry, like that at Cambridge, may well have been established under Earl Simon’s protection. For Jewish immigrants the risks may have been great, but so were the chances of profit.

In 1154 authority over the Jewry passed, with the castle, into the hands of the Crown. In the royal *\*Donum* of 1159, with *\*Bungay* it ranked seventh of the ten provincial *\*communities*, paying 22½ *\*marks*. In the 1180 *\*pipe roll*, Samuel, Jew of Northampton, paid 5 gold marks (£30) for a bill of divorce. In 1184 Bonenfaunt, another member of the Jewry, sold one of Samuel's houses to Peter Adamson, a Christian. The Crown profited, for Samuel had to pay 2 gold marks for its return, Peter was fined £10 and Bonenfaunt 10 marks, £6 13s 4d. At his death in 1191, Samuel's estate amounted to some £1500, for his son, Jacob, agreed to pay 120 marks (£80) a year towards the £500 *\*relief* for his father's bonds and chattels.

Northampton's Jews avoided the worst of the 1190 'crusader attacks', but witnessed a remarkable act of courage by Hugh of Avalon, bishop of Lincoln. John, one of the pillagers of *\*Stamford Jewry*, escaped to Northampton with his booty. There he was murdered for his spoil. His body, thrown over the town wall, was believed to be that of a martyr. Miracles were reported at his grave. Bishop Hugh hastened to the town. Here, as at Lincoln and Stamford, 'with swords flashing around him, and his attendants crouching in terror, Hugh, bare-headed and unarmed, chastened the townsmen with his intrepid and stern rebukes'. He ordered that anyone showing reverence to the false martyr should be excommunicated.

Richard I held a royal council here at Easter, 1194. The sum of 5000 marks imposed on that occasion is described at its head as 'the promise of the Jews of all England made at Northampton'. What consultation, if any, took place is not known. Receipt of some £1750 marks is recorded, probably the first half. Northampton ranked third amongst the *\*provincial Jewries*, after Lincoln and *\*Canterbury*, paying some £161; Jacob, sixth amongst individual contributors, paid £53 17s 6d. In addition he fined £33 6s 8d for assistance in court against the abbot of the Cistercians of Pipewell (Northants), a client his father probably acquired on the death of *\*Aaron of Lincoln*. The feet of fines for 1198 show that Jacob bought a house in the town for the considerable sum of £2 6s 8d. Benedict of York's two houses in the town were granted after his death at Northampton in 1189 to Simon de Pattishall, *\*sheriff of Northamptonshire*, custodian of the castle and one of the three keepers of the Jews (*see* London; York, Josce and Benedict of).

After the travails of John's reign, the *\*sheriff* and constable of the castle were informed by Henry III's Council of Regency in *\*1218* that the king had granted the Northampton Jews their own community, and that they were to have 'our firm peace'. The Jewry ranked sixth in the 1221 tallage. Vives son of Isaac, the community leader, was tenth amongst the English magnates. This was the beginnings of a steady decline in the Jewry's fortunes. In 1223 it was seventh. In 1237 it was ordered that no Jew should live outside the bounds of the town. Northampton's delegation of six to the 1241 *\*Worcester 'parliament'*, led by Elias of Pontefract, probably an immigrant from *\*York*, included Vives' son, Deudone. To the 1239–42 levies, the Jewry paid £73 19s 4d, a mere 0.7% of

the total, ranking twelfth. For the 1255 tallages, the community was one of five paying 60 marks, ranking eighth.

### The Community in crisis, 1264–80

On the outbreak of hostilities between barons and Crown in April 1264, Northampton was the baronial rallying point. Castle and town were well fortified when Henry III arrived at the walls, royal banner unfurled. However, the French prior of St Andrew's Cluniac monastery (1 on Plan 8), by the north gate (2), breached the adjacent town walls to give the royal forces ingress. The St Andrew's chronicler is 'tactfully silent about the reason why it only took "one hour" for the royal forces in 1264 to capture Northampton; it was probably due to the "foxy diligence" of his own prior Wido de Bussieres, through whose garden' the royal knights were admitted. De Montfort's two sons, Simon and Henry, were captured but, after the baronial victory at Lewes next month, there were anti-Jewish disturbances in the town. On 2 June Henry III appointed 24 burgesses 'to protect the Jews who lately on account of the disturbance of the realm and especially on account of the battle at Northampton, fled to the castle of Northampton and have not since dared to leave it, whereby the king is suffering no small loss'. Following de Montfort's death at Evesham on 4 August 1265, Henry called a parliament at Northampton, where the papal legate preached a crusade, and Prince Edward and many others took the cross.

Henry overestimated the resilience of the Jewry. The 1272 tallage returns report that 'two poor Jews' paid £1. In 1277 Sampson son of Samuel caused outrage when he 'assumed the habit of a Friar Minor, preaching in contempt of the Christian faith and the said order'. He was convicted before the Dominican archbishop, Robert Kilwardby, to 'go naked for three days through the midst of... London, Canterbury, Oxford, Lincoln and Northampton, carrying in his hands the entrails of a calf and the flayed animal on his neck'. Edward I confirmed this judgment. The sentence was probably never executed, for the sheriff, who signified he had Sampson in prison, later reported that he was 'not found in his bailiwick'.

By 1275 Northampton was in decline, with specialist craftsmen leaving because the borough was too heavily tallaged. The Jewry suffered severely during the \*coin-clipping crisis, 1276–79. However, as was not infrequently the case, some Jews detained in gaol for 'clipping the king's coin and other trespasses' established a working relationship with the sheriff, Gilbert de Kirkeby. Already fined £10 for procrastination, he was accused by the \*justices of the Jews of 'despising the king's order and maliciously obtaining delay for certain Jews' who should have appeared at Westminster. Charged with answering 'circumspectly and inefficiently', Kirkeby was in the king's mercy for 'contempt and trespass'. Josce *de Scola* avoided trial by proffering a fine.

At least six Northampton Jews were hanged: Sampson son of Sampson, Isaac de Berkhamsted, David de Stamford, Elias son of Ister, Isaac son of Vives and Cok son of Aaron of London, who had a house in *Cornechepyng*, the corn market. In 1280 the



sheriff was ordered to sell the houses of those Jews hanged, having been found guilty or having refused trial by jury. Northampton became a community of widows, a number of whom were fined for concealing their husband's chattels. Fines and amercements for those found guilty totalled over £450, about half that imposed on the much more affluent Lincoln Jewry.

According to Florence of Worcester, 'on the feast of the Adoration of the Cross [14 September 1279] the Jews crucified a boy, who was not quite killed'. Notwithstanding Pope Gregory X's dismissal of the \*ritual-child-murder accusation as 'not to be believed', 'many Jews were dragged to pieces by horses and then hanged in London immediately after Easter'.

### Moses, son of \*Jacob of Oxford

A grandson of \*Master Moses, he was Northampton Jewry's most renowned member. His father, the prominent \*Oxford property owner and developer, died in 1277. Following payment of the relief, the remaining two-thirds of Jacob's great wealth was initially granted to his widow and children, but later claimed by Queen Eleanor as part of 'her Jewry of Oxford'. Nevertheless, the evidence suggest, Moses secured sufficient of his father's wealth to provide him with an appropriate lifestyle in Northampton. Moses, with Jacob of York and Sampson of Lincoln, was nominated by the justices to represent Northampton's Jewry at the \*1287 'mini-parliament'. At the \*expulsion his was the most valuable Jewish property in Northampton. He also retained a substantial house in St Aldate's, Oxford. Next to the synagogue, it was valued at 18s 9d in 1290.

Moses used his financial resources to persuade the Crown to grant a personal mandate

to the bailiffs, barons and sailors of the Cinque Ports not to molest Mosseus son of Jacob of Oxford, Jew of Northampton, quitting the realm within the time fixed, with his wife, children, household and goods, but to secure them a safe and speedy passage at moderate charges.

His household goods included his *siddur*, now Schocken Library, Jerusalem, MS 19522(73). Moses' posthumous fame arises from the remarkable \*genealogy in this book, written some four years after the expulsion, wherein he traced his family back through his grandfather, the grammarian and lexicographer Master Moses, ultimately to Rabbi Simeon the Great of Mainz, a city to which the subsequent history of his *siddur* suggests he returned.

### Isaac ben Perez

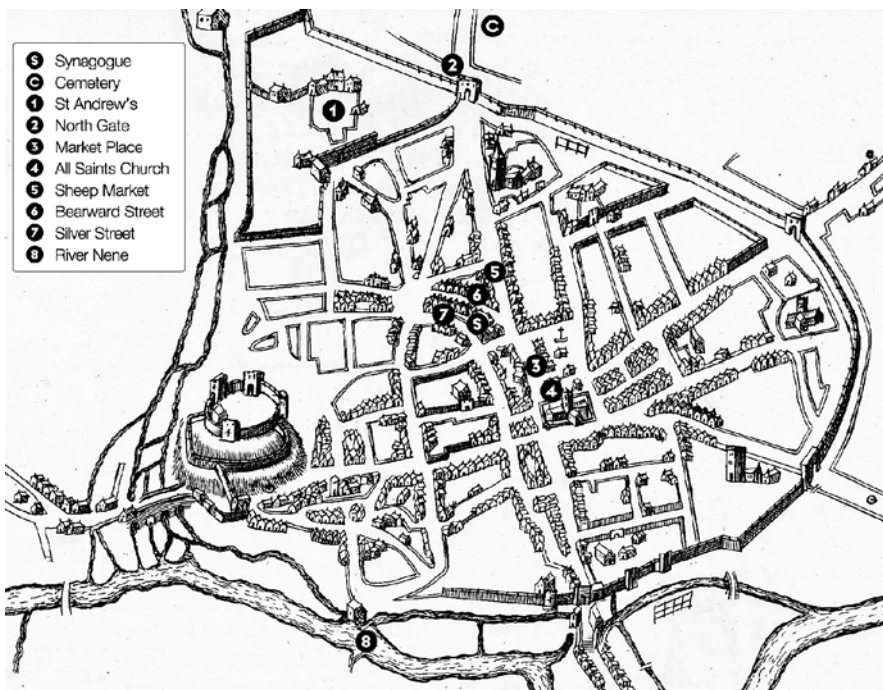
Repeatedly referred to in the *Etz Hayyim*, 'The Tree of Life', compiled in 1287 by \*Jacob ben Judah of London. Rabbi Moses, however, was at variance with some of Isaac's opinions. In one of his responsa, Rabbi Isaac, on the principle of *dina de-malkhuta dina*, 'the law of the land is the law', accepted that the exchequer ruling, permitting the sale

## Northampton

of pledges after a year in the case of default, applied even to inter-Jewish debts. He is cited by \*Master Elias of London in relation to dietary laws. Isaac held that fresh, non-Jewish bread was to be preferred to stale Jewish bread at benediction. Commenting on the difficulty of obtaining kosher \*wine in England, he said we taste but 'a little from the Kiddush cup, and when we want to make another blessing we add a little fresh wine to what remains.'

### The Jewry

Northampton remains remarkable for the size of its Market Place (3 on Plan 8), established by Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln in 1235 when he removed the town's fair from the great nave of All Saints church (4). Jewish property lay both in and north of the square. Although details of the bonds in the Northampton \*chest, *archa*, have been lost, the annual values of Jewish property in the town have been preserved. There were two considerable houses: that of Moses son of Jacob in the *Cornrowe*, valued at £1 7s 8d, acquired after the expulsion by William de Hamilton, archdeacon of York; and that of Pictavin son of Sampson, in the Sheepmarket (5), 'a good house with all necessities, well



Plan 8 Plan of Northampton, from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611)

Source: © University of Bristol Library Special Collections.

and competently built', worth £1 1s 2d. As a point of comparison, we have the valuation of 19s 6d for Belaset of Wallingford's stone house in Lincoln, which can still be seen. Almost certainly Moses' and Pictavin's houses will have been of stone. Sara of London's one-storey house, with cellar and 'in good condition', was worth 1 mark (13s 4d). Other houses are recorded in *Cornechepyng* and *Berewardstrete*, the former Bearward Street (6), named after the keeper of performing bears. In Hugh of Kendal's accounts of the provincial Jewries' property at the expulsion, Northampton's, valued at £50 13s 4d, was surpassed only by York, Lincoln, Oxford and Canterbury.

Memory of Northampton's Jewry survived for virtually four centuries, for Henry Lee describes the site of three Jewish houses that were standing until the Great Fire of 1675. One was close to the Red Lion in Horsemarket, another near the Ram in Sheepmarket, and a third in Silver Street (7 on Plan 8), between the two. These streets all lay north-west of the great marketplace nearby.

At the expulsion the community 'had five houses, five cottages with curtilages belonging to three' that, with the \*synagogue (S on Plan 8), had an annual value of £1 0s 9d. A later reference to 'the ruined houses before the entrance' to the *scola*, indicates not merely the usual backland site, as in London and Worcester, but also that the community now had difficulty in maintaining its \*Jewish Court. A 1504 rental records the synagogue in the 'Parmentry', from the Old French 'permenter', tailor or furrier; a will of 1630 refers to 'that messuage ... sometimes called the Synagogue of the Jews, with all and singular the houses, buildings, gardens, yards, orchardes, and backside thereunto belonging, lying in ... Silverstreete', parallel to Bearward Street. A 'well and a curtilage' on the other side of the synagogue are referred to in the 1318/19 pipe roll.

According to Howden, Benedict of York was refused burial at Northampton in 1189 as either Jew or Christian, suggesting a Jewish \*cemetery here by this date. Its site (C on plan), leased from St Andrew's priory, in Barrack Road, 'outside the north gate', has been identified from a charter of 1271, Marcus Pierce's plan of 1632, and archaeological evidence in 1992. The *originalia* rolls record that 'a piece of ground with its appurtenances outside the North Gate', which was the Jewish cemetery, was granted to Ralph de Celneston for 1d per annum in 1291–92. The Museum has the unique fragment of an Anglo-Jewish medieval \*tombstone (see Figure 18).

□ RCHME, *County of Northampton, V. Archaeological Sites and Churches in Northampton* (1985), 19, 47–56; VCH, *Northamptonshire*, 2 (1906), 10–13, & 3 (1930), 27–8; Cam & Jacob (1929), 99, 102; Newburgh (1996), 565; Douie & Farmer, 2 (1962), 17; Abrahams (1981); Powicke, 2 (1947), 784–7; PREJ, III, 209–10, 311–12; CR, 1237, 425; CCR, 1278, 466; Gransden (1964), 69; CPR, 1280, 362, & 1290, 381, & 1314, 199, & 1359, 211; Roth (1949), 54–5, & (1964), 274–5; Rokéah (2000), no. 1241, n. 88, 89, 90; Urbach, 2 (1980), 511–13; Mutius (1995), 117–25; J. C. Cox & R. M. Serjeantson, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Northampton* (1897), 26; EPNS, 10, *Northamptonshire* (1933), 7–8; Howden, *Annals*, 2 (1853), 119–20; Collins (1946); M. Jolles, *A Short History of the Jews of Northampton, 1159–1996* (1996); *Northampton Temple Bar: Archaeological Salvage Report, October 1992*, by G. Cadman, Northampton Archaeology Unit, unpublished report, HER 1160/43/1.

## Norwich

The county town of Norfolk, and a major port on the river Wensum. The principal commercial centre of East Anglia, the most affluent region of the country, it was one of the largest towns of twelfth-century England. William I ordered the construction of a castle in the centre of the town, for which 98 buildings had to be destroyed. Norwich became a cathedral city c.1096, when Bishop Herbert Losinga moved the see from \*Thetford.

*The Jews of Medieval Norwich* by Vivian Lipman was published by the Jewish Historical Society of England in 1967. Lipman chose his subject shrewdly. Remarkable sources are available. Having found 87 Latin and one Norman-French document in the Westminster muniments relating to Norwich's Jews, Lipman believed he should use this material to build up a portrait of the life of the medieval \*community.

The four rolls of the so-called Norwich 'Day Book' 'record virtually every legitimate transaction' conducted through the city's *archa* between September 1225 and October 1227. Of some 365 business relationships, 87 relate to transactions between \*Isaac son of Jurnet and his clients. These Lipman has analysed, concluding that 'most of the loans seem to be to members of the rural gentry'. Additional documents span the years c.1224 to 1275. The Westminster documents form a 126-page appendix.

In 1888 M. D. Davis published *Shetaroth: Hebrew Deeds of English Jews before 1290*. Of the 208 deeds, 94 relate to the life of the Norwich community between 1235 and 1281. With their assistance Lipman was able to describe its internal administration, and construct a remarkable plan of over fifty sites, of which more than half were Jewish owned or occupied. Further, from Vatican MS Ebr. 402 A. M. Habermann edited some of the Hebrew poems of \*Meir ben Elijah. Appended to Lipman's volume, these provide a rare first-hand insight into the intellectual and cultural life of the community at the end of the thirteenth century.

The earliest reference to a Norwich Jewry is in 1144, during Stephen's reign, when the first recorded allegation of \*ritual crucifixion in Europe was made. On Easter Sunday the body of a 12-year-old boy, William, was found, with strange wounds, in a wood near the town. Bishop Everard presided over a diocesan synod at which the priest Gordon Sturt, William's uncle, accused Jews of the boy's death. He drew attention to the occasion, Easter Sunday, and the wounds, which he claimed were evidence of crucifixion. When the Jews were challenged to trial by ordeal the \*sheriff, John de Chesney, led them from the cathedral precincts to the safety of the royal castle, surrounded by his armed guards.

Thomas of Monmouth, who arrived at the cathedral four years after the ritual-child-murder accusation, sedulously developed the theme. In a *Life* promoting the cult of St William, he described a series of miracles: a rose bush at the head of the grave had, he claimed, despite snow and winter cold, produced for many days a flower on its top branch. Miraculous healings followed. St William's cult survived, but the offerings of pilgrims ebbed away. (See Ritual-Child-Murder Accusations.)

There were further instances of hostility against the Jewry in 1200, when after the burgesses had broken into their \*cemetery the community was awarded 'such compensation as they could get', and in 1235, 1238 and 1279. Norwich citizens were notably fractious. Florence of Worcester describes how in August 1272 'after frequent assaults on their cathedral, the foulest rabble, namely the whole community of the city, all strongly armed and joined by their women, set fire to the priory, carrying off the valuables'.

### The Era of \*Jurnet, d.1197

In 1159 Norwich was the wealthiest of the ten \*provincial Jewries, paying 12% of the *Donum*, compared to London's 37%. Jurnet, with his brother, Benedict, c.1140–c.1205, and son, \*Isaac, c.1170–1235, dominated the community. Isaac's sons, Moses, 1200–40, and Samuel, c.1200–73, and Moses' three sons, Abraham, who died in 1255, Hak, who converted in 1253, and Jurnet II, also played a significant role in the life of the community. (For the family tree, see Lipman (1967), 96.) Jurnet's operations extended to \*London and across the country. From 1169 he formed syndicates with other magnates, including \*Aaron of Lincoln, to provide short-term credit to Henry II. His flight across the Channel c.1183 suggests that he retained contacts on the Continent.

In January 1190 there was a disastrous attack on the \*Lynn Jewry. The sheriff's failure to respond adequately led to similar attacks throughout East Anglia. Alone amongst the chroniclers, Ralph Diceto, dean of St Paul's, refers in his *Images of History* to the subsequent assault on the Norwich Jewry as on Shrove Tuesday, 6 February. Those in their houses were cut to pieces, but some dozen families, including those of Jurnet and Benedict, sought refuge in the castle, probably on hearing the news from Lynn. The \*pipe roll for this year records receipts of £1 8s 7½d from the 'chattels of Norwich Jews who were slain'.

The community had been augmented in 1174 by a fresh influx from \*Bungay after Henry II had destroyed its castle, leaving the Jewry without protection. Most had joined the Norwich community, in the shadow of its great stone keep. Of the 12 heads of households who survived the 1190 attack to be named in the 1194 *Promissum*, 4 were Bungay Jews: Abraham, Mosse, Ursell and his brother, Isaac. Norwich was now merely seventh of the provincial Jewries, paying some £72, of which Jurnet and Benedict contributed all but £16.

### Isaac, son of Jurnet, c.1175–c.1235

Following imprisonment at Bristol in \*1210 and later in the Tower, Jurnet's son and heir, Isaac, agreed to pay the king 10,000 marks at 1 mark a day. After John's death in 1216 the Council of Regency, anxious to re-establish the English Jewry, called in its outstanding debts. Norwich was one of the 17 communities that received formal recognition in \*1218. Despite the command that year that 'our Jews are no concern of' the bishops, in 1222 newly consecrated Pandulf Masca was one of the two who supported Archbishop Langton, who, following the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, sought to deprive

Jews charging \*interest of basic provisions. The royal council commanded the sheriff to 'capture and keep in safe custody' anyone who obeyed.

In 1221 fines for not wearing the \*badge were paid by Moses son of Abraham, £4; Simekoc, 11s 8d; Rosa daughter of Jacob 9s 6d; Vives 8s 4d; Jacob of Colchester 6s 4d; Aaron 1s 10d; and Bellegod 1s 1d. The community ranked ninth in the 1221 tallage, when 19 Jews paid £28 7s 4d, and fifth in 1223, paying £103 12s 7d. As Isaac, its wealthiest member, was exempt from tallage, these returns do not reflect its wealth.

The 'Day Book' confirms Isaac's dominant position within the Norwich Jewry. His bonds totalled £1647, the next highest being £258. From a sample of some 300 clients in the 'Day Book' Lipman concluded that 'great noblemen or religious houses formed only a very small part': the Praemonstratensian canons at Leiston in Suffolk, and less than a dozen individual clergy, parsons and chaplains. He identified a number of Norwich citizens, and their trades: Roger the cook, Alan the corviser, Richard the goldsmith and William the robe trimmer or furrier. The role of most English medieval Jews, Lipman suggests, was the provision of loans for ordinary people in town and country. A roll listing debts, by \*chirograph and \*tally, paid before June 1239 presents a different picture. Eighty-five clients owed Isaac £3668, of whom nine had debts of £100 or more, totalling £2714, three-quarters of the whole.

In 1230 the Norwich Jewry was accused of abducting and circumcising the five-year-old Odard, son of Benedict, a doctor and possibly a convert. This led to attacks by citizens, and the imposition of fines for obstructing the sheriff in the execution of his duty. The case was drawn out over a decade. Thirteen named Jews were accused in 1234, and considerable sums paid in fines. The 1234–35 curia regis roll records that 26 citizens had been appointed guardians of the Jews. Unrest continued. In 1235 and 1238 there was arson and looting in the Jewry. Isaac died c.1235. His principal agent, Moses son of Abraham (Mosse Mokke), Isaac son of Solomon (*Parvus*) and Diaie le Cat were hanged in 1240; the Bury chronicle records, 'four Jews were drawn apart by horses and then hanged ... because they had circumcised a boy according to the Jewish rite'.

### The Last Half Century of the Community

The Norwich delegation of six to the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament' was led by Isaac's second son, Samuel, the last major representative of the family, and included Diaie of (Castle) Rising. In 1239–42, when it ranked eighth, the community's total tax contribution, £217 2s 2d, a mere 2%, signalled a downturn in Norwich's fortunes since Isaac's death. Samuel was eleventh amongst the English magnates, paying £71 6s 8d, a third. In the 1255 tallage Norwich remained in eighth place.

Norwich's Jews were spared the worst atrocities of the de \*Montfort years but, according to Wykes, this 'most opulent city' was taken by the \*Disinherited in December 1266. The second continuation of *The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester* adds that they carried off 'seven waggonloads of booty'. Simon le Palmer, a Christian chirographer and former

bailiff of the city, was captured, but was back in office by 1270. The Jewry already had local rivals. The 1275 patent roll records a 'commission to enquire touching Christians of the county acting like Jews (*judaizantes*) in lending money and other goods to indigent Christians, in taking money after the return thereof'. Furthermore, they were 'detaining the pledges'.

\*Coin-clipping accusations affected this Jewry grievously. Rokéah identifies 11 Jews hanged; for Lipman, at least 16 'were either executed, forfeit or had to flee in 1278 or 1279'. The number of property holders and possibly heads of households was thus reduced by half to the 16 named in the expulsion returns, excluding possible losses between 1280 and 1290. In addition, Abraham son of Deulecresse, for Lipman 'the most prominent Jew in Norwich', was 'drawn and burned for blasphemy' in 1279.

The community sent three delegates to the \*1287 'mini-parliament': Abraham's brother, Isaac son of Deulecresse, the wealthiest member of the Jewry in the \*expulsion returns, in terms of both bonds and the value of his house, 17s 5d; Abraham (*f* Ursell?) of York; and a Jew 'from among the richer and more prudent Jews of Norwich'.

According to B. L. Abrahams and Mundill, bonds in the \*chest, *archa*, in 1290 had a total value of some £647. Twelve bondholders held a mere £20 in cash, £315 in grain, and £312 in wool. Lipman concludes that:

nothing in the Norwich evidence suggests... that Norwich Jews in fact changed their main business after 1275 and became dealers in corn and wool; but rather they continued moneylending under the camouflage of produce contracts – a form connived at by the authorities.

He estimates that at the expulsion the Jewry numbered between 30 and 50, 'a third or a fifth of what it had been half a century earlier'. Despite this bleak interpretation, in terms of the value of its bonds, Norwich ranked third, after \*Lincoln, £2620 10s 4d, and \*Hereford, £1017 6s, but well ahead of its old rivals, \*Canterbury, £534, and \*Oxford, £465.

### The Jewry

From Davis's *Shetarothe* Lipman has constructed a more detailed topography of the Norwich medieval Jewry than is available for any other community, with the possible exception of \*Oxford. Only some 150 yards (137 m) from the outworks of the castle's main gate, the Jewry faced the south of St Peter Mancroft church, across the wheat, sheep and hay markets. William I's castle, on its vast mound, had been replaced with the great rectangular stone keep built by Henry I that, if somewhat heavily restored, we see today. Lipman analyses Jewish holdings, which he plots on a large-scale plan (his figure 13). The Norwich community (plots 1–17) was mostly in the rectangle of land between Haymarket and the Cockey Ditch, with White Lion Street on the north. The route to the castle crossed Orford Hill. Bungay Jews were concentrated in the square of land south of the Haymarket (plots 18–27), of which Abraham son of Deulecresse probably held plots 19–26. When this escheated to the Crown, it was described as property worth £100

with seven adjacent shops. Later it was called Abraham's Hall, and an inn on the site had a sign with Abraham offering Isaac as his sacrifice. To the west, a smaller block lay across what is now Church Street (plots 28–31). At the expulsion, details are provided of only eight properties.

Norwich boasts one of the most remarkable survivals, but least visited sites, of the English medieval Jewry. By 1225 Isaac of Norwich had moved almost a kilometre away from the Jewry, to the stone buildings that came to be known as the Music House, on the east side of King Street, where a wharf gave access to the river Wensum. It is now part of Wensum Lodge. (*See Houses.*)

The Norwich community had access to a local family of Jewish \*physicians, and their \*herb garden. A communal \*synagogue was in the heart of the Jewry, on a backland site close to the present Lamb Inn. The site of the cemetery referred to in 1200 is not identified, but will have been outside the walls. See also \*Jurnet, \*Isaac and \*Meir ben Elijah of Norwich.

□ Lipman (1967); Richardson (1960), 32–45, 61–2, 114 n. 2, 172–3; *PREJ*; *CR*; *CPR*; Gransden (1964), 10; *Diceto* (1876), 75; Langmuir (1984); McCulloh (1997); Stenton, 1 (1953), 155; C. Quennell, *The Cathedral Church of Norwich* (1898), 13–14; *AM*, IV, 193; Z. E. Rokéah, 'Jewish Church Robbers and Host Desecrators of Norwich, c.1285', *REJ*, 141 (1982), 331–62; Causton (2007), nos 144–81; Davis (1969), nos 1–94; Records of the City of Norwich, ed. W. Hudson & J. C. Tingey, 2 (1910), no. 27; J. R. Shinnars, 'The Veneration of Saints at Norwich Cathedral in the Fourteenth Century', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 40(2) (1988), 133–44

### **Norwich, Isaac of, c.1170–c.1235, and Family**

Eldest son of \*Jurnet of Norwich, whom he succeeded in 1197, Isaac was one of the leading financiers of his day. An incomplete \*pipe roll entry of that year refers to a reduction in his father's tallage, from 9000 marks (£6000) to £1221. Yet there is no record of any sums outstanding from the Guildford \*tallage in previous pipe rolls, and Isaac paid a \*relief of merely 1000 marks for his father's bonds. Throughout his life, like his father he showed great negotiating skills in his relations with the Crown, no more so than when he avoided the fate of his fellow magnate, Isaac son of Josce of \*Canterbury, who was hanged at King John's command. Isaac of Norwich was imprisoned at Bristol in \*1210, during the General Captivity of the Jews, but transferred to the Tower of London in 1213. He bought his life with the promise of a fine of 10,000 marks, to be paid at 1 mark a day, but was freed from tallage.

In 1217 Isaac renewed this promise, to the nine-year-old Henry III's Council of Regency. In return his bonds were handed to the prior of Norwich Cathedral for safe-keeping. In October the constable of Norwich castle was ordered 'to secure in our castle Isaac, his goods and people'. Isaac apparently established a firm working relationship with the powerful Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester and Henry's guardian and tutor. The \*sheriffs of six neighbouring counties were instructed to support him in the collection of both principal and \*interest from nominated debtors.



The means by which Isaac raised some of this money were questionable. In 1219 the Lincolnshire justices had suspicions over the ease with which he obtained royal writs of distraint. In the same year Isaac, suing the abbot of Westminster for repayment of debt, was the subject of complaints by the papal legate. In September he paid £604 into the royal exchequer, a sum evidently representing arrears of 906 days, some two and a half years, on his mark-a-day fine. This was put to good use, rebuilding one of the twin towers of Dover Castle's gateway, brought down in 1216 whilst the Dauphin was pursuing his claim to John's throne.

Also in 1219 Isaac was accused of sending a band of 22 men, all named, who

did destroy and waste the lands and chattels of Peter de Narford and his men, and break as well his as his men's houses and evilly beat and entreat the said men and did the said Peter and his men much loss beside and mischief to the great detriment of their bodies and chattels.

His gang included his squire, Hugh, and his brother, Walter. The only Jew apart from Isaac himself, Moses, was either his son or perhaps his agent, Mosse Mokke, who is shown with Isaac in the famous cartoon, drawn by a clerk on the 1233 tax roll, which can be seen on The National Archives website.

Isaac's deal with John being still operational, he made no contribution to the 1221–26 tallages. In 1231 Henry III granted him freedom from tallage for life, except for special levies. In 1221, through the agency of Peter des Roches, Isaac negotiated the reduction of his annual payments from 365 to 250 marks. Peter received a number of *douceurs*, including in 1223, as Vincent points out, delivery of 58,000 herrings to his manor of Southwark. The fine rolls record later reductions: to £100 a year in 1225, 100 marks in 1231, for a fine of ten palfreys, and in 1234 to 60 marks, a sixth of the original annual payment. The pipe rolls for 1241/42 show that after Isaac's death £4979 7s 19d was still owing, due at an annual rate of 40 marks.

A roll in the \*Westminster Abbey Muniments, listing debts paid before June 1239, gives details of Isaac's bonds, totalling £3668. Of this 58% came from seven wealthy clients, who had borrowed sums over £110: Philip de Naringes (Snoring), £647; William de Gyney (Gurney), £400; Baldwin son of Walkelin de Roky, £256; Walter son of Alexander of Quelnetham' (Whelnetham), £233; Peter de Narford's son, Peter, £200; Robert *le Gris* de Thurtun' (Thoroton), £168; and Warin de Wastunesham, £110. Although not baronial clients like those of \*Hamo of Hereford, to provide adequate security for such advances, they must have had manorial holdings of considerable size.

Despite the experience of 1190, Isaac felt secure enough c.1225, under the new regime, to quit his home close to the castle. He moved to the Music House, now part of Wensum Lodge, in King Street, facing the river, and obtained a royal licence to extend his private quay there. (*See Houses.*) This, together with his warehouses in King Street and house in \*Ipswich, another major East Anglian port, suggests a widening of the family's commercial interests to water-borne trade, a conclusion supported by Isaac's ownership at his death of six houses in \*Lynn.

Isaac died c.1235, leaving two sons, Moses and Samuel, who, after payment of relief, received two-thirds and one-third of the inheritance respectively. Fifteen years later, Samuel was joined by \*Aaron of York, Isaac son of \*Elias l'Eveske and Deulecresse son of Aaron son of Abraham, both of London, in paying 100 marks for debts totalling over £1377, 'formerly of Isaac of Norwich, Jew, which are in the king's treasury in London'.

Like their father and grandfather before them, Moses and Samuel were given the title of *haNadib*, that is 'generous', meaning patron of scholars and scholarship. In the 1239 list Moses' bonds were valued at £240. Next year his estate was divided between his three sons, Abraham, Hak and Jurnet, on the basis of 4, 3 and 1. In 1243 they were still under the guardianship of the York magnate, Leo *Episcopus*. Hak was imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1253 for unspecified 'crimes against the king's peace' and underwent conversion, presumably to save his life. As a result all his goods and chattels escheated to the Crown. Abraham, the eldest, who worked in partnership with his uncle, Samuel, was successful. He presumably continued the water-borne trade for, at his death in 1255, in addition to property in Norwich, he owned four houses in Lynn, another in \*Ipswich. He also had a house on Lothbury, London, probably inherited from Isaac, his grandfather, which had direct access to the *magna scola* to the rear.

□ *AHT*, 2 (1975); Lipman (1967), 89–91, 95–6, 103–12, 150, 246–9, figs 1 & 10; Vincent (1996a), 177–80, 182, 288, 363; *ODNB*, 'Norwich, Isaac of'; *PREJ*, I, 15–16; Henry III Fine Rolls Project, <http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk> (accessed 26 January 2013); Dent & Livock (1990), 12; Roth (1962), 22–3; Colvin, 2 (1963), 633 n. 6

### **Norwich, Jurnet of, c.1130–97**

Prominent twelfth-century financier. The first record of his transactions is in the early 1160s. Although Jurnet's base was in Norwich, his operations extended to \*London and across the country. His London mansion was on the south side of Lothbury, in the parish of St Margaret. Nearby on Lothbury, but in the parish of St Olave, was that of \*Aaron of Lincoln. Both would have had direct access to the *magna scola* (see Plan 7).

In 1169 Jurnet formed a syndicate with Aaron of Lincoln, very much as a junior partner, to provide Henry II with short-term loans; both men are recorded as receiving money *in soltis*. The 1174 \*pipe rolls record the discharge of an outstanding debt of £31 17s 4d from Bertha, daughter of Duke Conan III of Brittany and widow of Alan II the Black, earl of Richmond. In 1177 Jurnet and his younger brother, Benedict, formed another syndicate, with the Londoners Moses le Brun and Josce Quatrebouches, which in that year was paid almost £600 *in soltis* from the \*sheriffs of 15 counties. Yet it ended in disaster when, for an unspecified offence, they were obliged to pay a royal fine of £4000. This was shared according to their stake in the syndicate: Le Brun 50%, £2000; Jurnet a third, £1333 6s 8d; Benedict an eighth, £500; and Josce £166 13s 4d.

In 1183–84 Jurnet had to meet a further fine, of £4000. Jacobs, following Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* (1745), and subsequently Adler believed it was because his wife, Muriel, was a Christian, the heiress of Humfrey de Earlham. Richardson has shown this was not the case. Whatever the reason for the fine, Jurnet fled the country, having paid a mere 68 marks. His bonds were handed to the Jewry, which was now held responsible for his debts to the Crown. In 1186 Jurnet bought the royal goodwill and permission to return to England, for a fine of 2000 marks (£1333 6s 8d). His resources do not appear to have been unduly affected, as his contribution to the 'Guildford' tallage of that year was £6000, subsequently reduced to £1221.

Jurnet and Benedict figure prominently in Jocelin of Brakelond's *Chronicle* of the abbey of \*Bury St Edmunds during the difficult years when the aged Abbot Hugh had lost his sight and control of the house. The cellarer, who borrowed from Jurnet without authority and allowed the debt to grow, was sacked. Ultimately, Benedict was owed £1200, including compound \*interest. Another of Jurnet's clients was John of Oxford, bishop of Norwich 1175–1200. His bond, which is in the British Library's Cotton collection, shows that the interest was 2d per £1 per week. To Humfrey de Earlham, however, on the substantial security of his mill, Jurnet was prepared to advance 5s at interest of a mere ¼d a week.

In his later years, probably to ease the transfer of his bonds to the family after his death, Jurnet brought Muriel and his son, \*Isaac, and possibly also his daughter, Margalita, into the business. The family found security in the castle during the 1190 attack on the Norwich Jewry. How far this impacted on Jurnet's fortune is difficult to say, but his national standing is reflected in the individual contributions to the 1194 *Promissum*, when he ranked fifth, paying some £55, half the highest contribution, that of Jacob of \*Canterbury, £115 6s 8d. Of Norwich's total, Jurnet and Benedict paid 82%. After Jurnet's death in 1197, Isaac paid \*relief of 1000 marks for his bonds and other valuables. For family tree see Lipman (1967), 96.

□ Richardson (1960), 32–45, 61–3, 80–2; Lipman (1967), 95–103

### Norwich, Meir ben Elijah of

The Hebrew poems of Meir, one of the few poets of the medieval Anglo-Jewry, have been edited by A. M. Harbermann as an appendix, in Hebrew, to Lipman's *\*Norwich* (1967). We can be confident that he was a resident of Norwich, since the acrostic of his long poem on the Exodus reads: 'I am Meir, son of Rabbi Elijah from the city of Norwich, which is in the land of the Isle, called Angelterre ...'; and one of his shorter poems includes another acrostic, reading 'Meir son of Rabbi Elijah the *Hozeh* [seer]'. These are found in Vatican MS Ebr.402. As Lipman explains, they show 'the characteristics of the German-Northern French *Piyyut*' but also 'the influence of Spanish Hebrew poetry'. For Einbinder, like the poems of \*Jacob ben Judah of London, they suggest 'the relatively open embrace of Spanish styles by insular Jews'.

‘Put a Curse on my Enemy’, as Abulafia points out ‘woven together from quotations from the Hebrew Bible’, has been translated by Susan Einbinder. The poem is introduced as ‘A *me’orah* [a poem for the morning liturgy] ... on the heaviness in exile, the slayings in prison and financial ruin.’ This theme is often repeated in the text: ‘the land exhausts us by demanding payments and the people’s disgust is heard’; ‘they make our yoke heavier and they are finishing us off’; ‘they continually say of us, let us despoil them until the morning light’; ‘they put him in prison, where in twilight he hoped for the light’. Such are the sentiments of one whose faith was deeply shaken by the horrors that he witnessed: the plunderings, imprisonments and deaths his \*community suffered during the \*coin-clipping crisis of 1278–79, and the fate of Abraham son of Deulecresse.

□ Lipman (1967), 156–9, Appendix; Einbinder (2000), & (2002), 82, 107, 123 n. 62; Abulafia (2013); Roth (1949), 50–1; M. A. Krummel, ‘Meir b. Elijah and the Margins of Memory’, *Shofar*, 27 (2009), 1–23

## Nottingham

Shire town and river port on the Trent where, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a bridge carrying the road from London to York also served the *burh* as early as 924. Its castle (see Plan 9), built by the Conqueror on a virtually impregnable site on the sandstone crags, was the headquarters of royal government north of the Trent. To link it with the walled Anglian *burh* some 500 yards (457 m) east, a Norman borough was founded, with a vast new marketplace. St Mary’s church (1) continued to serve the *burh*, whilst St Peter’s (2) and St Nicholas’ (3) were built for the new borough.

Given its strategic position in the country, it is not surprising that, as the \*pipe rolls show, \*Aaron of Lincoln’s cash was held here at his death in 1186. The first reference to the Jewry comes in the Northampton *Promissum* of 1194 when four Jews – Josce of Leicester, Samuel Episcopus, Eleazar and Naamia – paid a total of £5 6s 4d. Of the 21 contributing communities it ranked fifteenth.

Nottingham was one of the 17 Jewries granted their own \*community by the Council of Regency by 1219. This carried with it the privilege of having a \*chest, and liability for paying \*tallage. It remained one of the smaller Jewries. In the 1221 tallage it was fifteenth of 17, paying £6 6s 9d; Brito’s was the largest assessment, £2 1s 9d. In 1223 Nottingham made the smallest tallage contribution, £11 9s 2d. Three years later it was eighteenth of 21, only \*Southampton, \*Huntingdon and \*Bedford paying less.

The receipt rolls show that in 1220, with Pictavin of \*Stamford, Brito ‘should have answered touching fines made by old charters’, that is money outstanding from the 1210 tallage. At the king’s mercy, he departed ‘without leave’. His son, Bonefei, sold his house, probably to meet his debts. The deed of sale, signed in Hebrew and with two green \*seals, (no. 242) is one of 70 Latin documents in \*Westminster Abbey archives published by Causton, which throw light on the operation of the \*chirographers and their chest between 1226 and 1272. Davis has published an additional 51 Hebrew Nottingham deeds spanning the years 1230–72.

### David Lumbard and Family, 1230–55

In the 1221 tallage David ranked merely third, and in 1223 was second of four, but by 1230 he was signing himself '*Ballivus Judaeorum de Nottingham*', collecting and disposing of the Jewry's funds 'for the king's works'. A hint as to his origins is given in a quitclaim where his son, Moses, describes him as 'David of London (*Londres*)'. David's charming interlineation, 'and Moses, my son', acknowledged their partnership. In 1237 twenty-one of David's bonds and four of his \*tallies were replaced in the Nottingham chest; they totalled merely £51 4s 8d, averaging less than £2 10s.

The \*1241 Worcester 'parliament', to discuss the distribution of a 20,000-mark tallage, marked a dramatic change in Nottingham's place in the communal hierarchy, and in David Lumbard's status amongst the English magnates. He led his delegation, accompanied by Deudone son of Deulecresse, Sampson Levy and Jacob son of Vives. Of Nottingham's known tallage receipts 1241–42, £299, the community paid less than £10, the rest being met by David and his family. Birmingham Library holds his \*tally for £102 13s 3d bearing the inscription '*de David Lumbard et fam' sua*'. Here in 1241 Isaac of Nottingham was operating as an \*attorney for \*Aaron of York, two of whose stars are illustrated by Adler.

Many local Jews having fled from the tax, the community was to receive free disposition of all their lands, chattels and bonds to recover their arrears. Nottingham ranked fifth, after \*York, \*London, \*Oxford and \*Canterbury. David's personal assessment, £400, placed him the sixth wealthiest member of England's Jewry. It was half that of the London magnates, \*Aaron I le Blund and Aaron son of Abraham. The justification for Lumbard's high assessment remains a mystery.

As guarantors of Nottingham's payment, Lumbard and his sons, Moses and Amyot, who was elected chirographer in 1241, faced serious financial difficulties. In 1244 their Jewry was confronted by a tallage demand for £95, more than \*Stamford at £66, \*Oxford £61 and \*Cambridge at £58. Of known payments, only \*Lincoln's, at £150, was larger. Two years later 12 bonds of David's daughter, Rachel, were taken from the chest to meet further demands. Amyot and his daughter, Muriel, experienced similar difficulties. Eight more of David's bonds, totalling over £30, and 15 of Amyot's were extracted by royal order to meet tallage arrears in 1251, after which David disappears without trace. In the Martinmas tallage that year Nottingham, assessed at £12, ranked twentieth; only \*Warwick paid less.

### Newcomers, 1253–90

Moses de Pavilly arrived in 1253. His was the largest contribution, £13 6s 8d, to a tallage in 1272. Next year, his widow paid \*relief on his estate, assessed at £37, with four of 'his better and clearer debts'. Jacob son of Jacob was now the principal Jewish moneylender in the borough.

A movement to fill the depleted ranks began on Moses' death in 1273. Isaac of \*Northampton gave 1 \*bezant 'to reside at Nottingham during the king's pleasure'. He

was followed by Isaac de Provyns and Moses of Sudbury, son of \*Moses de Clare, who each paid 3 bezants for 'a writ of leave to reside at Nottingham'. Moses senior, based at \*Sudbury, was a magnate with interests throughout eastern England. He sent his son from Lincoln, where he had been accused of 'withdrawing bonds from the chest without the king's mandate', to test the water at Nottingham. Isaac de Provyns had also been in trouble at Lincoln, owing the king the relief due for his father-in-law's chattels. However, he retained his house there until 1290. From the neighbouring Jewry of \*Stamford came Bateman son of Cresse, whose houses, lands and rents there had been seized by the Crown in 1273, and two years later Aaron son of Manser, who paid 1 bezant for licence to move.

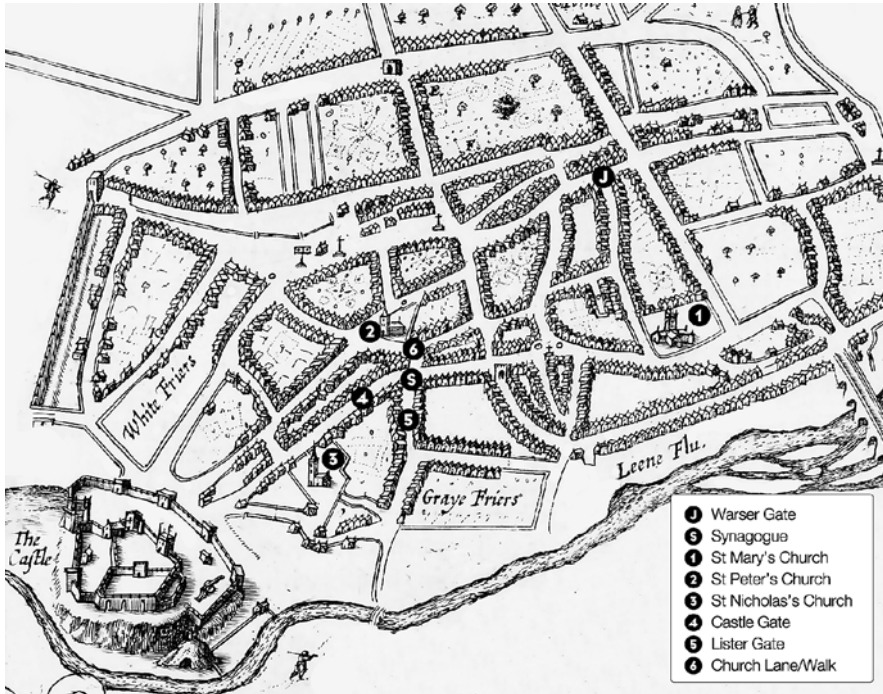
Initially the newcomers did not have an easy time. In 1273, for a writ commanding the \*sheriff to have them 'in ward (protection) and to be so treated as they were in his father's [Henry III's] reign', the community gave King Edward 4 gold bezants. The following year Jacob Cobbe 'of Lincoln' paid the king 2 bezants for a writ 'that he be not vexed by the sheriff'. In December 1276 Nottingham and London were the first towns to be visited by the commissioners charged with enquiry into 'Jews and Christians who clipped coins and accomplices who exchanged clipped for whole coins.' (See *Coinage and Coin-Clipping Crises*.) Fines and amercements for those found guilty of currency crimes at Nottingham totalled some £240.

By the late 1280s Nottingham's Jewry appears to have been prospering once more. Moses of Sudbury was nominated, with Isaac de Provyns, to represent Nottingham at the \*1287 'mini-parliament'. His father was the sole delegate for Sudbury, and his brother, Leo, one of the two representatives for Stamford. For the family's wider interests *see* Sudbury, Moses de Clare of.

In 1290 the value of the 60 bonds and two tallies in the Nottingham chest was some £520, considerably more than Oxford at some £452. Of the total, 85% was for cash, only £34 for grain and some £37 wool. Notably, three families of outsiders held some two-thirds of the total, over £340. The bonds held by Moses de Clare, with his sons, Moses, Isaac and Gente, and grandson Cresse, all in cash, totalled £191 7s 4d; those of Bateman, with his sons, Pictavin, Ursell and Hagin, £105 0s 4d; and of Isaac de Provyns, with his daughter, Floria, and son-in-law, Moses, £18 10s. A further £26 13s 4d was held by Vives of Suffolk who, like Moses of Clare, retained interests in Suffolk. He had a house at \*Ipswich until the \*expulsion.

### The Jewry

The Jewry was only some 120 yards (110 m) east of the Hen Cross and Cheapside in the marketplace. Its topography is illuminated by the Westminster Abbey archives. Two Latin deeds refer to the 'toft with buildings and appurtenances' of Brito, sold by his son Bonefei c.1221, as being in the ancient parish of St Mary-on-the-Wall, the church of the pre-Conquest *burh*. Shipman's plan shows this had been defended by a rampart and



Plan 9 Plan of Nottingham, from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611)

Source: © University of Bristol Library Special Collections.

ditch that lay parallel with the wall, just north of the present Warser Gate (J on Plan 9) and Woolpack Lane.

Four stars relate to Jewish residential property in what Davis translates, from the Hebrew, as 'Wall Street', now Warser Gate. In 1331 this was known as the *Wallesete*, in 1352 as the *Wallsete*, and in 1372 as 'the street called the Wallset'. This term, which the Hebrew scribes were seeking to express, comes from the Old English *weall*, 'wall', and *setu*, 'buildings', and therefore means 'buildings by the wall'; as EPNS points out, 'there was a strip of land between the street and the wall on which houses may well have been built'. In 1250, when Jekuthiel ben Abraham and Esther, his wife, sold their 'Wall Street' house to their son-in-law, Menahem ben Benedict, Wall Street is given as the boundary to both north and south, suggesting that the house was built on the site of the wall.

Three of the houses in *Wallesete* were acquired by Abraham ben Joseph Crespin. He and his wife, Chera, gave one to their grandson, Abraham, who having 'scarcely entered into possession of the house, affectionately given him by his grandparents', undertook to allow them to reside in it at their pleasure, and as long as they live. As tenants,

the grandparents, or either survivor of the two, are chargeable with a rental of 2s per annum. As this was conveyed in legal form, it would seem to indicate tax evasion. A not dissimilar arrangement is found at Lincoln, where in a starr of 1267 Master \*Benedict formally sold his son, Hagin, the house in which he was still living in 1290.

The \*synagogue (S on Plan 9) was not in the Jewry, in the early parish of St Mary, but in Norman St Peter's, some 500 yards (or metres) away. For the *scola* to be so far from the main area of Jewish settlement is most unusual. Its site is identified by three \*starrs, of 1257, 1260 and 1264, which refer to the transfer of a house in front of the *scola*, its boundaries being: on the east, the ground of Roger *le Franceys*; on the west, that of Richard Bugge; the north, the common highway; and the south, the synagogue with cellar below and the Marsh (Davis (1969), nos 116, 120, 127). From later deeds relating to the *Franceys* and Bugge properties, Violet Walker has shown that this house stood on the corner of Castle Gate (4) and what was then known as the Marsh, now Lister Gate (5). The house is mentioned again in a document of 1391, as that of Henry Plumptre, 'formerly called *Juscole*, in le Lystergate...in the street leading from the church of St Peter to the Graye Friers [Franciscans]', in the Marsh.

A *venella Judaeorum* is found in a document of 1315, *Julane* in 1414, *Jews Lane* 1724 and *Jew Lane* 1744. The *Historic Towns Atlas* identifies this as St Nicholas Street, which linked Hounds Gate with Castle Gate and the church, but this was too far away from both synagogue and Jewish settlement in Warser Gate to have been Jews Lane; as Walker points out, it was St Nicholas Street as early as c.1345. Further, in 1414 a building opposite Henry Plumptre's house, formerly *Juscole*, lay at the corner of *Julane*. Shipman and Walker point out that the *venella Judaeorum* (6) was Church Lane and Church Walk, now a mere path, which was en route for members of the Jewry going each Saturday from the *Wallesete* via St Peter's to their synagogue by the junction of Castle Gate, Low Pavement and Lister Gate. There is no record of a \*cemetery.

□ AHT, 1 (1969); PREJ, II, 34, 48, 51, 87, 103, 145, 151, 164, 167, & III, 44, 94; Causton (2007), nos 182–251; Davis (1969), nos 95–145; Adler (1939), facing p. 170; Stacey (1985), 199–202; Mundill (1998), 198–201; J. Shipman, *Notes on the Town Wall of Nottingham* (1899), 74; W. H. Stevenson (ed.), *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, I. 1155–1399 (1882), 116–19, 430, 439–40; EPNS, 17, *Nottinghamshire* (1940), 20–2; V. W. Walker, 'Mediaeval Nottingham: A Topographical Study', *Trans Thoroton Soc*, 67 (1963), 28–45

### **Oboli and Denarii de Musc'**

A gold obol is first recorded in England in 1190. At 16 to the £1, it was worth 1s 3d. Henry III used *oboli* as well as \*bezants to serve as appropriate oblations at major religious feasts. At \*Canterbury, Westminster Abbey and \*Bury St Edmunds his offering was usually 12 obols, that is 15s, the equivalent of 180 silver pennies. Hence its convenience to the Crown. In the 1192/93 \*pipe roll Benedict ben Isaac is described as owing Aaron of Lincoln £100 and one mark of gold in *oboli de musc'*. The obol weighed 2.3 grams, the *denarius de musc'* double that weight. The obols and *denarii* were coins of the Almohad



(Berber) empire that extended from Morocco to southern Spain. Carpenter suggests that *musc* comes from *Musceraves*, a contemporary form of “Mozarab”. He points out that it is often rendered *murc* and thus that these two coins probably originated from Murcia, the chief Almohad city on Spain’s Mediterranean coastline. They were particularly popular in the years 1204–22. In 1211 gold of *musc* was used for repairing, or making, the royal crown.

□ P. Grierson, ‘*Oboli de Musc*’, *EHR*, 66 (1951), 75–81; Carpenter (1985), & (1987), 108–9

### Ospringe, Kent

Only 10 miles west of \*Canterbury, on the busy Watling Street route between London and the shrine of St Thomas and the port of Dover, Ospringe was too small to sustain a Jewish \*community. Its only claim to fame was that c.1234 Henry III founded a hospital here for needy pilgrims and lepers. Here the Canterbury community found clients amongst the tenants of the masters of the Hospital of the Blessed Mary and of the *Domus Dei*. And here Canterbury’s Jews paid £2 to grind the community’s corn at the \*sheriff’s mill.

Roth, echoing Jacobs, has suggested that an attack may have taken place on Jews at Ospringe. However, the 1191/92 \*pipe roll entry relates to the vill being fined 10 marks for failing to take appropriate action when ‘one of the king’s Jews [was] discovered dead’. The entry is repeated as a result of non-payment by the vill. In 1255 a Samuel of Ospringe stood as pledge for the Canterbury community. In 1266 one of Canterbury’s Jews fined 1 mark for the right to reside at Ospringe, whilst another went to Sittingbourne.

□ Hillaby (2013), 52–3; E. Prescott, *The English Medieval, Hospital, c.1050–1640* (1992), 41–2, 135; Roth (1964), 21; Jacobs (1893), 144

### Oxford

County town, with a royal castle to the west of the borough, protected on its west by a branch of the Thames. The university was firmly established by 1184, when Gerald of Wales refers to ‘the doctors of the different faculties’.

Interest in the Jewry began in the 1660s, when the Oxford antiquary and historian, Anthony à Wood, identified some of its key features. In 1886 A. Neubauer, editor of the first volume of the *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian*, published a collection of documents relating to the Jews in Oxford. For the history of this \*community, however, we have to turn to Cecil Roth’s *Jews of Medieval Oxford*, which appeared in 1951 as volume 9 in the Oxford Historical Society’s New Series of publications. It includes chapters on personalities, intellectual life and Jews and the university, as well as a detailed analysis of the topography of the Jewry. Drawing on the rich documentary resources of the town, university and its colleges, Roth produced the most detailed and interesting study of a major provincial Jewry.

Oxford was home to one of the earliest recorded \*provincial Jewries. In 1141 the Empress Matilda, having taken the town, taxed the Jewry. On recapturing the town,

Stephen, although in general protective of the English Jewry, imposed a levy three and a half times greater. To encourage payment, he burned down Aaron ben Isaac's house, on the south-east corner of Carfax. Roth questions the reliability of the source, but concludes 'it is difficult to imagine [it] is entirely fictitious'. In 1159 Oxford was but a small community, ranking eighth of ten provincial Jewries, contributing £13 6s 8d to Henry II's *Donum*; only \*Gloucester and \*Worcester paid less.

The 1177 \*pipe roll provides one of the earliest records of an Oxford Jew. He is called Moses 'of \*Bristol', but there is no reference to him in that town. We know much of his family from the \*genealogy written some four years after the 1290 \*expulsion by his great-great-grandson, Moses of \*Northampton, son of \*Jacob of Oxford, in the back of his *siddur*, now Schocken Library, Jerusalem, MS 19522(73). Roth examined a photocopy of this document and detected that beneath the words 'of Bristowe' had been written 'of Gl ...', suggesting the nearby town of \*Gloucester, where a Jewry had been established by 1159. That was possibly the original port of disembarkation, c.1177, from which he made his way, via Bristol, to Oxford, the nearest major provincial community at that date.

Moses, also known as 'son of Isaac', quickly established a reputation as *haNadib*, patron of learning. His son, Yom Tov, was a scholar, the author of *Sepher haTenaim*, 'The Book of Conditions'. Its character is unknown, but Roth suggests that, given the family's interests, it may well have been grammatical. The book by Yom Tov's son, \*Master Moses, was entitled 'Ways of Punctuation and Notation'. For Roth Moses son of Isaac and his wife, Belaset, were the grandparents of 'the most famous family of England's medieval Jewry', who could trace their ancestry back to Rabbi Simeon the Great of Mainz, one of the major liturgical authors of the tenth and eleventh centuries. See *Genealogy of the Family of \*Master Moses and Genealogy 6*.

Relations between the citizens and the Jewry deteriorated badly in the 1180s, as described in the *Life* of Oxford's saint, Frideswide. Deulecresse, a son of Moses of Wallingford, laughing at the pilgrims in procession, declared that he could cure their maladies as effectively as the saint herself, and they should therefore make offerings to him instead. According to the *Life*, Frideswide caused Deulecresse to 'suddenly run mad and hang himself with his own girdle, in his father's kitchen'. His body was taken in a cart to London, followed, we are told, by 'all the dogs of the city'. Evidently Oxford Jewry did not yet have its own \*cemetery.

After her husband's death in 1186, Belaset continued the business with their sons, achieving considerable success. To the 1194 *Promissum* they paid £26 15s, nearly two-thirds of Oxford's contribution, £44 7s 2d, which stood midway amongst the 21 Jewries assessed. A recent arrival, Copin (Jacob) of Worcester, a younger son of that Jewry's founder, Bonefei, d.1192, paid a mere 6s 8d.

None of the principal members of the Jewry was apparently amongst the victims of King John's general imprisonment in 1210. However, as a consequence of arrears to the Bristol tallage of that year, Oxford's Jews suffered severely from royal cancellations of debt,

one amounting to some £1000; and the close rolls reveal numerous and arbitrary confiscations of Jewish property. As in \*London, the king's close associates were the beneficiaries of what Roth describes as 'wholesale spoliation'. Copin survived these hard years.

After \*1218, when Henry III's Council of Regency included Oxford amongst its 17 formally recognised Jewries, the community began to recover. Here William Marshal, *rector regni*, personally gave orders to the \*sheriff, as at Gloucester and Bristol, to supervise the elections of 24 citizens to ensure the safety of the Jewry, especially from crusaders.

Towards the 1000-mark 'Aid' in 1221 Oxford paid £27 8s 2d, some 4% of the total, ranking tenth. Copin, after some 30 years' residence now 'of Oxford', with his son, Bonamy, and son-in-law, Bonefei, paid about a quarter, £6 6s 6d. \*David 'of Lincoln', one of the 12 Oxford Jews pursued by the exchequer for arrears outstanding from the Bristol tallage, was to become one of the wealthiest members of the English Jewry. He paid more than half Oxford's contribution to the Aid, and in 1223 almost £50 of the £87 11s demanded. In consequence, by 1226 Oxford ranked sixth amongst the 21 communities. The receipt rolls show that in 1221 the community paid 4s 6d for dispensation from wearing the \*badge; David paid an individual fine for the same purpose of £1 14s 10d, and Sarra sister of Mulin, 2s 2d; in 1223 Isaac son of Elias paid 11d.

The first band of Dominican friars arrived in England in August 1221. Their express purpose, preaching, led them to settle in Oxford, the centre of English learning. Their first friary was in the heart of the Jewry, on the east side of Fish Street. Copin was to found a \*synagogue c.1228 a short distance to their south, almost opposite St Aldate's. The Dominicans played a significant role in the church council of the province of Canterbury held at Osney Abbey, near Oxford, in April 1222. Six of its provisions relating to the Jews were later adopted by Henry in his \*1253 Statute, which stands in marked contrast to the policies established by his Council of Regency in 1218.

The 1222 council also heard the case of the deacon who, according to the Dunstable annalist, 'through the love for a certain Jew' was circumcised. Having publicly renounced 'the new-fangled law of the false prophet Jesus' before the council, he was handed over to the secular arm – the sheriff, Falkes de Bréauté – and burned at the stake. Matthew Paris sought to embellish this account by adding that the former deacon had 'taken part in the sacrifice of a crucified boy'.

As Roth points out, this incident seems to have been confused with an entirely different episode, some 50 years later, c.1275, when Robert of Reading, a Dominican friar, 'an excellent preacher, and deeply skilled in the Hebrew tongue', was persuaded by his studies to apostatize. After his conversion 'he married a Jewess, was circumcised, and took the name of Haggai'. Edward I, finding him arguing his case in public with great boldness, handed him over to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Of his ultimate fate we are ignorant.

Six Oxford delegates attended the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament'. Led by David 'of Lincoln', they included Copin son of Bonefei who, 'brought up from infancy in Oxford',

has to be distinguished from Copin of Worcester, son of another Bonefei, d.1235. The other delegates were Copin of Worcester's sons, Bonamy and Vives, Samuel *le Fraunceys* and Mosse son of Diaie. Part of Henry III's purpose in calling the parliament was to break the grip of the super-plutocrats over the assessment procedure. In the subsequent readjustment of tallage apportionments, Oxford fared ill. Its tax contribution for 1239–42 was 12.3% of the total, exceeded only by those of London, 21.8%, and \*York, 47.6%. This was due principally to the dominant position of David who, like Leo Episcopus of York, was assessed at 2200 marks. Aaron of York, who as \*archpresbyter had been the Crown's principal adviser since 1236, had to find nearly treble that amount, 6000 marks.

The 1244 tallage payments are available for only nine provincial Jewries. The lack of details for the major communities at \*Winchester, \*Canterbury and York makes it difficult to place Oxford securely in the hierarchy. As David had died in February, and his second wife, \*Licoricia, had returned to Winchester, it is not surprising that Oxford, paying £61 13s 4d, came after \*Lincoln, £150 12s 3d, \*Nottingham, £95, and even \*Stamford, £66 10s.

Students provided a constant demand for small loans, but also a general sense of social unrest. The gaol over the North Gate had been used since 1231 for curbing the most troublesome. At the feast of the Annunciation in 1244, students launched a large-scale attack on Jewish houses, which they plundered thoroughly. The arrival of the sheriff and the arrest of 45 malefactors restored order. In 1248 Henry III intervened by fixing the \*interest rate on student loans at 2d per £1 per week, that is 43% annually, and forbidding compound interest. Conflict between town and gown was to become a permanent feature of Oxford's civic life. The close roll of that year describes the Jews violently assaulting the house of John Mansel, one of Henry's principal advisers, and beating his family. The sheriff, who was to despatch those 'guilty or suspect' to the Fleet Prison in London, was accused of 'liberating those he had properly imprisoned'.

The early 1250s saw accusations of \*coin-clipping brought against the Oxford Jews Lumbard of Cricklade and Gamaliel son of Meir. Both were released, but the former had to pay 3 gold marks to the Crown. By 1257 Gamaliel had moved to London. In the 1255 tallages of July and October Oxford was fifth, after London, Winchester, Lincoln and Canterbury – an indication of some recovery? A scrutiny of its \*chest in 1262 revealed 45 bondholders, some bearing place names from beyond the town. A number may have been immigrants like Isaac *le Fraunceys*, who in 1252 had paid the Crown 4 \*bezants to move here from Winchester. By the 1270s Henry III, anxious to restore the Jewry's prosperity after the \*Montfortian attacks, accepted as little as 1 bezant for migration to \*Nottingham, but to leave Worcester for Oxford in 1275, Moses son of Bonefei paid 4 bezants.

Oxford served as Henry III's headquarters during the baronial wars. In 1263 he expelled the students from the town. Many joined de Montfort's forces. Oxford's Jews enjoyed protection until the royalist defeat at Lewes. In June 1265 Simon de Montfort

junior, on his way to the west to support his father, rested here for a few days. Some bonds were lost, but the Jewry apparently escaped the devastation wrought on the Winchester community in June.

In 1268 it was alleged that a Jew had seized and broken the silver processional cross, carried before the chancellor of the university on Ascension Day. As the malefactor could not be found, the community was held responsible and imprisoned. Henry III ordered that, as reparation, in addition to replacing the processional cross, the Jewry provide a monumental cross of 'marble, beautiful and high, well cut and polished, with images in gold of the crucifixion on one side and Virgin and Child on the other'. This memorial he intended should be erected at the site of the incident, but popular pressure was for it to be placed in Fish Street, facing the synagogue. Instead Henry ordered it to be erected close to St John the Baptist's church. It fell during Henry VI's reign, but its laconic inscription is recorded by \*Tovey. The silver processional cross, similar in size to those carried before archbishops, was to be kept at St Frideswide's, now the cathedral.

Control of the Jewry lay with the sheriff, but in the 1270s 'contention' arose when the Jews alleged that he 'inflicted certain injuries and grievances on them'. As a result a commission recommended that custody be transferred to the mayor and bailiffs. The Jews evidently rued their action, for in December 1276 they petitioned Edward I for return to the custody of the sheriff.

The most significant Oxford Jew of the later thirteenth century, for Roth, was \*Jacob, a son of \*Master Moses. A property owner and developer, he sold a tenement close to St John's church, in what is now Merton Street, to Walter de Merton, Chancellor 1261–63 and founder of Merton College, which retains his deed of sale, MCR 188, dated 28 February 1267. Written in Latin, subscribed by Jacob in Hebrew, the deed with its seal can be seen on the Oxford Jewish Heritage website. Jacob also sold property on the north side of Pennyfarthing Lane to the College.

The impact of the coin-clipping crisis of the later 1270s was deeply felt. Few Oxford Jews were as fortunate as Lumbard of Cricklade's son Bonefei, who for 200 marks received 'the king's grace'. Amongst those executed were Benedict of Winchester's widow, Elekin *f.* Bassa, Aaron de la Rye, Vives le Lung, Motta of Oxford, Isaac father of Akechun and Bonevie son of Vives. Cash from amercements, fines and sales of chattels in Oxfordshire collected by Philip de Wileby totalled £923 os 8½d; with the £130 paid into the Royal Wardrobe in March 1279, it exceeded Lincoln's £951. The property of Jews 'condemned at Oxford' included a considerable number of \*books 'of their laws and others', on which Edward I, evidently fearing their contents, ordered that 'no judgment [for sale] be given'. They were eventually sold, for £126, to \*Aaron son of Vives, 'Jew of Edmund brother of the king', probably for the \*synagogue in Catte (Gresham) Street, which he had presented to the \*London community.

Oxford's delegates to the \*1287 'mini-parliament' were Lumbard's son, Bonefei, and grandson, Vives le Petit, and Isaac, son of Aaron of Worcester, who had come to Oxford,

with his father, after the closure of their Jewry. Aaron and Isaac were indicted for killing Robert, gatekeeper and gaoler at the castle, but received a royal pardon, having given themselves up for trial. Aaron may well have been the eldest son of Hak (Isaac), leader of the Worcester community 1231–68. A Jacob of Oxford was amongst the creditors named in a charter of the debts totalling some £3000 due from Reading Abbey, forged with counterfeit seals, it was alleged, by Josce, a Jew of \*Devizes.

### 1290 Returns

Of 23 Jews listed in the 1290 returns of bonds and houses, 16 had bonds, totalling £465 16s 4d: £285 1s 8d in grain; £150 13s 4d in 19 sacks of wool; and £30 1s 4d in cash. Half the total was held by Bonefei son of Lumbard of Cricklade: £131 5s in grain bonds and £100 13s 4d in sacks of wool. The next largest holding was that of his brother-in-law, Isaac, £57 10s in grain and wool bonds. Seven members held less than £7 – clear confirmation of the decline of what had been a proud community.

Nine property owners are listed, seven of whom held no bonds. What sets Oxford apart from other Jewries in 1290 is the high value of the properties, second only to York. Five houses had valuations above £1, as compared to two out of 27 at Lincoln. Bonefei's house was valued at £1 6s 8d per annum; Margalicia, widow of Vives of Gloucester, £1 5s 5d; Sara widow of Benedict l'Eveske, £2 13s 4d; Pya widow of Benedict of Caus, £1 7s; and Benedict de la Cornere, 'with cellar', £1 4s. The lowest valuation was 9s 7¼d. The explanation probably lies in the demand for high quality city-centre accommodation amongst the academic community, as the career of Jacob son of Master Moses indicates. David of Oxford's house was granted by Henry III to London's *Domus Conversorum* in 1245. Consequently it came to be known as 'House of \*Converts', thus misleading some into believing that Oxford had its own *Domus*.

### The Jewry

Our knowledge of the topography of Oxford's medieval Jewry is detailed. The cartularies of St Frideswide's and the hospital of St John, the muniments of Merton, Balliol and Oriel Colleges, the city documents and the 1279 hundred rolls provide a wealth of documentary evidence for its buildings in the thirteenth century. In the 1660s Anthony à Wood used such evidence to locate the sites of the community's \*synagogue, David of Oxford's house and the \*cemetery. About 1228 Copin (Jacob) of Worcester exchanged two tenements, virtually opposite St Aldate's church, for property adjacent to his home which St Frideswide's cartulary described as 'the house called synagogue'. At the expulsion the synagogue was valued at £1. The site is now under the quad and west front of Christ Church College.

Building on the work of Wood and Salter, plans of the Jewry were provided by Roth, who in 1951 identified some 24 properties fronting the Great Jewry, and Manix, 2004. These locate sites belonging to the community and its members, mostly on either side

of Fish St, now St Aldates, some in St Martin's parish. A stone set into the wall of the Town Hall bears the inscription: 'This street known till 1300 as Great Jewry contained many houses of the Jews including the synagogue.' Oxford Castle was only some 218 yd (200 m) to the west of the Jewry.

The original cemetery was outside the walls, on either side of the road between East Gate and the Cherwell. In 1231, however, Henry III granted the master and brethren of St John's Hospital 'the Jews' Garden...reserving to the Jews space for a burial ground'. This plot, on the south, was some 300 by 90 ft (91 by 27 m), and subject of excavations in 1986–87 by Brian Durham and others. A stone placed by the Rose Garden in the Botanic Garden in 2012 records the site. Parts of St John's Hospital were incorporated into Magdalen College, founded 1458. Steane has suggested that 'an ashlar-lined culvert' uncovered during recent excavations may have been a *\*mikveh*. However, it lacks the stone basin in which female immersion could take place, as at the London sites in Milk Street and close to the Guildhall, as well as the many examples in Germany. 'An ashlar-lined culvert' is characteristic of a monastic *rere-dorter*. For plans of the Oxford Jewry see Roth (1951) and Oxford Jewish Heritage Committee, established by the Oxford Jewish Congregation (OJC) at <http://www.oxfordjewishheritage.co.uk/oxford-jewish-heritage/medieval-period/maps> (accessed 26 January 2013).

□ Roth (1951) and (1957); A. Wood, *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford Composed in 1661–6*, ed. A. Clark, OHS, 15 (1889), 154–60; A. Neubauer, 'Notes on the Jews in Oxford', *Collectanea*, 2, OHS, 16 (1890), 278–314; *Oxford Deeds of Balliol College*, ed. H. E. Salter, OHS, 64 (1913), 91–123; *A Cartulary of the Hospital of St John the Baptist*, 1 & 3, ed. H. E. Salter, OHS, 66 & 69 (1914 & 1917); *Survey of Oxford by the Late H. E. Salter*, ed. W. A. Pantin, 2 vols, OHS, NS, 14 & 20 (1960 & 1969); F. W. Maitland, 'The Deacon and the Jewess', *TJHSE*, 6 (1908–10), 260–74; *RR*, 1220–22, nos 2112–19, 2717–28, & 1223–24, nos 1323–3, 1558–67; *Rot Litt Claus*, I, 359; *CS*, Ili, 120–1; Tovey (1738), 8–9, 174–84; Mundill (1998), 201–4, & (1991); Manix (2004); Rokéah (2000), nos 537, 716; Durham (1991); Steane (2001). For Lumbard and Bonefei of Cricklade see Mundill (1991)

### Oxford, David of, d.1244

For Roth, David was 'without doubt one of the most prominent English Jews of his day'. He is described as 'of \*Lincoln' until 1241, but he paid £14 5s, more than half Oxford's contribution to the 1221 tallage. This placed him ninth amongst the English magnates. At the same time he paid 5s as his arrears of the 'Bristol' tallage of 1210. A \*starr in the Oseney Cartulary refers to him as *David filium Asseri*, suggesting that he was the son of Asser Lumbard, one of the Lincoln tallage payers to the 1194 *Promissum*. If so, the Mosse son of Asser who paid £1 7s 4d to the Lincoln Aid of 1221 was his brother.

Although the Oxford Jews had already paid 4s 6d for communal relaxation from wearing the \*badge in 1221, David made two personal payments, of 1s and £1 13s 10d, 'with duplicate' for such exemption. One is tempted to ask whether David had yet been accepted as a member of the Oxford \*community, but Sara, sister of Mulin, also paid for this privilege, *cum duplo*.

From 1221 until his death in 1244 David towered over Oxford's Jewry. With \*Aaron and \*Leo of York, \*Aaron I le Blund, Aaron son of Abraham of London and \*Hamo of Hereford, d.1231, he was one of the magnates who dominated the medieval Anglo Jewry for some two decades. Confirmation of David's national status comes with the tallage of 1223, when he ranked third, paying £49 7s 6d of Oxford's total, £87 11s. Only Aaron le Blund of London and Hamo of Hereford paid more, £50 and £70, respectively.

Unlike \*Isaac of Norwich, David was prepared to lend to some of the greater magnates of the realm: Simon de \*Montfort and his wife, Eleanor, Henry III's sister; and Walter de Lacy, lord of Ludlow, Weobley, the Welsh March of Ewias, and Meath in Ireland. The fine rolls show that at his death de Lacy owed him £150. David's partners included Hamo of Hereford, Aaron of York and Isaac of Norwich. His response in 1235, when Pope Gregory IX remonstrated to Henry III that he and others were charging immoderate rates of \*interest, was to 'deliver [in person] to the wardrobe, by order of the king, £100 as a gift'. Nothing further was heard of Gregory's complaint.

In 1236 David protested to the king that he had been over-tallaged. Henry ordered the justices of the Jews to ensure he was not over-assessed at the next tallage. The following year, however, with Aaron and Leo of York, David was commanded to distrain Jews who had not fulfilled their commitments to the 3000-mark tallage granted to Richard earl of Cornwall for his pilgrimage preparations. In 1238 he and seven other magnates were ordered to enquire about Jews who were 'clippers of \*coins, thieves and receivers'.

David led Oxford's six delegates to the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament'. The purpose of the meeting was to consider the distribution of tallage following the distress caused to poorer members of the Jewry by the Third of \*1239. Detailed precautions were introduced to ensure that 'no one may be injured by hatred nor spared by love or affinity'. This spelled retribution for the three plutocrats who had been brought in to distrain their lesser members in 1237. Aaron of York was assessed at 6000 marks, David and Leo 2200 each. Between them, these three were responsible for payment of more than half the tallage.

Lacking an heir, David decided in 1242 to divorce his wife, Muriel, and remarry. Her family, led by Peytevin the Great of Lincoln, probably her brother, maintained this was in conflict with the ruling of Rabbi Gershom of Mainz, that a woman should not be divorced without her consent. They therefore questioned the legality of David's actions. Unwisely, they submitted their case to a French \*bet din, which followed Gershom's ruling.

This played straight into David's hands. Appeal to an external authority challenged two of the basic principles on which the English community rested: first, the Crown's insistence that 'the Jews and all they have are the king's', and second the Talmudic ruling, *dina de-malkhuta dina*, 'the law of the land is the law'. Henry III, enraged by this resort to a foreign court, ordered that David was not to be 'coerced by the Jews to take or hold any woman to wife, except of his own free will'. It is not known how long David and



Muriel had been married, but Ashkenaz men were expected to wait ten years before initiating divorce on the grounds of the wife's barrenness. David granted Muriel the property in St Edward's parish, Oxford, later known as Ape Hall, on a repairing lease.

David married \*Licoricia of Winchester, a major financier in her own right, and mother of three sons. In 1243 she bore him the son he desired who, following tradition, was called Asser or Asher, after his paternal grandfather, but in the records appears mostly as Sweteman. He was to inherit Muriel's house, and in 1287 scratched an inscription on the cell wall in \*Winchester castle, discovered by John Selden in the seventeenth century.

David died in 1244. Licoricia was liable for the payment of the customary \*relief, one-third the valuation of his estates. At 5000 marks, this was the third largest ever levied, after those of Leo of York, 7000 marks in the same year, and Hamo of Hereford, 6000 marks in 1231. To prevent flight or fraud, Licoricia was lodged in the Tower, with David's chattels and bonds, in the custody of 'six of the richer and discreter Jews'. Included in the assessment was David's \*library. This gave the exchequer clerks some concern, for they were ordered to make a 'scrutiny whether any book be found against the law of the Christians or Jews and if such be found let it be condemned'. A bible, a glossed psalter and a number of decretals went into Henry III's own collection.

David's mansion was on the east side of Fish Street, now St Aldate's, between Blue Boar Lane and Carfax. Known as 'the House with the Stone Chamber', it had belonged to Joscepin son of Isaac who, in an attempt to retain it during John's reign, had converted to Christianity. David acquired it in 1228 by paying off lengthy arrears, and offering Henry III a pair of gold spurs annually as a *douceur*. On David's death the king granted the annual rental of the house and adjacent property, valued at £5 6s 8d, together with all David's household possessions, including his clothes, to the *Domus*, his foundations for converts in what is now Chancery Lane in London. Thus, to the confusion of some historians, it acquired the misleading name, 'House of \*Converts'. See also Winchester, Licoricia of.

□ M. D. Davis, 'An Anglo-Jewish Divorce, 1242', *JQR*, 5 (1892), 158–65; Roth (1951), 46–57, & (1957); *Excerpta*, I, 418; *RR*, 1220–22, nos 929, 2119, 2422, 2722, & 1223–24, 1564, 1952, 1955; *CChR*, 1228, 76; *CR*, 1241, 353

### **Oxford, Jacob, son of Master Moses, d.1277**

As Roth points out, there was 'an embarrassing number of Jacobs of Oxford'. He names 13. Master Moses' son was apparently 'Jacob of London' in Oxford and 'Jacob of Oxford' in London, with his father's name usually appended. Termed *haNadib* in his son's \*genealogy, Jacob was for Roth the most significant figure in the thirteenth-century Oxford Jewry. An urban property owner and developer rather than financier, he had an interest in at least 20 holdings in Oxford, with others in London and York, many having been purchased from fellow Jews. In 1244–45 he was serving as one of the \*chirographers.

Jacob's fame rests on his close association with the college founded by Walter de Merton, royal chancellor 1261–63 and 1272–74 and bishop of Rochester, 1274–77. In February 1267 Jacob, described as 'Jew of London', and his wife, Henna, granted 'the scholars and brothers of Merton College our houses with appurtenances' in St John the Baptist Lane, now Merton Street, 'within the walls of Oxford', for £20. The witnesses were Adam Feteplace, mayor, ten other Christians, and four named Jews. Jacob wrote in Hebrew, 'all written above in the Latin language, without deletion or correction, I have admitted, written and sealed for myself, my wife and heirs that it shall be valid and established'. The original document, with his seal attached, is still amongst the Merton College Muniments, MCR 188, dated 28 February 1267. 'The *Graven Image* upon this Seal', Tovey commented, 'can't be thought a Breach of the *Second Commandment*; for (tho' it is an exact Copy from the Original,) it is the Likeness of nothing that is in *Heaven, Earth* or *Water*.' Jacob's heraldic beast appears to be a 'Gryphon', with the lion's ears and eagle's beak, but lacking the latter's wings. Deed and seal can be seen on the Oxford Jewish Heritage website.

Jacob's ability as a developer is illustrated by the story of a building he acquired some distance beyond the north gate and town walls, close to St Giles's church, at the fork of the present Banbury and Woodstock roads – then not a favoured location. The \*1271 Statute ordained that no Jew could own houses except for their own occupation or that of other Jews. Lumbarde of Cricklade, who had a property nearby, merely demolished the building and sold the material as scrap, but Jacob had his house carefully dismantled 'to the very foundations'. 'The stone and wood... was carted into the city to build a fair hall, *aula*', which Roth took to be accommodation for students, in Pennyfarthing Lane, now Pembroke Street, opposite St Aldate's churchyard. This he sold to Merton College. Jacob's re-erection of a high quality half-timbered building on this desirable site proved to be a simple way of achieving an enhanced return.

Despite the 1271 Statute, a few months later Jacob was confirmed in his purchase of nine properties in Oxford; land and houses in St Stephen Colman Street and St Margaret Lothbury parishes in London; and another in York. Jacob evidently had a patron at court. This may well have been his business associate, Walter de Merton, who was justiciar in that year and, on Henry III's death in 1272, reappointed to the chancellorship by the royal council. Shortly after Queen Eleanor's return from crusade in March 1273, Jacob had the dubious honour of being assigned to 'receive her gold in her name at the Exchequer and to keep it safe' (*see* Queen's Gold). The barons of the exchequer were therefore to 'admit the Jew to this [office] and have him inducted to act in all matters for her benefit'.

From the close rolls we learn that later Jacob was not of 'right mind'. By June 1276 Eleanor had replaced him with \*Benedict of Winchester. Some six months afterwards, Jacob died. Having paid the \*relief, his widow, Henna, and sons, Moses and Benedict, received his goods, chattels and properties; but later Queen Eleanor maintained that, while in Gascony, Edward had granted her all the 'profits' of Oxford, including the

Jewry, with Jacob and all his estates. His house, Jacob's Hall, was on a plot of land that, as Roth and Manix show, extended from the Shambles to the west of Carfax to the fish stalls to the south in Fish Street. Arbitrarily setting aside the established custom of the Jewry, and ignoring Jacob's services as keeper of her gold, Eleanor deprived his family of the two-thirds adjudged to them. The records suggest that Moses nevertheless managed to retain some of his father's manifold assets.

After Jacob's death Moses moved from Oxford to \*Northampton, and was one of that Jewry's representatives at the \*1287 'mini-parliament'. At the \*expulsion his was the most substantial Jewish property in Northampton. His Oxford house, near the synagogue in St Aldate's, Oxford, he had sold in 1281 to John of Kent, son of the current keeper of the queen's gold. The expulsion returns show Moses paying 17s 2d a year to St Frideswide's and 1s 3d to John the Goldsmith, suggesting he had leased it back.

The patent rolls report that the bailiffs, barons and sailors of the Cinque Ports were ordered not to molest Moses quitting the realm with his wife, children, household and goods, but to secure them a safe and speedy passage at moderate charges. In exile, probably in Germany, he wrote his family's genealogy in his *siddur*, tracing the line back to Rabbi Simeon the Great of Mainz.

□ *PREJ*, I, 105; Roth (1951), 68–78, 138–47; Manix (2004), plans; Parsons (1995), 126–7, 140; *Excerpta*, II, 555

**'Parliament'** *see* 1241, Worcester 'Parliament'

## Pawnbroking and Pledges

For Richardson pawnbroking, 'probably the most extensively practised of Jewish trades, necessarily implies skill in the repair and furbishing of jewellery and plate, clothing and armour, to make them readily saleable'. The records of the English Jewry are almost silent on pawnbroking which, unlike lending at \*interest, was not an activity on which taxes could be levied with any facility. Richard I's charter of \*1190 authorised Jews to sell 'their pledges after ... a full year and a day'. The most detailed evidence comes from lists of articles accepted as security for small loans and included with household property of Jews condemned for \*coinage offences. These are found in the pipe and chancellor's rolls for 1278, 1279 and 1286, which have been studied by Rokéah, and a section of the unpublished \*pipe roll of 1285, by Adler.

The chattels of Hak le Prestre of \*Bristol, for example, included a book called 'the little volume' and a bible in poor condition, sold for £1; 8 brooches and 14 gold rings of the weight of 7s 5d, for £2 4s 6d; a basin, a dish, 3 cups with covers, 12 cups with feet and 7 without, all of silver, weighing £22 15s 2d, for £20 9s 8d; 75 spoons, with broken silver weighing £8 6s 8d, for £7 1s 9½d; 1 crimson robe with mantle, another of blue, a robe of threefold camlet with mantel, 5 hoods and 5 napkins, £4 8s; 21 mazers, usually of maple, and a cup of *cavele* (windfallen wood), £2 7s 2d; 30 silk girdles, a knife, a tressor (box for tresses) and 2 chaplets, £2 13s 4d; total £40 4s 7½d.

Surprisingly, \*Benedict of Winchester, one of the most important Jewish financiers of the late thirteenth century, was apparently involved in pawnbroking. Chattels in his possession, valued at less than £50, included a silver cup 'pawned to' Benedict, 124 gold rings and 28 silk girdles. Nevertheless, as the patent rolls reveal, Henry de \*Dernegate was fined '1000 marks for having in his possession a quantity of the goods of the condemned Benedict'.

Richard's charter, based on that of Henry II (1154–89), forbade Jews to 'accept and buy... things belonging to the Church'. Nevertheless, in the twelfth century a number of senior English churchmen had few scruples about using their church property as security to raise funds for their favourite projects. Bishop Nigel of Ely, 1133–69, famed for his concern for 'the vanities of this world', pledged Ely Cathedral's relics, including the golden crucifix given by King Edgar, 959–73, to 'a Cambridge Jew'. \*Aaron of Lincoln received the cathedral's 'ornaments' as security for the loan of £300 to Bishop Robert de Chesney (1148–66). Howden recounts in the *Gesta Regis* that in 1175 William of Waterville, abbot of Peterborough, supported by men with weapons, seized his church's most precious relic, the arm of St Oswald, the Northumbrian king, to give it to Jews as a pledge for money.

The practice evidently came to be adopted by lesser member of the clergy. As early as 1175 the Council of Westminster forbade Jews to occupy church lands or take revenues from churches. There was a stronger reaction in the early thirteenth century, led by the violently anti-Judaistic William of Blois, bishop of \*Worcester 1218–36, who was appointed to the see by the papal legate. At his diocesan synod in 1219 the pawning or transfer by other means of books, vestments or other ecclesiastical ornaments to Jews was prohibited. The Oxford provincial council of 1222 went so far as to prohibit all monastic borrowings from Christian or Jews. The synodal statutes of \*Winchester made similar provision in 1224, extending the prohibition of pledging to church lands, and applying it to abbots and priors as well as rectors. The Worcester article evidently had little impact, for Blois repeated it at a synod ten years later.

□ Richardson (1960), 27; Adler (1935a), 56–71; Rokéah (1973–75), & (1993), 172; K. R. Stow, 'Papal and Royal Attitudes towards Jewish Lending in the Thirteenth Century', *Assoc for Jewish Studies Review*, 6 (1981), 161–84; CS, III, 55, 131, 149, 177; Howden, *Gesta*, 1 (1867), 106

## Physicians and Surgeons

The earliest recorded Jewish physician is in sixth-century Merovingian Gaul. The office carried occupational hazards, however. When Charles the Bald, king of the Franks, died in 877, his Jewish physician, Sedechias, was charged with poisoning him.

Sephardic physicians were justifiably renowned. The first recorded, Hasdai ibn Shaprut (c.915–70), served the caliphs of Cordoba, Abd-ar-Rahman III (912–61) and his son, Hakam II, as both physician and diplomat. He was also a powerful patron of Hebrew poets, grammarians and others. (See *Jews and the Court*.) In 958 Sancho, king

of Leon and Navarre, travelled to Toledo, for Hasdai to attend him there. Joseph ibn Ferrizuel (Cidellus) was personal physician and adviser to Alfonso VI, king of Castile and Leon, d.1109. In Aragon, Sheshet Benveniste was *alfaquim*, physician, to Alfonso II of Aragon (1164–96) and Pedro II, his successor. Isaac Benveniste served James I (1213–76), one of the greatest Aragonese kings, who was admonished by Pope Honorius III for employing Benveniste and other Jews on diplomatic missions to Islamic states – in reality, probably for permitting Isaac to visit Rome in 1215, where he canvassed against the introduction of the \*badge. Eleanor of Castile's mother, Queen Joanna, second wife of Ferdinand III (1217–52), was attended by a Jewish physician.

Through the works of Arabic authorities, particularly the *Canon of Medicine* of ibn Sina, Latinised as Avicenna (980–1038), the Sephardic Jewry was the heir to the traditions of Greek medicine in general, and Galen and Hippocrates in particular. Maimonides (1135–1204), the author of at least ten extant medical texts, is reported to have attended Saladin himself, and members of his family. In *Torat ha-Adam* another Sephardi, Moses ben Nahman (Ramban) of Gerona (1194–1270), codified the law governing diseases and their cures, the legal status and responsibility of physicians, the relaxation of religious law when life is under threat, and laws of *viddui*, concerning confessional prayer on the approach of death.

## England

The *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus \*Alfonsi, born at Huesca in Aragon, provides the earliest reference to a Jewish-born physician living in England. In a fourteenth-century Cambridge University manuscript of his *Dialogue* (MS II.6.11), he refers to himself as 'Petrus Amphulsus, servant of Jesus Christ, physician to Henry I, king of England'.

The \*London Jewry's fine of £2000 in 1130, 'for the sick man whom they killed', was probably a further instance of the professional hazards that a Jewish physician faced when attending Christian patients of high social status. As Grayzel points out, the Church issued frequent warnings against the use of Jewish physicians because of the threat of poison. In his *History*, William of Newburgh describes how, on the day following the 1190 massacre at \*Lynn,

a certain Jew, who was a celebrated physician, arrived and, on account of his skill and orderly behaviour, was held in honour and treated with familiarity by Christians as well, but he, deploring the slaughter of his people rather immoderately, and prophesying vengeance, roused a fury that was yet breathing. The Christians soon seized him, making him their last victim.

Cecil Roth drew up a list of 18 Jews with occupational names such as *Medicus*, *Mire* (Old French for 'physician, surgeon'), *Leech*, *Physician* and *Cyrurgeon*. The majority are of London, three of Norwich, three of \*York and one each of \*Bristol and \*Bedford. The list of arrears of London Jews for the Guildford tallage in 1190 included Isaac *Medicus* and Josce *fil' Medici*. At York in 1208 were Ursellus *Medicus* and Deodonatus *Medicus*.

## Pipe Rolls and Related Sources

To the \*Third of 1239 Milo *Medico* of London paid 2s 5½d, only 1d more than Pictavin *carnifice*. A \*starr of 1266 refers to Rabbi Isaac the Leech and his sons, Rabbi Samuel and Rabbi Solomon the physician, at \*Norwich. Solomon was known as 'Salle *le Mire*'. His \*herb garden in Saddlegate, now White Lion Street, adjoined his father's house, where he still lived in 1290. A Sampson *le Mire*, 'taken with a silver plate', died in the Tower of London c.1277.

Most famous of England's Jewish physicians was \*Master Elias, son of \*Master Moses. As he put it, 'my name is known much in distant lands at more than its true value (which is nought)'. In 1280 he was called by the count of Flanders to attend personally on his nephew, John, count of Hainault, who was suffering from a serious malady. Shatzmiller draws attention to dozens of Jewish \*women licensed to practise medicine in France, Italy and Spain, but no such evidence is available in England.

## Surgeons

The 1273 \*plea rolls record a Sampson *le Chirurgien* of London. The pathology section of the report on the excavation of the Jewbury \*cemetery at \*York in 1982–83 describes remarkable evidence of surgery to treat a penetrating cut across the top of a skull. Inspection of the skull revealed the widening of the injury and a number of scratches, possibly the result of slipping of the instrument used for cutting the bone. This, it is suggested, represents 'an attempt to open up the wound for cleaning purposes'. As to the quality of the work, lack of inflammation and some remodelling of the bone speak for themselves. The cut may represent an attempt to remove the blade that caused the wound. Either way this reveals considerable surgical knowledge and skill. Sadly the evidence indicates that the victim survived for only a short period.

□ Baer (1961), 29, 50–1, 91; Margolis & Marx (1967), 419; Grayzel, 1 (1966), 74–5; Roth (1949), 65–9, & (1962), 46–51; Davis (1969), nos 52, 72; Lipman (1967), 117–18, 180, 183, fig. 13, plots 2 & 3; *PREJ*, II, 14; Rokéah (1993), 212; Shatzmiller (1994); Elon (1994), 1242–3

## Pipe Rolls and Related Sources

The Great Rolls of the Exchequer, the pipe rolls are the records of the upper exchequer that audited the \*sheriffs' accounts, meeting twice yearly, for a preliminary view at Easter and the final audit at Michaelmas. They thus indicate the Crown's revenues, including items from the Jewry, under county headings. They are so called from the way the rolls of parchment were sewn together; when rolled up they looked like a piece of drainage pipe.

The series began at least six years earlier than the solitary surviving roll of Henry I's reign, Michaelmas 1130. Edited by J. Hunter for the Record Commission in 1833 and reprinted in 1929, this provides virtually the only evidence of the \*London Jewry, its leaders, their wealth and business interests until 1155/56, the second year of Henry II's reign, from which date the rolls are virtually complete. Those for

1155/58 and 1189/90 were originally published by the Record Commission; all others, including reprints of the former, by the Pipe Roll Society. They are vital for the history of the English Jewry as so few national sources are available for the second half of the twelfth century. They supplement the evidence of the chroniclers, monastic or otherwise. The Society has now published pipe rolls up to 8 Henry III, 1224. Images of the unpublished pipe rolls from 1225–1312, amongst other documents, can be found on the Anglo-American Legal Tradition site, <http://aalt.law.uh.edu> (accessed 17 February 2013).

Recognising their value, Joseph Jacobs translated the entries of Jewish interest in his *Jews of Angevin England*, published in 1893. The entries are highly significant because they illuminate the activities of individual, named, Jews. The combination of county headings and topographical surnames enables us, in many cases, to identify where they lived. Appendix IX is a 'Name List of English Jews of the Twelfth Century'. However, the title of Appendix XI, 'The English Jewries of the Twelfth Century' – including, for example Bosham, Eye, Finchlefeld, Grimsby, Newland, Wells – is misleading. Jacobs provides details of pipe roll entries of Jewish interest from 1130/31 to 1199/1200 in his 1889 *Archaeological Review* article. Some of his translations and selections can be queried, but for the 34 years after 1169/70 he had to resort to the original manuscripts, a task that can be fully appreciated only by those who have had to deal with these extraordinarily lengthy rolls.

The 1159 pipe roll records the sums imposed on London and 11 \*provincial Jewries in the so-called *donum* of that year. Earlier payments by a number of provincial Jewries are recorded from 1156. Although we have no details of the sums demanded for the Guildford \*tallage of 1186, the pipe rolls of 1191–98 reveal the very considerable sums still outstanding. Two London members each owed £1000.

The sheriffs' annual payments reveal interesting details of the Jewry's relationship to the Crown. For example, a bill of divorce cost Samuel of Northampton 5 gold marks in 1180. Four years later, he paid 1 mark for permission for his son to marry the daughter of Margaret of London. In 1203 Muriel, a leading member of the London Jewry, had to find £100 'that she may have Isaac Jew of Oxford for husband, as has been spoken between them'. Deulesault of Exeter gave Henry II ten marks in 1181 to 'take charge of his sons'. The next year another important figure in the London \*community, le Brun, paid £400 for permission 'to cross the sea', presumably to \*Rouen. In 1185 it cost Leah of \*Bristol 20 \*bezants to have an agreement between her and her children, drawn up in *coram Judeis*, by the \*bet din, and 40 \*marks for her share of her late husband's chattels and bonds.

### Related sources

The first **receipt** rolls (TNA/E401) appeared in 1161 but are incomplete until 1272. Included amongst the receipt rolls are the special Jews' rolls from 1212/13 to 1294/95,

which record the income from tallages, fines and amercements levied on the Jewish community. The recently published rolls for 1220–24 record debts outstanding from John's 1210 Bristol tallage, thus giving the names of Jews who survived the trials of his reign, listed by their community. They also provide details of those individual and communities who paid fines for permission not to wear the \*badge, or to continue to record their debts by \*tally rather than \*chirograph.

John's reign witnessed the introduction of a series of new sources: the **charter** (TNA/C53), **memoranda** (TNA/E159) and **oblate** (TNA/C60) rolls in his first year. In this memoranda roll Jacob le Prestre is referred to as *presbyter omnium Judæorum totius Angliæ* (see Archpresbyter). The charter rolls contain original grants and confirmation of earlier grants, such as the \*1201 Charter of Liberties of the Jews. The **fine** rolls (TNA/C60) record payments for royal favours. The online Henry III Fine Rolls Project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, makes the fine rolls 1216–72 freely available, and searchable, in English translation. The earliest **liberate** rolls (TNA/C62) commence the following year, and give details of payments to be made by the Treasurer. Two of the most significant sources for the history of England's medieval Jewry commence in the third and sixth years of the reign: the **patent** (TNA/C66), and **close** rolls (TNA/C54). The original letters were despatched open (patent), or folded and sealed (close), the text of the originals having been copied onto the rolls.

Latin transcripts of the earliest patent rolls, 1201–16, and close rolls, 1204–27, were issued in the early nineteenth century by the Record Commission. Subsequently the Public Record Office published the patent rolls: 1216–32 as transcripts in Latin, subsequent volumes as calendars in English; and close rolls: for Henry III's reign, 1227–72, as transcripts in Latin, and for Edward I's reign as calendars in English. Some charter roll entries are duplicated on the patent rolls. The 1233 and 1253 'Statutes concerning the Jews' are in the close rolls; the writ calling the 1241 Worcester 'parliament' is in both close and patent; whilst the 1269 'Provisions' appear in the latter. Transcripts of royal charters have been published by the Pipe Roll Society as *Cartae Antiquae Rolls*, 1–20, in two volumes. *Medieval English Jews and Royal Officials: Entries of Jewish Interest in the English Memoranda Rolls, 1266–1293*, edited, translated and annotated by Rokéah, was published by Hebrew University Press in 2000. The index provides an invaluable resource for the history of the English Jewry.

□ *Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office*, 3 vols (1963–68) is the best general account of the development of medieval and early modern departments of state and their records. See also E. L. C. Mullins, *Texts and Calendars: An Analytical Guide to Serial Publications*, 1 (1978, repr.), & 2 (1983), esp. pp. 3–12; Jacobs (1889), & (1893); Jenkinson (1918); J. A. Green, 'The Earliest Surviving Pipe Roll', *BIHR*, 55 (1982), 1–17; Rokéah (2000). For up-to-date information on medieval source material on the Internet, <http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/sources/rolls.shtml> (accessed 17 February 2013)



**Plea Rolls** *see* Exchequer of the Jews, Plea Rolls of

### **Poll Tax** (Chevage)

Henry III levied a tax on the Jewry in \*1239 that took the form of a \*relief of one-third the value of the chattels and bonds of all Jews, and can thus be regarded as a poll tax. Details of individual contributors are available for four Jewries: some 90 named members at London, 58 at \*Canterbury, some 30 at \*Winchester and 24 at \*Gloucester. It is probably the most comprehensive head count available for these four \*communities. The Third had an impact on a stratum of these Jewries previously quite unaffected by tallage demands, and hence never before recorded. Fifteen London, twelve Canterbury, ten Gloucester and five Winchester Jews paid less than 1s. Payments as low as 2d at Canterbury, 3d at Gloucester, 3½d at London, and 6d at Winchester, indicate total value of goods and chattels (hardly bonds) of only 6d to 1s 6d. At the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament', where members of the lesser communities well outnumbered the magnates, Henry directed his attention to the most affluent members of the Jewish community.

The \*1275 Statute of the Jewry, point 8, stated that 'each Jew after he is twelve years old shall yearly at Easter pay to the king whose serf he is, a tax of three pence, and this be understood to hold as well for a woman as for a man'. The first evidence of payment of this poll tax or *chevage* comes only in 1280, when it was one of a number of measures by which Edward I intended to improve the lot of the \*converts. For the benefit of the *Domus*, it was to be collected by a number of its inmates. The sums raised are of considerable interest for, although evasion will have been prevalent, they provide the first indication as to the size of the English medieval Jewry in its last decade. In 1280 a total of £14 14s 9d was collected from 1179 Jews; of this £3 11s came from the London and Canterbury Jewries, suggesting 284 taxpayers, of whom, one assumes, some 250 were from London. Later years show a decline: totals of £14 8s 3d in 1281, £14 5s 0½d in 1282, and £13 19s 11d in 1283, suggesting payments from 1153, 1140 and 1120 members respectively. Collection was subsequently farmed out for an fixed annual amount, initially of £11, later £12.

□ Stacey (1985), 179–80, & (1987a), 144–59; Causton (2007), nos 81, 192, 197; *CPR*, 1280, 371–2; Rigg (1902), 113; Adler (1939), 300–4

### **Population Size**

This was a question that exercised Henry III. In 1240 he attempted what Stacey has called 'the most extraordinary innovation', an accurate census of all English Jews. Details are available only for \*Lincoln, published as an appendix by Roth. From the 115 individuals named, he estimated a community 'in the region of' 250 or 300. Lipman suggests a figure for \*Norwich of 'between 100 and 150'. Details of payments to the Third in \*1239, available only for four Jewries, give some indication as to the size of the \*communities at \*London, \*Canterbury, \*Winchester and \*Gloucester.

The chroniclers' figures for the total population of the English medieval Jewry were wide of the mark: Walter of Hemingburgh, 15,060; Roger of Wendover, 16,511; John Oxenead, 17,511. This was a subject discussed by Richardson in 1960. His estimate, that the population 'can scarcely have reached 3,000 souls', was based on payments of the \*poll tax introduced by the \*1275 Statute of the Jewry, to be paid by 'each Jew after he [or she] is twelve years old'. The first evidence of numbers comes in 1280, when 1179 Jews paid. As Adler notes, there was a slight drop in the three subsequent years. Evasion could not have been easy, as for these years collection was by \*converts; subsequently it was farmed out. Richardson concluded that 'it is difficult to suppose that the number liable exceeded 1250, or the total of adults and children 2500. By 1290 the total was probably smaller.'

In 1968 Lipman estimated that the Jewish population 'earlier in the [thirteenth] century must have been at least 4,000 or 5,000', representing 0.25% of the total population and perhaps 1–2% of the urban population. Stacey believed that 'even allowing for considerable population decline between 1240 and 1280, it is hard to see how the English Jewish population could have been much over 3000 in 1240'; but this is based on what was held to be 'the small \*family size traditional within the Ashkenazic Jewry'. Rokéah, assuming 600 heads of households were imprisoned on \*coinage offences, suggested a population of 'between 2000 and 3000 individuals'.

Further information comes from the receipts of the \*Constable of the Tower of London relating to the general \*expulsion in 1290. These record 1335 Jews paying a toll of 4d and 126 poor Jews paying 2d for passage across the Channel from London to Wissant. In addition to this total of 1461, allowance must be made for those departing from other ports, as the bailiffs, barons and sailors of the Cinque Ports were commanded to ensure safe and speedy passage for all Jews leaving the kingdom.

□ Stacey (1992a), 268–9 & n. 38; Roth (1967), 31–3; V. D. Lipman, 'Anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry', *TJHSE*, 21 (1968), 48; Richardson (1960), 216; Adler (1939), 302–3; Rokéah (1990), 96–7

**Presbyter of the Jews** *see* Archpresbyter

**Promissum of 1194**

Following a meeting at Northampton, London and 20 \*provincial communities contributed to a levy of 5000 marks: \*Lincoln, \*Canterbury, \*Northampton, \*Gloucester, \*Cambridge, \*Winchester, \*Norwich, \*Warwick, \*Oxford, \*Colchester, \*Chichester, \*Bristol, \*Hereford, \*Nottingham, \*Worcester, \*Hertford, \*Bedford, \*Exeter, Wallingford and \*Coventry. See Appendix for comparative table of 1194, 1221 and 1239–42 payments.

**Provincial Jewries, Origins of, c.1135–54**

Prior to the reign of Stephen 'the only \*community of royal Jews for which any evidence exists is that of \*London'. Stephen had previously ruled the county of Boulogne. Within its bounds lay the port of Wissant, which served the English wool trade (and was the

immediate destination to which English Jews were expelled in \*1290). He was thus well aware of the importance of the availability of credit. This continental background enabled him to take a more relaxed attitude than his predecessor to both the Jewry and the mints.

Henry I had halved the number of English mints c.1125, to the considerable financial loss of those boroughs and local earls who held the third penny. There were 16 moneyers at Thetford and four at Canterbury, where the archbishop's mint was closed after the murder of Thomas Becket. Stephen restored 19 of these mints in the first two years of his reign, and later six more. He also granted rights for the building of a number of new mints, as at the borough that William d'Aubigny, first earl of Arundel, founded in the bailey of \*Castle Rising c.1138. Toponym evidence of Jews at neighbouring \*Lynn and at \*Chichester shows that d'Aubigny had welcomed Jews at his newly established borough.

There is evidence of a Jewish community at \*Oxford by 1141, \*Cambridge and \*Norwich by 1144, and \*Winchester by 1148. A *Donum* imposed by Henry II early in his reign, in 1159, provides a hierarchy of ten provincial Jewries: Norwich, \*Lincoln, Cambridge, Winchester, \*Thetford, \*Northampton, \*Bungay, Oxford, \*Gloucester and \*Worcester. All except Bungay had a mint, in addition to a powerful castle. By 1158 there was a Jewry at \*Bury St Edmunds, under the authority of the abbot, who had had his own mint since the mid tenth century. It issued coins throughout Henry I and Stephen's reigns. However, the Jews making sizeable loans to officers of the abbey were not residents, but from Norwich and London.

The economic significance of Jewish settlement was thoroughly appreciated on the Continent by ecclesiastics and major lay rulers. In 1084 Rudiger Huzmann, bishop of Speyer, wishing to 'make a city out of the village', brought Jews to the town, believing that its glory 'would be augmented a thousandfold.' He even went so far as 'to encircle them with a wall that they may not easily be disrupted by the insolence of the mob'. In England it was initially the ecclesiastical lords, especially monastic, who recognised the importance of fairs and markets. William I granted a five-day fair to Malmesbury Abbey, and William Rufus the five-day St Giles fair to the monks of Winchester in 1096, extended to eight days in 1110. Bath Abbey followed in 1102, \*Canterbury in 1103, St Albans in 1105, the fairs of the bishop of Norwich at \*Lynn in 1106, and of the monks of \*Ramsey at St Ives in 1106. By the mid twelfth century Bury, Northampton and \*Stamford also had important fairs.

The earliest major German Jewries, at Speyer, Worms, Mainz and Cologne, had developed by providing credit and dealing in silver at the Rhenish markets and fairs. A number of the major English fairs established by ecclesiastics were attracting drapers from the Low Countries and northern France as well as England, and thus drew Jews to the nearby towns. As foreign coin was not acceptable under English law, such fairs provided a niche market for the Jews as dealers in silver. Lincoln and Cambridge, as major river ports, as well as Gloucester and Worcester on the river Severn, were also

important hubs in the country's developing economy. Despite the harsh conditions of the Great Anarchy of 1138–40 when, according to the chroniclers, 'God and his angels slept,' the wide-ranging opportunities available at such provincial centres proved irresistible to middle-ranking members of London's Jewish community.

The function of exchanging money was still the privilege of the moneyer and, as J. D. Brand explains, 'in most [towns] if not all, the moneyers... were in business on their own account. So that a man [Christian or Jew] with silver to sell, or old coin to exchange for new, could have been... able to go from one moneyer to another seeking the best price.' Seven moneyers can be named at Winchester during Stephen's reign, of whom four had forges in the High Street; other forges were in *Brudenestret* and *Tannerestret*, going off to the north, and *Colpe* and *Goldestret* to the south. Additionally a number of moneyers were exchanging from their homes.

Henry II embarked upon a radical reform of moneying in 1180. With the major profit coming from exchanging rather than the coining, he sought to make this a royal prerogative. Royal exchanges were built at the Tower in London, and at Winchester, Lincoln and Norwich, followed by others at Worcester, Nottingham, Northampton, \*Exeter and York. At Canterbury Teoric the goldsmith and Robert son of Richard were granted 500 marks to establish the *cambium regis*. Built on the north side of the High Street, it faced the house of Jacob the Jew and the entry to *Hethenmannelane*.

Once the exchanges received royal bullion as stock, moneying became a significant source of income for the Crown, and the ground was cut from under the feet of those provincial Jews who had been supplying their local moneyers with silver. A number may well have become associates of \*Aaron of Lincoln, whose remarkable network of agents enabled him to deal with clients in some 14 shrievalties, with a concentration in England's more affluent eastern regions. The patent rolls show that nevertheless a mandate was required in 1232, that no silver should be bought or exchanged except at the royal exchanges.

Eaglen points out that Bury's mint, which had been characterised by 'an unusual level of activity' during the abbacy of Hugh I (1157–80), 'fell into abeyance' under anti-Jewish Abbot Samson (1182–2011), whom Henry II's reforms will have deprived 'of any profit and thus any incentive to strike coins'. He was not alone, for foundation of the royal exchanges will have marked the end of a major area of Jewish entrepreneurial activity in the provincial towns.

The distribution of the Jewish communities outside London is of considerable interest. They were predominantly in eastern England, which had strong economic ties with western Europe, especially the flourishing markets for English wool in the Low Countries and northern France. In the larger coastal ports there was a surprisingly small Jewish presence; Lynn was an exception. A number of provincial Jewries were in commercial centres with access to the sea by major river systems: Lincoln, Cambridge, Norwich and York are good examples. They were usually close to the

town's principal trading area, whether the high street or marketplace. There is no evidence of Jewish settlement north of York apart from a brief period at \*Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

It is highly significant that the Jewries in the west, at Gloucester and Worcester, were the smallest of all in 1159. Later there were to be settlements at Hereford, by 1178–79, because Bristol by 1185. Gloucester and then the Hereford Jewry were to thrive, as the towns became centres of military operations, the former in the early campaigns against the Irish and Welsh, the latter in Henry III's campaigns in Wales. Hereford was also a significant centre of the wool trade. The only evidence of Jews settling north of Hereford is by royal licence between 1267 and 1274 at \*Bridgnorth, not a formally recognised community. Despite the port's growing affluence resulting from the Gascon wine trade, the Bristol Jewry never flourished. The \*plea rolls suggest its clients were principally in the agricultural lands of the surrounding counties of Gloucester, \*Wiltshire and Somerset. Beyond lay the small port of Exeter, the most remote of all recognised Jewries. Despite the efforts of the officers of the \*Exchequer of the Jews to restrict residence to towns with \*chests, small, shifting settlements, without *archae*, were to be found, as on the banks of the Thames, and in parts of Kent and Sussex, where the sheriff reported that the property of certain Jews was 'unknown as they are travellers' (see Chichester). The interesting question remains as to where such Jews had access to \*synagogue and other communal facilities.

□ Streit (1993); R. H. C. Davis, *King Stephen, 1135–1154* (1967), 10–12; Moore (1985), map 1, 12–13, 17–23; Chazan (1980), 58; Brown (1989), & 80–2; Blackburn (1994); Biddle (1976), 417; Stacey (1995), 78–89; J. D. Brand, *The English Coinage, 1180–1247* (1994), 10–21; D. F. Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum: The Cross and Crosslets Type of Henry II* (1951), lxxxviii–xcvii, clxxvi–clxxvii; Allen (2004), 31–3, 40–4; Eaglen (1998), 116

## Queen's Gold

The *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 'Dialogue of the Exchequer' between a master and scholar, by Richard of Ely, Lord Treasurer c.1160–96 and bishop of London 1189–98, was completed probably in the mid 1180s. Amongst the subjects considered is the payment of queen's gold, which 'had existed time out of mind'. As the master explained:

Those who voluntarily promise to pay the king in cash...are similarly indebted to the queen, even though it is not expressly stated....it is nevertheless implicit in the promise, so that when anyone promises 100 or 200 \*marks to the king, he is likewise obligated to pay the queen one mark of gold [£6] for the 100 marks of silver promised to the king...and so on [approximately 10%]....The debts summoned to the exchequer are separately received by her officials, who are appointed for this task...The king may dismiss half or all of the sum promised to him, or may even dispense with issuing a summons, yet everything shall be done according to the queen's will as regards the debts to her...unless she

agrees, they cannot be dismissed or deferred, but the debts summoned must be paid, and those who do not pay are distrained.

The student asked, 'Is the queen owed anything on royal debts under 100 marks?' This was *sub judice* at the time.

The *Dialogus* emphasises that, as with voluntary offerings, 'the queen's portion is due to her from the amercements of Jews', such as the fine on the \*Lincoln \*community at the time of the Little St Hugh allegations. Stacey points out that queen's gold was levied against John's 1210 Bristol \*tallage, and again in 1239, which strengthened his belief that the Third was regarded as a \*fine. However, the close rolls show that by December 1250 queen's gold was being claimed on tallage.

The evidence relates to three queens: Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of Henry II, d.1204; Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III, d.1291; and Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I, d.1290. The first recorded payment of queen's gold by a Jew is in 1194, when Eleanor of Aquitaine received 40 marks from \*Jurnet of Norwich for arrears due from the reign of Henry II (1154–89). By the thirteenth century queen's gold was imposed at the rate of ten per cent on all voluntary fines for the king's good will of 10 marks and over. It was also due on the \*relief paid by the heirs of a dead Jew.

Laurence de Castellis was appointed keeper of the queen's gold soon after Eleanor of Provence's marriage and coronation in 1236. Shortly after Elias I' \*Eveske took office as \*archpresbyter in 1243, his brother Jacob became his clerk. In 1246 the patent rolls record the grant, for life, to Jacob of 'the houses late of Jocus de Colecestre, Jew of Lincoln, in Oxford for his service to the king and queen in sitting at the \*Exchequer of the Jews'. Six years later we learn from the close rolls that Jacob was 'to continue to collect the queen's gold'. The keeper was evidently a different officer, who until 1254 was appointed by the king.

In 1255, when Henry III mortgaged the Jewry to his brother, Richard earl of Cornwall, he added the clause, 'saving in all things to the queen her gold of the said Jewry, and the king wills that distrains be made for the said gold and for the arrears thereof to be paid at reasonable terms'.

From the 1256 patent rolls we learn that, 'at the instance of Queen Eleanor, Jacob was granted exemption from all tallages, aids and demands, in consideration of his services to the king and queen, and payment of 5 silver marks each year'. Jacob died by February 1257, when his son Benedict was granted similar privileges 'at the prayer' of Queen Eleanor. His brother Solomon, who had fled the country, was called back by the king 'for business specially affecting him' in April 1261, but six months later it was at Eleanor's request that he was granted freedom from tallage for two years.

The Petition of the Barons of May \*1258 suggests that the keepers of the queen's gold were straying beyond the established criteria. The first clause states: 'It would appear that she [the queen] ought not to have it except when a fine is made'; and the committee

established to supervise the sale of wardships was also to 'determine and decree in what manner queen's gold shall be paid'.

After Henry III's death in November 1272, the King's Council 'forbade John de Watele, keeper of the gold of Queen Eleanor, mother of the king, to demand or seize from anyone henceforth gold for that queen's use'. However, Watele retained his office until 1275, receiving payments outstanding from Eleanor's years as queen consort.

Crawford makes it clear that, following her return from crusade and coronation in 1274, Eleanor of Castile 'embarked on an energetic campaign to acquire lands, in which her husband was an approving partner'. The legislation of 1269–71 had annulled perpetual fee rents held by Jews and outlawed their sale to Christians. This placed Eleanor of Castile in a unique position, for there were two highly significant exceptions. First, queen's gold could be paid in land; she obtained many estates in this way. Second, the Crown was able to grant debts to nominated Jews. Here again, Eleanor was frequently the beneficiary. She had good relations with her brother-in-law, Edmund earl of Lancaster, whose own personal Jew, \*Aaron son of Vives, with others acting for the Crown, served as an intermediary in such matters. Such acquisition were mostly used to build up her existing estates. Parsons has characterised her as 'calculating, grasping and opportunistic', with 'a vengeful side'. This is clearly portrayed in her attitude to the two Jews who served as keepers of her gold.

\*Jacob of Oxford, son of Master Moses, was appointed in March 1274 to 'receive her gold at the exchequer and to act in all matters to her benefit'. The following year he was 'in prison and cannot be discharged without special mandate of the king'. On Jacob's death in the winter of 1276–77 his widow, Henna, paid the relief of one-third on his property, but the next year Eleanor claimed the remaining two-thirds on the basis that Jacob and all his property formed part of the 'profits' of Oxford that she had been granted by her husband. \*Licoricia's son, \*Benedict of Winchester, who replaced Jacob in 1276, fared far worse. Charged with \*coinage offences, he was hanged in 1279. His fate stands in marked contrast to that of \*Master Elias and Aaron son of Vives, who were associated with other major members of the court.

It was through Aaron that Eleanor, notoriously, acquired an estate at Westcliffe in Kent. Her conduct led the archbishop of Canterbury to write personally to her, and later to her treasurer, complaining of such acquisition of manors extorted by means of Jewish \*usury. According to the Guisborough chronicler, the pages in the royal household expressed this in the crisp ditty: 'The king he wants to get our gold, the queen would like our lands to hold.' It has been calculated that Eleanor of Castile received some £4500 per annum in queen's gold. (*See Jews and the Court; Expulsion, General.*)

□ *Dialogus*, 182–7; Treharne & Sanders (1973), 78–9, 152–3; Crawford (2001), 1193–1211; M. Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence as Queen Consort', *EHR*, 102 (1987), 372–93, & *Eleanor of Provence* (1998), 276–9, 298–9; Parsons (1991), 23–54, & (1995), 119–56; Stacey (1987a), 145, & (1988), 137; Tout, 5 (1930), 236–72; *PREJ*, II, 15, 17, 54, 221, 274, & III, 48; Guisborough, 216

## **Ramsey Abbey, a major centre of Hebrew Studies, and a unique trilingual Dictionary**

The Benedictine monastery of Ramsey was founded on an island in the Fens by Oswald, bishop of Worcester, in 966. From its inception, as John Blair has commented, it was 'a major centre of scholarship, with a remarkable literary output'. Oswald persuaded the Fleury monk, Abbo, who could 'suck knowledge from the very marrow of the seven biblical arts', to take up residence at Ramsey for two years. Abbo was the author of *Quaestiones Grammaticales*, a detailed treatise on the scansion of Latin verse. His presence at Ramsey raised its school to international standards. One of his pupils, Byrhtferth, died c.1020, has been described by Michael Lapidge as 'one of the most learned scholars of Anglo-Saxon England', renowned for his mathematical, scientific and homiletical writings.

In the thirteenth century Ramsey had a remarkable collection of Hebrew books. The evidence is provided by its library catalogue, of which, Sharpe et al. tell us, there are 'two fragments from a major catalogue of the second quarter of the fourteenth century'. The first is found in the British Library's Cotton rolls and included as Appendix III of the *Ramsey Chronicle*; the second is from Lambeth Palace Library MS 585, pp. 661–2. Details of both texts are to be found in Sharpe (1996). They include the Hebrew, and Greek, books that Prior Gregory bequeathed to the abbey. As Sharpe comments, these are 'an impressive testimony to his biblical scholarship'. There is another, equally impressive, list of Hebrew volumes donated to the abbey library by Robert Dodford, a Ramsey monk.

Further details about Prior Gregory are, apparently, provided by John Leland, who was appointed Henry VIII's antiquary 'to peruse and dilygentlye to searche all the lybraries of [the dissolved] monasteryes and collegies of thys your noble realme'. His informant at Ramsey was Ioannes Infantius, variously translated as John Child, Young or Faunte. Leland tells us that when the Jews were

condemned to exile...the synagogues of \*Huntingdon and \*Stamford were desecrated, and all their furniture put up for sale at auction, including their stores of precious books. Gregory lived nearby [Ramsey is 6 miles (10 km) from Huntingdon], and he had ready money; when he heard this auction was to take place, he hurried to it. Paying the price, he easily acquired gold for brass and returned home very well pleased. He turned the pages of the Hebrew manuscripts night and day, until he had drunk in a deep knowledge of the language from its very fountainheads. He left many exceptional notes which learned men ... read with pleasure. The library catalogue of Ramsey makes eloquent and honourable mention of the Hebrew books so diligently collected, and others 'piously acquired by Robert Dodford'.

### **The Longleat House Dictionary**

Not surprisingly, Ramsey had a high reputation as a centre for the study of Hebrew. It found remarkable expression in a unique Hebrew–Latin–Old French dictionary,



Longleat House MS 21 ff.29–143. A critical edition, edited by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, working with a team of scholars of the *Centre national de la recherche scientifique*, was published in 2008. She describes the Dictionary as ‘without any doubt the most important and comprehensive source for the study of Christian Hebraism and Jewish–Christian intellectual contacts in the Middle Ages known so far’.

The Dictionary is in two parts, its 3682 alphabetical entries in Hebrew characters divided into 1392 verbs and 2290 other entries, mainly nouns. The Hebrew is ‘transliterated in Latin characters, translated and illustrated by one or more Vulgate translations of the corresponding verses. When the Vulgate translation does not correspond ... a new translation is proposed.’ Over 1000 words are in Old French, ‘with Anglo-Norman spelling, some typical of the Anglo-Norman dialect’. It includes ‘nearly 20,000 quotations from all 24 books of the Hebrew canon ... but only one from the New Testament’. For Olszowy-Schlanger ‘it is neither a Latin translation nor a close reworking of any known Jewish dictionary. However, the Christian authors had at their disposal an impressive array of Jewish texts of which they made extensive use.’ Rashi is referred to on more than 500 occasions. Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 6, his commentaries on the Prophets and Hagiographa, contains ‘marginal glosses whose handwriting, vocabulary, contents and structure are similar to those of the other \*manuscripts identified as the immediate sources of the dictionary’ and, she concludes, is ‘quite probably the very book ... used to compile the dictionary’.

The earliest Jewish works on the Hebrew language were written in Arabic, based on Arabic models and adopted Arabic terminology. For Olszowy-Schlanger the *Mahberet ha-‘Aruk* of ibn Parhon ‘was used as the main Jewish lexicographical source by the Christian authors of the dictionary’. She draws attention to ‘an early 13th-century (French or English) copy’ in MS. Bodl. Or. 135 which ‘contains marginalia in Latin, in a cursive 13th-century English hand’. Born in Calatayud, Aragon, Solomon ben Abraham ibn Parhon moved to Italy where, at Salerno in 1160, he wrote what became ‘the main text of the Spanish school of lexicography studied by north European Jews’. Parhon refers to \*ibn Ezra as one of his ‘teachers’, but Brisman notes that it is ‘unclear’ whether he was actually one of his students.

As Parhon explained, the *Mahberet ha-‘Aruk* was based on the second part of *Kitab al Tanqih*, ‘The Book of Critique’ by Jonah ibn Jannah (995–1050): the *Kitab al Usul*, which was translated from Arabic into Hebrew by Judah ibn Tibbon (1120–c.1190) as *Sepher ha-Shorashim*, ‘Book of Roots’. Sáenz-Badillos suggests that the lexicographical section of ibn Janah’s work, ‘the peak of medieval Hebrew lexicography, deserves still deeper analysis’.

For Olszowy-Schlanger the ‘aims and approaches’ of the Longleat dictionary’s compilers

appear to be unique in the history of medieval Christian Hebraism. They neither focus on theological debates or polemics against the Jews nor overtly fight

for their conversion. Dictionary and glosses are a work of Christian scholars who did not feel compelled to permanently stress their identity

or 'feel apologetic for using the original Hebrew biblical and most importantly rabbinic sources', such as Rashi. Their main aim was to establish the correct basic meanings of the Hebrew Bible. She notes how 'little was made of the commentaries of Jerome', and that 'there are no references to the English scholars who studied Hebrew in the twelfth century', a period of 'intensive study of Hebrew sources', especially Rashi. She concludes, 'there is no doubt that the dictionary itself was copied at Ramsey Abbey and that the superscription manuscripts it used were kept at Ramsey in the Middle Ages'. As to its date, she suggests 'the third quarter of the 13th century (but based on earlier mid-13th-century sources)'.

L. F. Sandler has examined a pre-1310 Ramsey psalter in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (MS M.302) and the Lavantthal Abbey library Carinthia, Austria (Cod xxv/2,19). She comments on its 'unique and perplexing departures from contemporary formulas of psalm illustration'. Its historiated initials, she suggests, 'reflect a particular interest... in a literary and historical interpretation', and the psalter has 'no trace of the traditional Christological interpretation'. For Sandler the 'learned but isolated' Prior Gregory may be the originator of the psalter's singular programme of illustrations.

Leland suggested Gregory's era of activity was c.1290, when the Jews were 'condemned to exile'. However John Bale, d.1563, reports in his *Index of British Writers* that Gregory 'flourished' c.1255; and Thomas Tanner, in his *Bibliotheca* of 1748, refers to Robert Dodford as being responsible for the Hebrew manuscripts in Ramsey library after Gregory's death c.1270. This chronology is confirmed by Olszowy-Schlanger, who points out that the bilingual Greek-Latin psalter, Corpus Christi College MS 468, which has a partially erased inscription on f.11, '*Psalterium Graecum prioris Gregorii*', includes a mid thirteenth-century calendar of Ramsey Abbey. Further, she identifies Gregory's handwriting in both the Longleat dictionary and the psalter.

Leland draws attention to another Ramsey monk, Laurence Holbeach, 'who flourished in the reign of Henry IV', 1399–1413. Holbeach had come across a certain number of Hebrew manuscripts that 'had been bought and preserved from destruction... by the notable industry of Gregory of Huntingdon'. Leland observes that

Laurence had a pious envy of this writer and wished to complete more fruitfully the work that Gregory had... begun on the Hebrew language. This holy emulation was entirely successful and the author... prepared a Hebrew dictionary, a work as polished as it was learned. It was snatched away a few years ago by the excessive zeal... of Robert Wakefield.

However, as the latter annotated the Ramsey dictionary, it would seem that Leland was misinformed in this detail also, unless he took two dictionaries.

Given the condition of Ramsey Abbey during the visit of Bishop William Atwater of Lincoln in 1518, when the doors remained unlocked at night and both church and dormitory roofs let in water, it was probably just as well that Wakefield had removed the dictionary. He certainly made good use of it. By 1518 he was teaching Hebrew to John Fisher, bishop of Rochester. He continued his Hebrew studies abroad, lecturing at Louvain, and succeeded Reuchlin as teacher of Hebrew, with some Aramaic and Arabic, at Tübingen. By 1523 Henry VIII was paying his salary as first lecturer in Hebrew at Cambridge. For G. L. Jones 'his inaugural lecture played a significant part in paving the way for what came to be regarded as one of the greatest achievements of English biblical scholarship – the Authorised Version of the Bible'. Indeed, Wakefield was able to strengthen the case for Henry VIII's divorce by reference to Hebrew scriptural texts.

The evidence indicates that Wakefield also collected Hebrew manuscripts from other sources. Jones writes that he 'borrowed a Hebrew psalter [now Bodleian MS. Laud Or. 174] from the abbey at Bury' (see Figure 3). Wakefield gave his copy of the *Sepher ha-Shorashim* by David Kimhi to his college of St John's at Cambridge. (See Moses ben Isaac ha-Nessiah.)

□ Olszowy-Schlanger (2001), 107, & (2007), & (2008), & (2009b); J. Blair, 'Ramsey', M. Mostert, 'Abbo', & M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth', in *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge et al. (2001), 3, 78–9, 385–6; *Chronicon Ramesiensis* RS 83 (1886), 364–5; *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, ed. R. Sharpe et al., *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, 4 (1996), 327–31, 336–9, 406; *John Leland: de uiris illustribus*, 'On Famous Men', ed. & trans. J. P. Carley (c.2010), 538–41, 553–4, 756–9; S. Brisman, *A History and Guide to Judaic Dictionaries and Concordances*, 1 (2000, NJ), 25–6; *Enc Jud*, 15 (2007), 641–2; A. Sáenz-Badillos, 'Hebrew Philology in Sefarad: The State of the Question', in de Lange (2001), 46–9; A. van der Heide, 'Banner, Miracle, Trial? Medieval Hebrew Lexicography between Facts and Faith', in *idem*, 107–28; L. F. Sandler, 'Christian Hebraism and the Ramsey Abbey Psalter', *J Warburg & Courtauld Institutes*, 35 (1972), 123–34; G. L. Jones, 'Robert Wakefield (d.1537): The Father of English Hebraists', in *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben Yehuda*, ed. W. Horbury (1999), 234–48

**Rashi**, Solomon ben Isaac, 1041–1105 *see* Community; *Herem ha-Yishuv*; ibn Ezra; Manuscripts; Ramsey; Wine

**Recognised community** *see* \*1218 The Re-establishment of the English Jewry

## Relief

In feudal law relief was payment to the overlord by the heir of a feudal tenant in order to take up possession of a vacant estate. The laws of William I set the relief for a knight at £5. Henry I promised only that it would be 'reasonable and just', but the rate recorded in the *Dialogus de Scaccario* in 1177 was still £5. The relief of a baron was initially at the king's mercy, and could be considerable. The \*London Jewry's principal client, Ranulf II des Gernons, earl of Chester, with his mother owed Henry I more than £2000 for such fines in 1130. By John's reign John de Lacy had to offer 7000 \*marks and William fitz Alan 10,000 marks. The barons at Runnymede sought to re-establish reliefs at what

they held were their 'ancient values'. In \*1215 Magna Carta clause 2 set the relief of an earl for a whole earldom or a baron for a whole barony at £100; for a whole knight's fee, 100s (£5).

Payment of relief also applied to the Jewry. The \*pipe rolls of Henry II's and Richard I's reigns provide a number of examples, but the rate at which the relief was deducted is not evident. Thus the 1188 roll records that the three sons of Benjamin of Oxford owed 2 gold marks for having 'a proper share' of the debts and chattels of their father. In 1191–92 Josce son of Leo of Warwick owed 100 marks on this account, and the sons of \*Benedict of York 700 marks for his lands and debts; the next year Benedict son of Josce Quatrebouches of \*London owed 200 marks for his father's charters and chattels and related matters; and in 1194–95 the heirs of Moses *le Riche* of \*Gloucester 300 marks for his bonds.

In Henry III's reign the relief for Jews was proportionate: a third of the total value of bonds and the annual value of immoveable property, such as houses. This is first documented in the \*plea rolls for 1220, when Jacob son of Josce of Bristol had at his death chattels worth 40 marks 'whereof the King has the third part, 14 marks and 4s 5d, which are to be exacted from Solomon of Beverley, who had Jacob's widow to wife'. However, there were exceptions. Henry seized all \*Aaron of Lincoln's assets on his death in 1186; and, as Roth explains, when \*Jacob of Oxford died in 1277 Queen Eleanor, to whom Edward I had granted all the 'profits' of Oxford, insisted on 'all the real estate (at least) of any Jew who died there'.

The rate of a third brought in considerable sums to the Crown. On \*Hamo of Hereford's death in 1231 relief was set at 6000 marks, 40 times that of a whole earldom. \*Licoricia of Winchester paid 5000 marks on the death of her husband, \*David of Oxford, in 1244, in which year \*Leo Episcopus of York's son, Samuel, had to pay 7000 marks, the highest relief ever recorded. The liberate rolls for December 1243 reveal that Henry lost no time in securing Leo's treasure after his death.

As the principal part of the wealth of a deceased Jew was often in unredeemed bonds, the exchequer came to terms for a down payment, the remainder being paid over an extended period agreed between the parties. The heirs of Hamo and Leo, and probably others who had to find very considerable sums for relief, were granted exemption from tallage until their financial commitments had been paid in full. When large amounts remained outstanding, the Crown often applied pressure for repayment directly on the Christian clients of the deceased. In the case of Hamo's heirs, however, Henry III was unwilling to distrain the family's powerful debtors. This, with the level of the relief, led to their bankruptcy. The entries for \*Lincoln and \*Nottingham provide examples of the means adopted to minimize the payment of relief on property.

□ *Dialogus*, 142–5; J. Jolliffe, *Constitutional History of Medieval England* (1948), 223, 256; *PREJ*, I, 37; Hillaby (1984), 389–90, 400–15, & (1995), 10–11; Bartlet (2009), 58–60; Dobson (2010), 28

## Responsum, pl. Responsa

Responsa are written answers and judgments by rabbis and eminent teachers in reply to written questions from individuals and communities concerning matters Halachic. As legal rulings reflecting new circumstances for which the Talmud provided no direct answers, they became fundamental in the development of Jewish law. It has been suggested that there are approximately 300,000 extant responsa.

Examples from the medieval Anglo Jewry are important because of the light they throw on the problems of this relatively isolated \*community prior to its \*expulsion in 1290. Thus \*Master Benjamin of Cambridge's ruling concerning the drinking of milk bought from a Christian was later modified by \*Joseph of Lincoln, as Christians in England rarely milked unclean animals. Other queries related to beer and \*wine.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the most prolific periods for responsa literature. \*Family matters, especially marriage, divorce and the status of \*women, loomed large, as did diet and business relationships, including inter-Jewish loans and the transfer of debt between Jews. In the era of the English community responsa were not preserved in any systematic way. They are to be found for the most part as marginal comments in Ashkenazic literature of the fourteenth century onwards. The *Etz Hayyim* of Jacob ben Judah of London refers to a number of responsa, for example of Isaac ben Perez of \*Northampton.

Mutius, in his work on the English responsa writers, named 11 such authorities, including the three above. Two, Jacob of Orleans and Yom Tov, were visitors. Three were members of a single family: \*Master Moses of \*London and his sons, \*Master Elias Menahem and \*Rabbi Benedict of \*Lincoln, that is 'Berechiah of Nicole'. The others are Elias of \*Oxford, Elias and Rabbi Meir of London. Most are to be found in Volume 2 of Urbach's *Tosaphists*.

□ Elon (1994), 1501–28; Epstein (1940), 187–205; Roth (1949), 24–33; Mutius (1995); Urbach, 2 (1980), 493–520; Roth & Zadoff (2013)

**Rising** *see* Castle Rising

**Ritual bath** *see* Mikva'ot

## Ritual-Child-Murder Accusations

The twelfth century was an era of irrational popular zeal, when many strange and informal cults developed. St William of Perth was a Scots baker, murdered whilst on pilgrimage at Canterbury; Hugh of Avalon, bishop of \*Lincoln 1186–1200, had to suppress the cult of a thief; in 1190 the pope had to outlaw that of a drunkard. To restore order, in 1234 Gregory IX reserved to the papacy the right of canonisation.

This was a period when the acquisition of relics and building of shrines was becoming an obsession for many Benedictine abbeys. Their concern to have their own saint was

based not merely on the offerings of pilgrims. More fundamental forces were at work. Such a patron would be a mediator with the divinity, defending the interests of his church; and, above all, an expression of power.

**\*Norwich, the Cathedral, 1144**

This is generally accepted as the first medieval claim that Jews had ritually murdered a Christian boy. In the saint's *Life* written later by the Norwich monk, Thomas of Monmouth, both date and manner of death were of critical significance, for he describes the 12-year-old leather apprentice, William, as being found on Holy Saturday. He alleges that the body bore signs of being 'crucified... in mockery of the Lord's Passion'.

According to Thomas, the seed of sacrificial murder, 'in scorn and contempt of Christ', was sown by 'Theobald, a Jew of Cambridge, [who] was converted to Christianity and became a monk'. The word *nostro* in front of 'monk', indicating this was at Norwich Cathedral Priory, is mutilated in the manuscript of the *Life*, but for M. R. James 'the reading is not really very doubtful' (lxxi, n1). Theobald told Thomas that the Jews

had a written tradition that, in order to regain their freedom and their fatherland, they must sacrifice a Christian every year. In order to select their victim the leading Jews of Spain assembled annually at Narbonne, where they were exceedingly influential, and cast lots for all the countries of the world where any Jews lived. The country which was selected by lot had in turn to cast lots for all its cities, and the city thus selected had to furnish the victim.

Theobald maintained that 'in 1144 the lot had fallen on Norwich', and that it was miracles wrought at the shrine that led to his conversion and taking the name Theobald.

It is highly improbable that Thomas of Monmouth had any knowledge of the Narbonne Jewry, the bridge between the Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jewries, and its *nasi*, prince or patriarch. This Jewry came to the attention of English ecclesiastical circles through *Contra Perfidiam Judaeorum*, written for John de Coutances, bishop of \*Worcester 1196–98, by Peter of Blois who had learned the politics of the Mediterranean world as secretary to the young king of Sicily. The evidence thus suggests that Theobald was not of Thomas's invention.

The discovery of the child's body offered the Norwich monks a remarkable opportunity for the creation of a martyr and associated shrine. Due to its late foundation, in 1086, the cathedral lacked a patron saint. The bishop and monks thus viewed with awe the ancient and prestigious cults of their great neighbouring Benedictine houses: St Guthlac at Crowland, St Botolf at Thorney, SS Haedda and Cyneburga at Peterborough, SS Ethelbert and Ethelred at \*Ramsey, and at \*Bury the nationally renowned head of the East Anglian king and martyr, St Edmund.

Bishop William Turbe, consecrated in 1146, quickly recognised the need to promote the cult. William's body was translated with due ceremony to a shrine in the chapter-house, a feast day inaugurated on 26 March, and the *Life and Passion* written

by Thomas of Monmouth. St William became the prototype child martyr, but his cult was limited for the most part to East Anglia, where his representation can still to be seen on the screens of three churches: Loddon and Worstead in Norfolk, and Eye in Suffolk. Although pilgrims' offerings at the shrine declined dramatically, the fact that the screens can be dated c.1500 is evidence of the persistent nature of the cult in a few parishes.

**\*Gloucester, St Peter's Abbey**

Events at Norwich were the stimulus for a similar accusation, in 1167, at the great abbey church, now the cathedral. A Benedictine house like Norwich, it also lacked a patron. Here in the river Severn on 3 March the body of the boy Harold was found, 'burned as if between two fires'. Soon 'a numerous throng' assembled. It was claimed that Harold had suffered 'tortures like crucifixion'. As at Norwich, the date, a week before Passiontide, and manner of death were held to be critical. The brief *Life* being lost, our knowledge of St Harold is restricted to the *History of St Peter's*, compiled between 1382 and 1412. This speaks with two voices: one from the *Life* which, like that of St William at Norwich, grasped at assumptions as if indisputable facts; the later sceptical, concerned only for posterity to make of it what it will.

**\*Bury St Edmunds**

A shrine of St Robert, child martyr, was founded at the abbey of Bury in 1181. His body had been found in a well, a theme later repeated during the \*Lincoln ritual murder allegation of 1255. The cult of St Edmund, who gave his name to the town, was already famous, but that of the young Robert was promoted by the sub-sacrist, Samson, to secure his election as abbot over the pro-Jewish candidate. Samson persuaded the abbey's chronicler, Jocelin of Brakelond, to write a *Life*, now lost. Although offerings declined, Robert remained an active force until the fifteenth century, when his shrine was recorded by William Worcester. An illuminated manuscript, formerly in the Dyson Perrins Collection and probably part of a Bury lectionary, sold at Sotheby's in 1959, showed four scenes encapsulating the life of the so-called saint.

**\*Winchester**

In his *Chronicle* Richard of Devizes, monk of Winchester, tells the story of the alleged ritual murder in 1192 of a young apprentice by his Jewish master. For the chronicler, 'gold won the judge's favour'; he also accuses the townspeople of 'lying like sentries'. Similar charges made at \*Bedford and Lincoln in 1202 came to naught. The seeds sown by Devizes now began to flourish. In 1225 the close rolls reveal two further child murder charges: in the first case at least two of the four accused were released; in the second the victim was found alive. In 1232, when the charge was raised again, the \*sheriff imprisoned the city's Jews for their own security. They were released on payment of

## Ritual-Child-Murder Accusations

a 20-mark fine. Three sources provide widely differing accounts of the murder. The Winchester annals refer to a boy, named Stephen, crucified and killed by the Jews on 18 October 1231; but the June 1232 close roll refers to an unnamed child found dead and dismembered; according to the eyre and assizes rolls, the victim was a one-year-old boy, strangled and found with his hands, feet, testicles, eyes and heart removed. The child's mother was found guilty of the murder and abjured the realm. In 1236 Abraham Pinch, one of the accused in 1232, was hanged on a charge of petty theft.

### Norwich, 1235

According to Roger of Wendover, seven Jews were brought before Henry III. It was alleged that they 'had stolen a boy at Norwich, had circumcised him, intending also to crucify him at Easter'. The incident had apparently taken place five years earlier. In 1240, according to the Bury chronicle, 'four Jews were drawn apart by horses and then hanged' for the offence.

### \*London, 1244

Matthew Paris reports that the body of a child was found in the cemetery of St Benet's, London, in 1244. \*Converts were brought in to inspect the corpse and interpret marks assumed to be a Hebrew inscription. 'Although the marks of the five wounds were not visible', the canons carried the body off for burial 'not far from the high altar' at Old St Paul's. For this 'ritual crime' there were no executions, but Henry III fined the English Jewry £40,000.

### \*Lincoln

The motives behind the promotion of the cult of Little St Hugh at Lincoln in 1255 were quite different from those at Norwich and Gloucester. Here, as at Bury, the Benedictine monks already had their own remarkable saint, Hugh of Avalon, bishop of Lincoln 1180–1200. Friend to the poor and the sick, he had defended the Jews at Lincoln, \*Stamford and \*Northampton in 1190. Lincoln's Jews had turned out en masse at his funeral. In 1255 work was about to begin on the cathedral's splendid angel choir as a suitable site for the shrine of the newly canonised St Hugh. Dean Gravesend and Bishop Lexington both realised that their resources would be overstretched. For them, the discovery of the body of the nine-year-old Hugh down a well was indeed providential. (See Lincoln.)

### \*Bristol

The story of the crucifixion of the young Adam at Bristol relates to events prior to the death of Henry II's eldest son in 1183, and may thus have been inspired by the accusation in 1167 at Gloucester, only 40 miles (65 km) north. For Stacey, textual details in BL Harley MS 957 indicate that it was composed locally c.1260, and 'engaged



with many of the hot issues' of Christian-Jewish relations in England in the middle of the thirteenth century. In contrast to the *Lives* of William of Norwich, Harold of Gloucester and Robert of Bury, this *fabula ineptissima* was 'a drama to be performed to the musical settings of hymns and antiphons sung by the angelic choir surrounding Adam's tomb', presumably at the church of St Mary Redcliffe, in which parish he had lived.

### A papal volte-face?

Reissuing the bull *Sicut Judaeis* in October 1272, Pope Gregory X declared that:

although Jews have frequently, and falsely, been accused of abducting and murdering a Christian child in order to use its heart and blood as a sacrifice, this charge is unfounded and must not to be believed. Those in prison for such a charge must be set free.

He went on to decree that the Christians who alleged such crimes 'ought not to be given a hearing'.

### London, 1276, and \*Northampton, 1279

Yet there were further accusations. The close rolls reveal that in 1276 the London \*community was charged with 'the death of a Christian boy crucified by them ... in offence of the name of Jesus', who was found on the Thames shore at Dowgate. The London Eyre even refers to 'two boys ... killed'. Edward I took no action. More perplexing, at Northampton in 1279 the Bury chronicler reported that a boy was crucified but 'not quite killed'. Notwithstanding this, 'many Jews were dragged by horses and hanged in London'. There may be some confusion here, possibly with the \*coin-clipping charges of the same year, for the chronicle of St Andrew's Priory, Northampton, which shows considerable interest in Jewish affairs, does not refer to the incident.

### The Shrine of Little St Hugh at Lincoln, post-1290

This is the one place where remnants of the shrine of an English ritual-child-murder victim can be seen. The motives behind its construction were quite different from those promoting the cult. Despite the terms of Pope Gregory X's reissue of *Sicut Judaeis* in 1272, which dismissed the ritual-child-murder accusation as 'unfounded' and 'not to be believed', Edward I sought after 1290 to breathe new life into the myth. A shrine was raised to Little St Hugh against the arcading of the choir wall in the south aisle; its tomb chest still projects below a break in the arcading. From three pieces of evidence we can piece together its original appearance. The first is a drawing in 'Dugdale's Book of Monuments' (1641), now BL Add MS 71474 f.108.

Smart Lethieullier, who visited Lincoln in 1736, gave a verbal description in a letter read out to the Society of Antiquaries. He was shown 'the [headless] statue of a boy

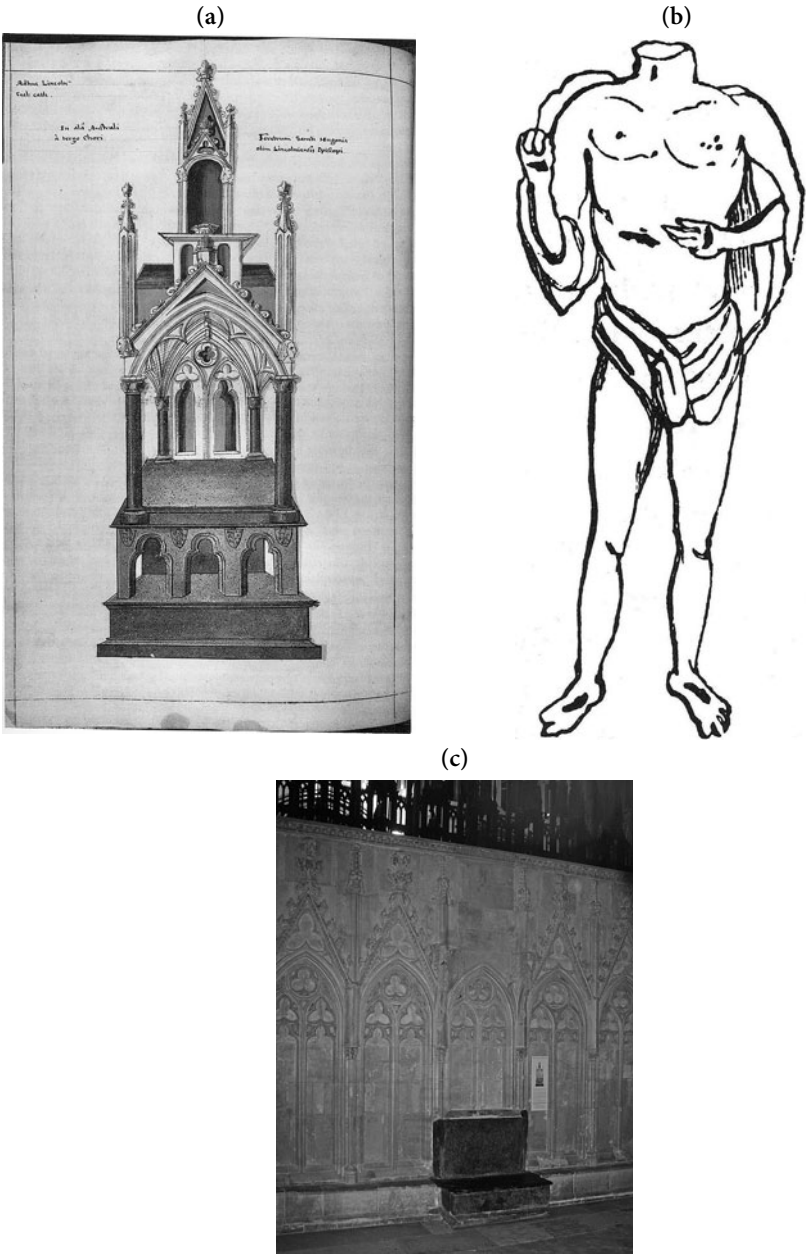


Figure 15 Lincoln Cathedral, Shrine of Little St Hugh. (a) Little St Hugh Shrine, Source: Drawing from Dugdale's *Book of Monuments* (1641), now BL Add MS 71474 f.108 © BL, showing four royal shields; (b) Little St Hugh Statue, Source: Drawing by Smart Lethieullier, reproduced in Sir Charles Anderson's *Lincoln Pocket Guide* (1892), p. 96; (c) Shrine of Little St Hugh in the south choir aisle. Note the black Marble tomb chest.

made of free-stone painted, about twenty inches [half a metre] high, which by tradition they affirm was removed from the tomb or shrine.' He drew attention to

the marks of crucifixion in the hands and feet, and the wound on the right side, from whence blood was painted on the original as issuing; the left hand is on the breast, but the right held up, with the two fingers extended in the usual posture of benediction; which attitude, I apprehend, denotes his being a saint, as the wounds do his being a martyr.

Tovey, who claimed to have found the statue 'in a dark Passage and behind the High Altar ... long covered with Dust and Obscurity', provides a not dissimilar description.

Debris excavated from the well at the former parish church of St Paul-in-the-Bail (10 on Plan 6) in 1984 has thrown further light on the character of the shrine. Amongst the artefacts discovered was a piece of moulding with a slight longitudinal curve and traces of faded paint. The foliate decoration, painted red in the hollows and undersides, was gilded on the outer face. Following David Stocker's suggestion that it could be part of Little St Hugh's shrine, it was found that 'in size, shape, quality and colour scheme' it fitted exactly as part of the Purbeck stone vaulted rib of the shrine's central bay. A second, small, fragment of 'fine figure sculpture', although partially worn, 'portrays a cowed figure leaning forward'. It has 'a ground of ochre-coloured paint with a layer of black paint over the cowl and tunic, but at the back ... are distinct traces of red paint and gold leaf'. Although this had been defaced, there were remains of 'a pink fleshy hue' around the edges of the face. As William Dugdale had visited Lincoln Cathedral in 1641, Graves and Mann suggest that the shrine may well have been the victim of the attack by parliamentary soldiery in 1644, seeking to remove all evidence of idolatry.

David Stocker has drawn attention to the political implications of the cult of Little St Hugh. The queen's body had been taken to Lincoln Cathedral where her entrails were buried in a tomb at the east end, a replica of that in Westminster Abbey. Little St Hugh's shrine 'displays such close acquaintance with the Eleanor crosses that it has to be considered alongside them'. He suggests it was designed during the 1290s. Edward 'clearly wanted the new shrine to be associated with the Crown'. As Figure 15a shows, his coat of arms was displayed prominently on the base of the shrine: four royal shields; (2) and (4) bore the three lions of England; (1) and (3) England and the fleur-de-lis of France per pale. Edward's building of the shrine at this late date indicates that he 'had a strong interest in emphasizing both the alleged criminality of the English Jewry and the Crown's position as the principal defender of the English Christians'. For Colvin the 12 Eleanor crosses reflect Edward's desire 'to enhance the prestige of the English monarchy by creating visible symbols of its piety and power'.

Did the ritual-child-murder accusation originate in England? If so, was it the brain-child of Theobald the Convert? For McCulloh, 'Thomas of Monmouth certainly reflects the anti-Jewish mentality of his age but he made no significant contribution to creating it.' Similar charges were made by Hellenistic Greeks. The historian Socrates alleged that

## Ritual Crucifixion

at Inmestar near Antioch in 415 CE drunken Jews replaced an effigy of Haman on the cross with a Christian boy, who died. Cecil Roth and Parkes have linked such accusations to the Purim festival celebrations. As evidence of continuity, these examples are rejected by Langmuir (1984: 825–6). However, Emperor Theodosius II included in his Code of 438 a clause forbidding mockery of the cross at Purim. The Theodosian Code was also accepted in the Latin west – and with it awareness of the Inmestar incident?

□ Jessopp & James (1896), esp. lxii–lxxix; *The Passions and Miracles of William of Norwich by Thomas of Momouth*, ed. M. Rubin (2013); Langmuir (1972), & (1984); McCulloh (1997); Shinnars (1988); Hillaby (1997); Jocelin, 15; Allin (1982); Stacey (2000), & (2007); *Devizes*, 64–9; Bale (2001), & 'Fictions of Judaism in England before 1290', in Skinner (2003), 129–44; Roth (1933), & (1964), 9, 13, 18, 21–2, 55–6, 78; *CR*, 1234–37, 271, 341; *CCR*, 1276, 273; *Rot Litt Claus*, II, 50–1, 53; Grayzel, II, 116–20; S. Lethieullier, 'Observations upon the Shrine of St Hugh', *Archaeologia*, 1 (1770), 26–9; Tovey (1738), 139–40; P. Graves, 'Building Debris', & 'Discussion', in *Finds from the Well at St Paul-in-the-Bail, Lincoln*, ed. J. Mann (2008), 20–2, 83–5, 90; Stocker (1986); Colvin, 1 (1963), 479–85; Henry III Fine Rolls Project, <http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-01-2010.html> and [/fm-01-2010.html](http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-01-2010.html) (accessed 26 January 2013)

**Ritual Crucifixion**/Murder *see* Ritual-Child-Murder Accusations

**Robert of Reading** *see* Oxford

**Roches, Peter des** *see* Introduction; 1218; Crossbowmen; Lincoln, Aaron of; Norwich, Isaac of; Treasure; Winchester, Chera of

**Rochester** *see* Licences for Residence

**Romsey**, Hampshire *see* Expulsions, Local

## Rouen

The medieval Jewish \*communities of Rodom (RDWM), from the Latin Rotomagus, and Normandy have each been the subject of a volume by Norman Golb. \*London's medieval Jewry was their child. The English monarchs ruled Normandy as dukes from 1066 to 1204, but relations between the duchy and England were not merely political. Trade links between London and Rouen were strong long before the Conquest. The fourth law code of King Ethelred (979–1016) stipulates that the men of Rouen who 'come with wine or blubber fish pay a duty of 6s for a large fish and 5% of the fish'; and that 'the men of Normandy who exhibited their goods pay toll'. This implies a healthy level of cross-channel trade well before the English Jewry was established, which is not surprising. Communication with Rouen, seaborne, was for London much simpler and quicker than with York or even Winchester. Documentary sources are confirmed by archaeological evidence, which shows Rouen as a source of imported tiles in the mid and late eleventh century.

In 1096 crusaders attacked the Rouen community, an event described by Guibert de Nogent, who recounts that, declaring the Jews God's worst foes, the crusaders drove

them to a place of worship, slaughtering all but those who would submit to conversion. No doubt it led to a considerable flight of members of that community to London. The \*Ramsey dictionary provides important evidence as to the Norman-French character of the English Jewry. It contains over 1000 words in \*Judeo-French with Anglo-Norman spelling, some typical of the Anglo-Norman dialect.

Historical and architectural evidence concur in dating the \*synagogue found during the 1976 excavations in the *cour d'honneur* of the *palais de justice* as c.1100. This had an east–west orientation and measured some 31 by 46½ ft (9.5 by 14 m). All but the eastern wall is decorated with buttresses. The entrance was on the south. Given the close links that \*Rabbi Josce and his family maintained with Rouen, it would be surprising if his new Rouen synagogue did not provide the model for the *magna scola* that he built behind the houses on the corner of Old Jewry and Lothbury.

Economic relations between the two cities remained strong throughout the twelfth century. The privileges enjoyed by Rouen merchants in the port of London were confirmed by Henry II, as ‘in the time of King Edward [the Confessor]’. In addition they were to have their own port at Dowgate. Wine from the Seine valley became a major import, King John enacting that from each wine shipment from Normandy he was to have two barrels of wine for his own use.

In 1152 \*ibn Ezra arrived in Rouen having vowed that, if he recovered from a severe illness, he would write a *Second Commentary on the Torah*. A note on a manuscript copy of his commentary on the Minor Prophets, which was written while he was at Rouen, makes it clear that it was here that ‘Joseph son of Jacob’, that is Rabbi Josce, became both his patron and close friend.

Rabbi Josce maintained a large house fronting the south side of the *rue aux juifs* in Rouen, as well as his London property, close to the *magna scola* (see plans in Golb (1998), 34, 167). It was less than 109 yd (100 m) from the site of the synagogue found in 1976. On the rabbi’s death, this great house was divided between his two sons. Isaac, the elder, received two-thirds of the property, on the west; the other third, on the east, went to Abraham, who sold it to an unknown purchaser, from whom it was bought by Josce, son of the Rouen magnate, Bonnevie.

In consequence of the September attack on the London Jewry in 1189, Isaac took up residence in Rouen. Hence it was in Normandy that he negotiated the \*1190 charter in which Richard I granted liberties to the Jews of England and Normandy ‘all customs and all liberties, just as our father granted and confirmed in his charter’. Isaac died probably in 1199. The sale of his portion of the house is to be found in a charter issued by John, as duke of Normandy, on 11 June 1203:

Know that we have granted and by this our charter confirm to Josce and Brun, sons of Bonnevie, Jews of Rouen, and to their heirs the sale which Josce son of Isaac has made to them of all that messuage which belonged to rabbi Josce in the *vicus Judeorum* [*rue aux juifs*] which the said Josce inherited from Isaac his father.

Josce was not alone in selling his Norman property. The liberate rolls record the sale by his sister, Muriel (*see* Women and Genealogy 7), and her son, Abraham, of their Norman lands in November of the same year. Eight months later, Rouen surrendered to the French king, Philip Augustus.

□ K. Steedman et al., *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London*, 3 (1992), 129, 134, 137; A. J. Robertson, *Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (1925), 72–3; J. M. Ziolkowski, 'Guibert of Nogent's Accusations Against a Judaizing and Jew-Supporting Christian', in Signer & van Engen (2001), 110–22; Golb (1985), 171–209, 265–87, & (1998), 368–71; Halbout-Bertin (1984); Tanguy (1990)

**Rubi Gotsce** *see* London, Rabbi Josce and sons

**Scola** *see* Synagogues

**Seaford**, Sussex *see* Chichester

### **Seals, Hebrew**

As Sirat points out, 'since the fourth century CE, the majority of male Jews have been literate'. Thus in medieval Jewish society, given that a signature is more difficult to forge, the use of seals by Jews was a convention adopted from Christian practice, but one to which, initially, a certain prestige was attached.

The most famous English medieval Jewish seal impression is that of \*Jacob, son of Master Moses, a member of one of the English Jewry's wealthiest and most distinguished families. Having held office in the exchequer as keeper of the \*queen's gold, he was well aware of the social significance of a personal seal. His is attached to an agreement with Walter de Merton, royal chancellor 1261–63 and 1272–74, relating to the sale of certain Oxford houses to 'the Scholars and Brethren of the House of Scholars', that is Merton College. Tovey famously dismissed Jacob's seal impression of a lion with the words, it 'can't be thought a Breach of the Second Commandment; for it is the Likeness of nothing that is in Heaven, Earth or Water'. Roth's riposte is that it is 'of course, the lion of Judah. It bears a definite similarity (perhaps literally, a family likeness) to that of Kalonymus, the "Jewish King" of Narbonne... both families claimed Davidic ancestry.' The frontispiece of Adler's *Jews of Medieval England* provides a photograph.

The most curious of all British Hebrew seals was found in the late nineteenth century near Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh, and shown at the British Museum as part of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition in 1887. It carries an inscription in Arabic, written in a cursive, Sephardic script. Stokes (1913) provides a good photograph, facing p. 64. Beit-Arié is 'tempted to suggest that the owner of the seal, Solomon ben Isaac, might have been the Spanish Jew who recorded his financial activity in Arabic', at the end of MS Corpus Christi College 133 (Olszowy-Schlanger (2003), no. 19). This is a vocalised copy of an Ashkenazic prayer-book, on the last two folios of which are recorded in Judeo-Arabic some ten payments made to a Jew 'since being here in England'. (*See* Judeo-French.) His clients, Rokéah finds, included the bishops of Exeter, Bath and Winchester, as well as

William de Chemillé, custodian for a time of the great abbey of St Mary at York, whose death in 1202 provides a *terminus ante quem* for the document. Eva Frojmovic describes this ‘very plain book, written mostly in single columns and without decoration’ as ‘the oldest *siddur* from Christian Europe, compiled in England before 1202’.

Both these seals belonged to a Jew of high status. A third example relates to two seals from a much humbler background. In 1220 Bonefei of \*Nottingham’s father, faced with the problem of money outstanding to the Crown, probably from King John’s 1210 tallage, is reported to have departed ‘without leave’. Bonefei was obliged to sell his father’s house, a toft with buildings and appurtenances in St Mary’s parish. The \*chirograph, signed in Hebrew, carries two green seals: the first of Bonefei, with the two Tablets of the Law and a legend in Hebrew; the second of his son, Josce, with a petal device. Colour photographs of both are on the rear cover of Causton’s volume.

In the case of Jewish bonds, only the borrower’s part of the chirograph was sealed. Originally this was retained by the lender, but from \*1239 it had to be placed in the \*chest. Seals also played an important role in *kashrut*. Metal seals were used to denote that meat and \*wine were kosher. Roth has drawn attention to a Jewish seal that may belong to this category. It is a shield-shaped piece of lead with Hebrew letters cut through. As they are slightly bevelled, for Roth it is ‘obvious that the object was used as a matrix’. ‘The first word, in letters about one inch [2½ cm] high, is quite clear; it is the Hebrew *kasher* or “ritually fit”.’ The interpretation of the three letters on the second line, obviously a contraction, ‘is not so easy’, but probably includes ‘– Israel may bless therewith –’. Roth suggests that such a seal would have been applied to the large earthenware jars used in France as wine containers. ‘In contrast to other commodities, *Kasher* wine definitely required the use of the seal.’

□ Sirat (2002), 16; Jacobs (1893), 26–7; Starrs, 2 (1932), cxiv–cxxx; Roth (1951), 140–3; E. Frojmovic, ‘Ashkenazi Prayerbooks and their Christian Illuminators’, in van Boxel & Arendt (2009), 45–56; Beit-Arié (1985), 33–4; Rokéah, appendix 2 in *idem*, 36–59; Causton (2007), no. 242; Roth (1953)

**Sepher Etz Hayyim**, ‘Tree of Life’ *see* London, Jacob ben Judah

**Sepher ha-Shoham**, ‘The Onyx Book’ *see* Moses ben Isaac ha-Nessiah

**Sepher ha-Tenaim**, ‘Book of Conditions’ *see* London, Master Moses

**Serjeants-at-arms** *see* Crossbowmen

**Sherborne** *see* Expulsions, Local

## Sheriffs

Appointed at the exchequer, the sheriff, or shire-reeve, was accountable there for the annual revenue of his county. He has been described as ‘the indispensable executant of royal writs, both administrative and financial’. The importance of the sheriff in terms of the Jewry lay in his authority as the local agent of the Crown; for the Laws of Edward the

Confessor of c.\*1136–38 stated that: ‘the Jews themselves and all their possessions are the king’s’. Thus it was to him that all royal writs from the \*Exchequer of the Jews had to be addressed. The distinction between the legal \*plea rolls and administrative memoranda rolls is examined by Jenkinson in the *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, III, xix–xlx.

Ten shrievalties consisted of pairs of counties: Nottingham and Derby; Salop and Stafford; Warwick and Leicester; Cambridge and Huntingdon; Norfolk and Suffolk; Buckingham and Bedford; Essex and Hertford; Sussex and Surrey; Dorset and Somerset; London and Middlesex.

### Security

One of the sheriff’s principal responsibilities, under the terms of the charters of Henry II, Richard I and John, was to ‘guard, defend and protect’ the Jews within his shire(s). As early as the 1144 \*ritual-child-murder accusation, John de Chesney, sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, informed the bishop of \*Norwich that ecclesiastical courts had no jurisdiction over the king’s Jews. When the Norwich Jews were threatened with trial by ordeal, John led them under armed guard from the cathedral precincts to the safety of the royal castle. In 1217 the sheriff was informed that ‘Isaac of Norwich, his goods and people were to be held secure’ in the same castle. Later, Isaac was to receive the assistance of six sheriffs of nearby counties in the collection of \*interest and principal from a number of his clients.

The Bristol \*tallage and the last years of John’s reign had been disastrous for the Jewry. In \*1218 Henry III’s Council of Regency commanded the sheriffs to

proclaim throughout all the district under your charge that we have assured the Jews of our peace. No action to the contrary by the bishop... is of any effect for our Jews are no concern of his. You shall not permit Jews to be impleaded in any ecclesiastical court on account of any debt.

This was a response to Canon 67 of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, that if ‘under any pretext Jews extort from Christians oppressive and immoderate interest, the partnership of the Christians shall be denied them till they have made satisfaction’.

The 1218 close rolls record that the sheriffs of \*Lincoln, \*Gloucester, \*Bristol and \*Oxford were ordered to supervise the election of 24 citizens to ensure the safety of the Jewry, especially from crusaders. Nevertheless, at Lincoln three Jews were murdered, and no action taken. At certain towns a Jewish bailiff was appointed. Thus the sheriff of Devon was to have

our Jews of \*Exeter in ward and countenance, neither doing nor suffering to be done to them any mischief or molestation. If any offend against them in any wise you cause reparation to be made them without delay. Neither lay nor suffer to be laid hands... on their chattels and if any Jew offend in ought... you attach him by Deulecresse l’Eveske, our bailiff in these parts, to have before our \*Justices (of the Jews) at Westminster.



The sheriffs had to be called in at Norwich, Lincoln and \*Canterbury in 1222, when the ecclesiastical authorities, following Canon 67, sought to implement an embargo on the sale of food and other necessities to the Jews in their respective towns. During the \*ritual-child-murder accusation at \*Winchester in 1232, the sheriff of Hampshire secured members of the Jewry within the castle. There in 1249 his successor was commanded to furnish the Jews' tower with a watch tower, leaden roof and fire-place. In 1265, when Simon de \*Montfort the younger sacked and pillaged the city, \*Licoricia and other members of the Jewry were secure within their tower.

The sheriff was thus in a powerful, and at times profitable, role in relation to his local Jewry. For the most part one has to read between the lines to gain a clear picture of the benefits that accrued to the sheriffs in their role as protectors of the Jewries, and as intermediaries between their local \*community and the Exchequer of the Jews at Westminster. However, a remarkable document, itemizing 87 payments received by Reginald of Cobham, sheriff of Kent, from the Canterbury Jewry between October 1250 and October 1253, shows how the local \*kehillah sought to maintain a sound relationship with him. Generally, the communities appear to have been remarkably successful in achieving this while retaining their religious and cultural identity. One notable exception was at \*Warwick in 1244, when the *kehillah* had to call on the sheriff to provide an inquest of Christian jurors to adjudicate in a bitter conflict between two Jewish families.

### Administration of the \*Chests

Another shrieval responsibility was to ensure the effective working of the elaborate machinery created to ensure the maximum financial benefits for the Crown from its Jewry. The sheriffs' responsibility for the administration of the *archae*, chests, in their respective counties included the appointment of two upright Christian and two Jewish \*chirographers, as well as their clerks. When Jews failed to meet royal tallage demands, the exchequer would command the sheriff to extract their 'better and sounder debts,' so that their Christian clients could be distrained directly from Westminster.

Additionally, they were responsible for the imposition of new regulations relating to the chirographs, administration of the chests, and transport of bonds and chests to Westminster. They had also to ensure that proclamations were made in provincial \*synagogues concerning outstanding claims of debts relating to specified individuals, and to respond, 'as well in Latin and in Hebrew', whether any Jew made such a claim. In \*London the \*Constable of the Tower was responsible for this and other matters relating to the Jewry.

On occasions the sheriff's actions were constrained. Difficulties in serving writs were experienced at the \*liberties of the castle and royal borough of \*Devises, the boroughs of \*Marlbrough and \*Stamford, and the city of \*Bristol. Sometimes there was an element of danger. From Abraham and his wife, Besse, at \*Chichester in 1276 the sheriff

took three pairs of scissors for clipping \*coins, two seals and clippings weighing £6 6s 8d. On his return he was resisted, 'with force and arms,' by 25 Christians, all named. They were subsequently arrested by the sheriff, with his *posse comitatus*.

The previous year the sheriff of Hampshire arrived in Southampton with his posse, to present the claims of Deudone, Jewish chirographer of Winchester. The common bell of the town being rung, they were met by a group of 18 burgesses, armed with swords, axes, bows and arrows and other arms. The sheriff was hit by a stone, two of his posse gravely wounded; Deudone, thrown from his horse, was stabbed in the arm and robbed of his tabard, super-tunic and 6 marks. Revoking Southampton's civic charter, Edward I appointed a royal keeper to govern the town. The eventual return of its charter was an expensive business: a fine of £20 and a 40-mark addition to the burgesses' annual payments to the Crown.

Sheriffs were both lending and borrowing money. According to Jocelin, William son of Isabel, sheriff of London 1176–77 and 1178–87, lent over £1000 to the abbey at \*Bury St Edmunds. William Giffard, brother of Godfrey, bishop of Worcester 1268–1302, and Walter, archbishop of York 1266–79, who were both involved in the trade in Jewish debts, was a former sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. Having borrowed heavily from Jews, in 1275 he plundered the \*Bedford Jewry and went on to gather a mob of 24 locals to launch a nocturnal attack on that at \*Bristol. The constable of the adjacent castle, who stood by and did nothing, was later replaced.

### Rewards and Abuses

As Stacey points out, 'the costs of royal assistance were high... It generally cost at least 2s to get the local sheriff or constable to act at all.' However, there could be considerable, mutual, benefits in a close relationship between the sheriff and the leading Jewish family of his county. At Bedford some of \*Belia's bonds, lost during the Montfortian period, were acquired by John Lovel, former sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire. Later he was operating as an agent for Belia and her sons.

William III de Beauchamp of Elmley Castle, Worcestershire, was one of the few hereditary sheriffs. The family cartulary shows that he fully recognised how Hak and other members of the \*Worcester Jewry could assist him in tightening his family's hold on the lands of the Severn and Avon valleys. It provides evidence of the indebtedness of both knights and more substantial freeholders, whose 'great need' or 'urgent business' caused them to grant their lands to William. In return the Jewry was able to look to his protection and support for a number of their claims (*see* Worcester).

At \*Hereford \*Aaron II le Blund formed a similar alliance with Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore who, a year after the battle of Evesham, combined the shrievalty of the county with the constableness of Hereford castle. Roger was now eagerly seeking estates encumbered by debts to the Jewry, well beyond Wigmore. Victims of the alliance included John de Balun of Much Marcle, near Ledbury, where his castle still bears the

Mortimer name; others were William de Bliss, who held lands in the extreme north-east of the county, and Henry de Pembridge, whose father had held the shrievalty in 1257–59.

### \*Expulsions

In 1275, when the Jews were expelled from Eleanor the queen mother's four dower towns, the royal mandate ordered the Gloucester Jews to go 'to our town of Bristol', those of Cambridge 'to our town of Norwich'. This did not happen. In the first case, the community, fully conscious of the travails of the Bristol Jews, negotiated with their sheriff to be transferred to Hereford, where the community leader's wife, Mirabelle, was a former Gloucester Jewess. The Cambridge Jewry persuaded its sheriff, who had authority over Huntingdon, that they should reside there rather than in the turbulent atmosphere of Norwich. Two of the affected Jews made personal arrangements to reside outside the bounds of the towns from which they were being expelled: at Gloucester Belia and her brother Ursell were granted permission to live in Brook Street, just beyond the town walls. At Cambridge Josce son of Saulot, who negotiated not with the sheriff but with the exchequer, was permitted, no doubt for a suitable fine, to reside at nearby Chesterton, so that he could 'conduct his business and repair the houses that he had in the town'.

Two years after Pope Nicholas III, seeking to increase the rate of conversion, issued his bull *Vineam sorec* an unusual duty was thrust on the sheriffs in 1280. The patent rolls include a mandate:

at the prayer of the prior provincial of the Friars Preachers, to sheriffs and all bailiffs and others, to induce the Jews, by such means as they under the inspiration of the spirit of truth may think most efficient, to assemble and hear without tumult, contention, or blasphemy, the word of God preached by the friars, and to see that the rest do not interfere with those who become \*converted.

□ Richardson (1960), 124–5; *PREJ*, IV, 139–47; Warren (1987), 192–8; W. A. Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff* (1927); Stacey (1995), 97; Hillaby (1990a), 449–53, & (1990c), 101–5

### Shohet

Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14:3–21 define what may and may not be eaten. The provision of a *shohet*, licensed to confirm he had the requisite technical skill and ritual knowledge, was a fundamental responsibility for every \*community. Only through the offices of their salaried *shohet* could its members be confident that the meat they were eating had been slaughtered according to the dictates of *shechita*, as in Deuteronomy 12:23–4. When the community of the Jews of London was incarcerated, between 1277 and December 1278, they paid the \*constable of the Tower 6s 8d 'for [access to] the slaughter house'.

In small communities the slaughtering of animals may have fallen to the rabbi. This was certainly not the case at \*Hereford, where there was a surplus of kosher meat. The

## Sources

1267 Statute of the Pillory required borough bailiffs to enquire 'if any do buy flesh of Jews and then sell it to Christians'. The prohibition was evidently ignored, for the close rolls show that it was repeated in 1281. Four years later Johanna Bibol was fined 12d by the city authorities 'for the sale of Jewish meat'. \*Gloucester also had a *shohet*, Isaac *Carnifex*, who paid 5½d towards the Third of 1239; by contrast, Abraham, *hazan*, paid 7d. At \*Canterbury, the fourth wealthiest community at the time, two ritual slaughterers are recorded in the Third: Pictavin *carnifice* paying 2s 4½d; Jurnetto *carnifice*, evidently his assistant, a mere 2½d. The Jewish Museum has a \*tally stick relating to the 1241 levy inscribed 'Isaac *Carnifice* de t.xx mill m'. A small notch indicates the sum paid, 1s (Figure 17 under Tally Sticks).

See also Community.

□ Metzger (1982), 181–2; Hillaby (1990a), 473, & (2002), 76; Stacey (1987a), 210–11

**Sources** see Pipe Rolls and Related Sources; Exchequer of the Jews, Plea Rolls of

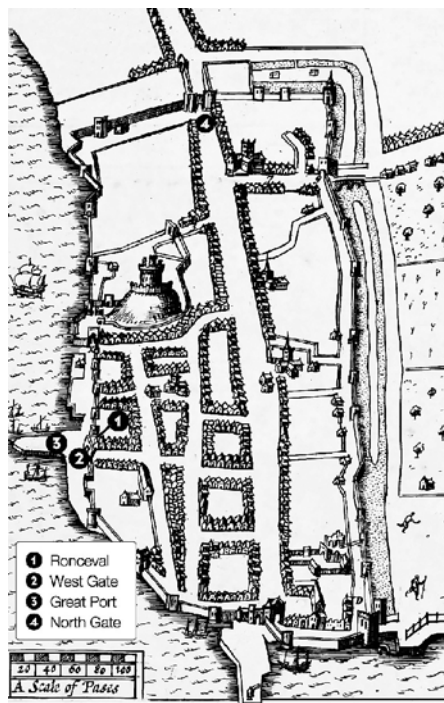
## Southampton

In 1203–04 Southampton was the third largest port of the south and east coasts in terms of overseas trade. The first record of its Jewry, probably an offshoot of the \*Winchester \*community, is in 1226, when it was assessed for tallage at £3 6s 10d, ranking nineteenth of 21. It evidently faced strong internal hostility, for in 1236 Henry III granted his burgesses of Southampton 'that no Jew shall remain in the town without the King's special licence'. Yet in 1272 three Jews paid £16 13s 4d towards the \*tallage. In 1274 Josce of Germany and Solomon son of Solomon fined 4 \*bezants to reside there.

\*Benedict of Winchester, his son, Lumbard, and Deudone, son of Isaac, were already playing a prominent role, lending money to leading Southampton merchants. Amongst them were William and Richard of Gloucester, who had mortgaged Ronceval (1 on Plan 10), by the West Gate (2) of the Great Port (3), to Benedict and Lumbard. One of the principal buildings of the town, it was so-called in or before 1231, when William II Marshal granted it to Roncevalles Abbey in the Pyrenees. A first-floor hall with a warehouse cellar, it was similar to King John's House, the ruins of which lie to the north. In 1414 Ronceval was still 'the great \*house'. (See Houses.)

The \*plea rolls record that Benedict and Lumbard, who had secured possession in 1273, 'were unlawfully ejected, without judgment', by Richard, his daughter Claramunda and Stephen Dyset, who also carried away 'their goods and chattels from the building'. Next year the rolls confirm that, for 20 marks in hand, Richard released to Benedict and Lumbard all right and claim he might have to Ronceval. When Benedict fell victim to the \*coin-clipping crisis, the property escheated to the Crown, and Edward returned it to the abbey of Roncevalles.

In 1275 Deudone, the Winchester \*chirographer, arrived at the North Gate (4 on Plan 10) of the town with the \*sheriff of Hampshire to press his claims. Robert Hue and 17 others, 'with the assent and consent of the community', came 'with swords, axes, bows



Plan 10 Plan of Southampton, from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611)

Source: © University of Bristol Library Special Collections.

and arrows and other arms and caused the town's common bell to be rung' against the two men. They 'raised the hue and cry, assaulted Deudone, threw him from his horse, stripping him of his tabard and super-tunic and 6 marks of silver'. He was knifed in the arm and maltreated, 'to his damage of £200'. The sheriff was struck with a stone and two of his men were seriously wounded. Deudone brought an action against 'the burgesses of Southampton'.

Edward I responded by taking the town's government into his own hands. Adam de Wynton, appointed royal keeper, was commanded 'to permit Deudone to dwell with his household in the town, to ply merchandise and take his goods to other places where Jews of the realm dwell'. Only some years later, on payment of a £20 fine and acceptance of a 40-mark increase in its annual payments to the Crown, did Southampton regain its liberties.

One of Benedict's wealthy merchant clients, Richard of Southwick, lived close by, in Cuckoo Lane. Objects found in 1972 during excavations in cess pit 14, behind his house, reflect the lifestyle enjoyed by Richard, whose 'nice discrimination, far-flung trading

## Southwark

interests and wealth he was not reluctant to display'. Tableware included 'Malagan lustres and boldly painted claret-jugs from Saintonge'. Diet included 'beef, mutton, fish, eggs, oysters, mussels, fruit such as grapes, plums, cherries, raspberries, wild strawberries, and hazel and walnuts, with figs'. Also found were remnants of his fashionable shoes, both blunt-ended and finely pointed, some with carefully pierced leatherwork. The sheath of his dagger was of intricately embossed Spanish leather. His animals included five dogs, a ferret and two sparrow hawks, for hunting, and a pet Barbary ape. Benedict's lifestyle was no doubt comparable.

□ TNA/E401/1567; *CR*, 1236, 275; *CCR*, 1275, 259; *PREJ*, II, 95–6, 119–20, 130–2, 137–8, 173, 196, 200, 216–17, 219–20, 227, 286, 302; P. F. D. Allin, 'Medieval Southampton and its Jews', *TJHSE*, 23 (1971), 87–95; Platt (1973), 37–8, 41–2, 44–7, 53 n. 47, 59–60, 63, 83, 103–5, 235, 237, 251, 269; Platt & Coleman-Smith, I (1975), 22–3, 31–2, 78–85, 293–4, 327–30 & pl. 70, & II, p. 20 & pl. 119

**Southwark** *see* Guildford

**Speenhamland** *see* Expulsions, Local

## Stamford, Lincs

A walled borough, with a castle built by the Conqueror. This guarded the bridge where the Great North Road crosses the river Welland, which forms the boundary between the counties of \*Lincoln and \*Northampton. Considerable wharfage was to be found downstream from the Town Bridge. Wool and grain were sent, via the Wash, to Boston and Lynn for export. From 1154 the town enjoyed a century of great prosperity, due principally to its wool trade and manufacture of high-grade Haberget cloth, and pottery. Stamford's mid-Lent fair, where royal purveyors bought fur and other commodities, was of national importance.

The \*pipe rolls indicate that there was a small Jewish \*community here by 1185, attracted no doubt by the important mint as well as the fair. In that year Simon of Stamford rendered £1, his son Isaac 5 marks, and Brun, also of Stamford, £10 for their debts to the Crown. Later Deulesault of Stamford is recorded as lending 10 silver marks at an \*interest of 3d per week per £1. The next year Joia, Jewess of Lincoln, owed £1 for an agreement between her and Isaac and Samuel 'Jews of Stamford', but we learn from the 1186 pipe roll that Samuel 'is dead and his chattels and pledges are in the king's hand'.

William of Newburgh reports that at the Lent fair on 7 March 1190 'young men from different counties, who...were about to set out for Jerusalem', indignant at the wealth of the Jews when they had so little for such a long journey, 'boldly rushed upon them...Several Jews were killed, the rest escaped with difficulty to the castle.' Having plundered a great deal of money from their houses, the assailants fled. The Stamford community, like those of \*York and \*Lynn, does not appear in the 1194 Northampton *Promissum*, but Jews are listed elsewhere as 'de Stanford'. They include Samuel's son, Isaac, who paid £3 at Northampton, and Manasser, £10 at Lincoln.

As at \*Winchester, to follow the fortunes of the Jewry, one has to understand the politics of the borough. In 1205 Stamford, with its castle, and Grantham were granted to William IV de Warenne, fifth earl of Surrey. Its Jewry was one of the 17 communities formally recognised in \*1218. In the 1221 tallage it ranked seventh, paying £38 17s 11d. Pictavin, his son Jacob and son-in-law Aaron dominated the community, contributing 40% of its tallage. Pictavin, who now ranked fourth amongst the English magnates, had successfully weathered the travails of John's reign, for he had also to pay arrears of the Bristol tallage. In the same year the community paid 18s 10d for dispensation from wearing the \*badge. In March 1222, some Stamford Jews were arrested on a charge of staging a play 'which mocked Christianity'; Roth suggests this was possibly during a Purim festival. It does not, however, appear to have affected the community adversely. The 1223 and 1226 tallage returns show Stamford was respectively 10th of 17 and 8th of 21 Jewries. Pictavin's sons-in-law, Jacob and Aaron, were amongst Stamford's representatives at the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament', with Deulesault and Samuel, sons of Cok, Jacob son of Elias, and Meir son of David. Jacob led the delegation, and acted as a juror. Stamford's tax contribution in 1239–42, when it ranked ninth of 19 Jewries, was £175 15s 6d, including 'tallage for paupers and refugees', paid by the community.

Following the death of William IV de Warenne in 1240, his heir John being under age, the Crown held both castle and town until 1265. Roffe has shown that during this period 'a group of burgesses.... assumed control of the borough', whose particular interests were Jewish affairs and murage payments. This had profound implications for the Jewry. The records of Stamford's seigneurial court, the Ragman rolls, are thus of particular interest. Ultimately, this period witnessed a marked decline in the fortunes of Stamford's Jewry. The \*plea rolls provide details of payments on account from 11 provincial communities to a tallage of £4000, imposed in Trinity term, 1244. Stamford's Jews paid £66 10s, more than \*Oxford, at £61 17s 4d, and \*Cambridge, £58 8s. Yet the sum demanded for the 1255 tallage was a mere 40 marks; of the 21 contributing communities only \*Nottingham and \*Warwick paid less, 18 and 1½ marks respectively.

In 1254 Henry III had granted Stamford and its castle to his son, the Lord Edward. It was only after de \*Montfort's defeat at Evesham in 1265 that John de Warenne regained Stamford, and the burgesses lost control. 'After the recent troubles in the realm,' Henry sought to restore the prosperity of the English Jewry. The evidence suggests that Warenne had similar ambitions for his Stamford Jewry. The plea rolls for Hilary Term 1275 indicate his success, providing details of 55 bonds, totalling over £380, returned to the Stamford \*chest following payment of tallage by ten Jews. Of these, 21 bonds worth over £182 belonged to Diaie, or Isaac, of Holme, whose house was in Stamford; six valued at £43 to Meyr son of Sampson, whose son Tony held 11, £43 13s 4d; 2 other bonds were worth £20 and £30. A previous list related to the tallage names 18 Jews holding 116 bonds, and a further 27 with no bonds in the chest.

Roffe points out that John de Warenne's 'franchise effectively withdrew Stamford from royal administration in the shire and made his seneschal \*sheriff within the town'. Thus in 1275 the sheriff of Lincoln experienced considerable difficulty in serving the justices of the Jews' writs against Elias son of Manser, Jew of Stamford, as Earl Warenne's bailiffs would not suffer him to enter the town to put any writ into execution. Such refusal was repeated on three later occasions, as the sheriff declined to follow the simple solution of the Westminster clerks, to 'take with him a sufficient posse and enter the town'. Diaie of Holme was another fugitive he failed to find. There was, however, a strong sense of community. When 'the Jews of Stamford' were held in the Tower, 1275–78, they were prepared to pay £2 10s 'so that they could be by themselves'. Significantly, in 1277 Isaac son of Isaac of Provyns, whose father had, for 3 \*bezants, moved from \*Lincoln to \*Nottingham, paid 5 bezants to come to Stamford.

This Jewry was to suffer dramatically during the \*coin-clipping crisis. In 1279 Hamo Hauteyn and Hugh de Kendal sold 'the houses in Stamford late of Jews there... hanged for felony and of other Jews who refused to go to a Jewry and to enfeof others thereof'. Seven houses, 'late of Diaie of Holme, Isaac Motun, Saulinus son-in-law of Aaron, Diddle son-in-law of Bateman, Terta and Blanche, widows, and Elias's, were sold to Alexander of Tickencote for £17 6s 8d. Also hanged were Benedict of Colchester, Josce son of the Master, and Tony son of Aaron. Mannyng of Holme converted. In 1285 Peter le Clerk' of Stamford owed the Crown the considerable sum of 10 marks, £6 13s 4d, for the *pluma*, which Rokéah suggests may have been featherbeds, down pillows or quilts, of Jews condemned for coinage offences; by 1289–90 only 1 mark had been paid. In the \*1287 'mini-parliament', the community was represented by Abraham de Stamford and Leo, a son of \*Moses de Clare.

The 1290 \*expulsion returns indicate that the Stamford community was virtually moribund. There is no record of any bonds, and only three property owners are named. Two were women: Belaset had a messuage in Colgate Street in St Michael's parish and another in St John's, of the annual value of 3s 6d and 6s, respectively; Reyne, whose husband David son of Meyr had died c.1276, lost 16 of his charters to the Crown as payment for his tallage arrears in that year, but retained their house in All Saints, valued at 2s a year. The third, Tony son of Meyr, had merely a storey of similar value in the same parish.

A Stamford rental (TNA/SC11/426) records that Matilda de Wakerle paid 6s for 'the house which was their *scola Judeorum*'. According to Leland, the \*synagogue's furniture and \*books, with those from \*Huntingdon, were sold by auction in 1290. The Northampton expulsion returns refer to 4s per annum from houses in Stamford towards the shared upkeep of their \*cemetery. Matilda's lease, however, included 'a certain *placea* which lies next to St Martin's cemetery'. As this was the only church outside Stamford's town walls, the vicinity sounds an ideal place for the Jewish cemetery. The Northampton reference may thus be the vestige of an earlier arrangement. There are



serious doubts about references to the large community at Lincoln sharing the York cemetery.

□ *Rot Litt Claus*, I, 491; *PREJ*, I, 33, 74–5, & II, 54, 98, 121, 126, 262, 283, 289–90, 295, 316–17, & IV, nos 43, 205, 209, pp. 154, 177; Moore (1985), 9–14; Hillaby (2013), 46–7; Douie & Farmer, 2 (1962), 17; Langmuir (1972), 462–3; RCHME, *Stamford* (1977), xxix, xlii, 5; A. Rogers, *The Making of Stamford* (1965), 43–6; Roth (1964), 42 n. 91; *Stamford in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. D. Roffe (c.1994), 22–33, & 'Walter Dragus's Town? Lord and Burghal Community in Thirteenth Century Stamford', *Lincs Hist & Archaeology*, 23 (1988), 43–6; Roth (1964), 42 n. 91; Rokéah (1993), 173, 181, 197, 201, 216, & (2000), nos 1038 n. 14, 1170 n. 20, 1221 n. 56 & 57, 1307

**Starr**, L. *Starrum*; Hebrew s. *shetar*, pl. *shetaroth*, 'contract'

Pre-expulsion Jewish contractual document, often written in Hebrew, with a Latin transcript; others in Latin alone; a few in Hebrew characters; and a small number in Norman French. 'By far the most frequent use' is for the quitclaims by which, on payment of principal and \*interest, a Jewish creditor released the Christian debtor, whether granted to the debtor himself or a third party. The debt could then be cancelled, and the debtor recover the *pes* or foot of the \*chirograph which, according the \*1233 Statute, was to be kept in the \*chest under lock and key, but from 1239 to be held by the Jew.

The earliest known and the earliest extant starr both relate to business transactions of \*Aaron of Lincoln. The former, dated 1176, a copy from the \*pipe rolls, relates to the grant to the monks of Meaux, East Yorkshire, of lands from William Fossard, in return for the abbot's payment of William's debts to Aaron. The latter, BL Add MS 1250, dated 1182 (Davis (1969), no. 146), records that the men of Barton-upon-Humber had delivered £10 10s to Benedict ben Elias, acting as Aaron's agent, who added, 'what I have received I have written and sealed'.

The second category of starrs relates to contracts between Jews. In *Shetaroth: Hebrew Deeds of English Jews before 1290* M. D. Davis published the Hebrew text with an English translation of 208 such deeds, 'the large majority' found in \*Westminster Abbey Muniments. Apart from three of Aaron's deeds, nos 146–8, these are thirteenth-century in date. They provide valuable information on the internal life of nine \*communities: \*Norwich, 94; \*Nottingham, 51; \*Lincoln, 24; \*Canterbury, 15; \*London, 11; \*York, 5; \*Colchester, 2; \*Oxford, 2; \*Winchester, 1; and 2 unspecified. They include: contracts drawn up to record, securely, the terms of the sales of lands, houses and bonds, and the establishment of partnerships in bonds; settlements of family disputes; records of loans between Jews, using a third party in order to evade the prohibition in Deuteronomy 20:20. Others give details of contracts relating to betrothal and widows seeking confirmation of their property rights. Of particular interest is the promise of two Norwich brothers to 'find a nice, sweet partner' for their sister and to pay a dowry of 10 marks, the feast and other wedding costs. See *Women*; also Westminster Abbey Muniments.

For illustrations of releases in Hebrew, *Starrs* I, pl. II & III.

## Stockport

□ Rigg (1902), xix–xx; for the first category, *Starrs*, I–III, together with *PREJ*; for the second category, Davis (1969); Jacobs (1893), 58–9, 76–7; Lipman (1967), 82–3; Roth (1957); Olszowy-Schlanger (2013)

**Stockport** *see* Expulsions, Local

### Sudbury, Moses de Clare of and the ‘Red Earl’

Moses de Clare of Suffolk is remarkable for his wide-ranging interests, and his connections with two unattractive individuals. The first was Henry de Winchester, known locally as Henry de \*Dernegate, a Jew who following conversion was belted a knight by Henry III and who, during the \*coin-clipping crisis, 1276–79, acted as an undercover agent for the Crown.

Adler and Stacey have drawn attention to the partnership in the sale of Jewish bonds between Moses and Dernegate, who in 1252 had been appointed a royal notary at the \*Exchequer of the Jews. Moses de Clare, ‘dwelling at Sudbury’, was included in the 1255 tallage returns of the \*sheriff for Norfolk and Suffolk, paying £10, plus £1 for the portion of \*Aaron of York; \*Norwich Jews paid £30 and £3. He was also pledge for the \*Cambridge \*community. The first reference to a \*chest at Sudbury (Suffolk) comes in July 1261, when Dernegate carried out a scrutiny of the East Anglian *archae*. The next year, Moses was granted, for a fine, that there should be no ‘prorogation of terms, quit-tance, or gift of debts due to him’. In 1268 he sold debts of some £70 to the abbot of Waltham. Carriage of the chests of the king’s Jews of Norwich, Sudbury and \*Lynn to the Tower of London cost £1 in 1270/71. Later records show that Sudbury’s chest was used almost exclusively by Moses. Such privileges no doubt reflect his special relationship with Dernegate, which lasted until at least 1273.

It is possible that Moses’ links with Dernegate facilitated his association with Gilbert de Clare, the ‘Red Earl’ of Gloucester and Hertford, who succeeded in 1262. His has been described as ‘the greatest baronial family in England’. Their original estates were about their castle, at Clare in Suffolk, some 10 miles north-west of Sudbury, in the Stour valley. Later they acquired the vast lordship of Glamorgan in \*Wales. After his succession Gilbert, alienated by Henry III who refused to give him his Glamorgan inheritance, joined the \*Montfortians at the battle of Lewes, and quickly became the most powerful man in the realm after Simon himself. He was responsible for attacks on the \*Canterbury Jewry in 1264, and for despatching its chest to Dover.

By 1266 Gilbert, as lord of Clare Castle, had become Moses de Clare’s patron. At his instance that year, ‘in consideration of losses inflicted on him by the king’s enemies in the time of the disturbance in the realm’, Moses was granted

that his pledges... in whosoever hands they are, where the counterparts are in the \*chirographers’ chests, shall be seized into his hands according to the law and the custom of the Jewry until those debts be levied and paid.

De Clare had evidently decided to follow the example of Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore and William III de Beauchamp, sheriffs respectively of \*Hereford and \*Worcester, in

using the Jewish bond market to acquire strategically placed lands encumbered by debt. In the same year the sheriff returned a writ concerning Moses to the bailiffs of the \*liberty of St Edmunds, which included Clare, 'who did nought in pursuance thereof'.

Two years later, the close rolls show, again at the request of 'our well-loved and faithful Gilbert de Clare', Henry III granted that none of Moses' debtors, including the Norfolk landowner William Munchensi, 'would receive pardons, quittances, prorogations or extensions of terms for the next five years'. Moses was not the only member of the Jewry through whom Gilbert was acquiring lands. At \*Bedford in 1268 \*Belia and her son Jacob sold him all their rights in four debts of William de Whiston, from whom 1000 marks was now due in \*interest and principal. In 1313 Whiston manor was still in the hands of Gilbert's family. At his castle of \*Caerleon in the marches of Wales, where the royal writ did not run, Gilbert had another personal Jew, David de Kaerleon, who died in 1278.

By 1273 Moses de Clare's interests were widening. His son, Moses de Sudbury, paid 3 \*bezants to leave \*Lincoln and pursue his father's interests from \*Nottingham. The next year it was discovered that his charters had been withdrawn from the Lincoln chest without the king's mandate. Evidence of the geographical range of his father's interests is reflected in his 'more secure bonds', from Sussex, Norfolk, York and Hampshire, which were withdrawn from the Sudbury chest in 1277 to meet his tallage arrears.

Given Moses' relationship with de Clare, it is hardly surprising that in 1273 the Sudbury chirographers, ordered to send all Moses' charters to Westminster, despatched them by an 'unwonted' messenger in a sealed pyx, which was broken so that charters could be inserted or removed. Next year, Moses failing to respond to a writ, the sheriff sent it to the bailiffs of the liberty of St Edmunds, who replied that the bailiffs of Sudbury 'withstood them so that the writ could not be executed'. The sheriff, being ordered to command Moses to appear, sent word that he and the Sudbury bailiffs had 'absconded, so ... not to be found'. The Sudbury bailiffs were charged in 1275 with hindering the late sheriff and royal bailiffs in the king's mandate to distrain Moses. Again the St Edmunds bailiffs 'did nought in pursuance thereof'.

The saga confirms that Moses retained the patronage of the Red Earl, described by Matthew Paris as 'after the king, the most mighty man in deed and discourse'. Not amongst the 680 Jews imprisoned in the Tower during the coin-clipping crisis of the late 1270s, Moses survived unscathed. As Rokéah has shown, he fined £5 'for having grace' in connection with alleged coinage violations in 1278–79.

In \*1287, Moses' family sent three representatives to the 'mini-parliament': Moses for Sudbury; his sons, Moses and Leo, for Nottingham and \*Stamford, respectively. A third son, Vives, paid ½ mark (6s 8d) in 1275 to reside at Maldon in Essex, and a fourth, Jacob, is recorded at Norwich in 1283–84. Such a distribution may well reflect Moses' concern for flexibility in the registration of his bonds. At the \*expulsion, nine of his bonds in the Nottingham chest were valued at £62 1s 4d; all had been negotiated in the last 12 months. Moses and Vives each had a house in \*Ipswich, valued at 5s 2d and 10s.

## Surgeons

Other members of the Sudbury community include Cresse, his son Isaac and Bonevie of Sudbury. Together with sons aged 13 years or more, these three families could well have made up a minyan, for there is reference to a proclamation made in Sudbury \*synagogue in 1275. Its site is unknown.

□ Adler (1939), 285–6 292; Stacey (1992a), 276–9; Brand (2000), 1149–52; Rokéah, 3 (1975), 43–4, & (2001), 83–4, 92, 94; *PREJ*, I, 133, 152, 211, 234, & II, 54, 128, 204–5, 270, & indices; *CPR*, 1255, 443, & 1261, 186, & 1266, 646, & 1273, 6, & 1275, 127; *CLR*, 1261, 51; *CR*, 1268, 458–9; *VCH, Northants*, 4 (1937), 288–92; *Flores Historiarum*, III, 96

**Surgeons** *see* Physicians

**Surrey** *see* Chichester

**Sussex** *see* Chichester

## **Synagoga and Ecclesia**

The relationship of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*, representing the Old and New Law, has not always been, as in the thirteenth century, one of violent confrontation. For Augustine in the *City of God* 'the Old Testament is not other than the New covered by a veil'. As André Grabar has shown, the bringing 'together of subjects from the Old and New Testaments' began early in Rome. Drawings of the mosaics in the cupola of Sta Constanza show a row of little scenes, four devoted to the Old Testament, and three above to the Gospels. At Sta Maria Maggiore the mosaics include cycles of both Old and New Testaments. At Sta Sabina the wooden door panels compare, amongst other things, four of the miracles of Moses and three of Christ.

The dialogue *Altercatio Ecclesia et Synagoga*, composed in Spain or north Africa in the fifth century, is one of the first documents to present the two in dispute as to who legitimately, should rule. Rowe points out that copies of the *Altercatio* appeared in north European church libraries in the ninth century, but Jews were too few in the heart of the Carolingian empire to explain the popularity of the new *Ecclesia-Synagoga* motif. Only the influx of Jews into north Europe in the late tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries explains the image asserting the triumph of *Ecclesia* over *Synagoga*. Jews were not seen in the English provinces until the 1140s.

In the disputation in 1093 between Gilbert Crispin, abbot of Westminster, and a Jew who had studied at Worms the subjects discussed included 'Is the Law of Moses still valid?', 'Is Jesus the Messiah?' and 'Have Christians replaced Jews as the Chosen People?'. For Beryl Smalley both Crispin and Peter Abelard, in his *Dialogue of a Philosopher with a Jew and a Christian*, 'show a tolerance and an appreciation of the Jewish point of view which contrasts strikingly with the bitterness of later controversy' (*see* London, para. 2). Indeed, as William of Malmesbury reports, William Rufus even suggested that if the Jews mastered his bishops in open debate he would become one of their sect; to this the chronicler added, 'in jest as I suppose'. The Jews responded that they were overcome not by debate but by power. (*See* Introduction, para. 2.)

### The Harmony of the two Testaments: Worcester and Canterbury Cathedrals

In an examination of the cycle of images painted on the vault of the circular chapter-house of Worcester Cathedral of c.1120, T. A. Heslop points out that the organising principle was typological, with ten New Testament subjects from Christ's Nativity through to the triumphal enthronement of Mary/*Ecclesia*, each paralleled by three Old Testament 'types', that is events and persons of the Old Testament that foreshadowed those of the New. As Heslop explains:

one of the characteristic messages... is that Christ's incarnation does not usher in a Law which supersedes that of Moses. Rather, it develops from and clarifies it. The idea of putting new growth on an established stem was probably the central allegory ... of the building.

More recently Heslop has discussed the late twelfth-century stained glass of the typological windows in the north aisle and transept of the choir of \*Canterbury Cathedral. These he believes 'reinstated the essentials of its Romanesque predecessor', destroyed by fire in 1174. His interest is in their 'conceptual ambition as a moralising cycle relating the Old to the New Testament' and their relationship to the images on the vault at Worcester.

At \*Canterbury a square panel in the centre of the oculus in the north transept of the choir depicts Moses and *Synagoga* surrounded by the four figures of the cardinal virtues: prudence, temperance, justice and fortitude. On the left Moses, with halo, holding a large book, points to *Synagoga* on the right; she holds the Tables of the Law firmly in her hands. Her face is unveiled but this, like Moses' halo, may represent restoration. Both figures stand under an arch, and are attributed to the Master of the Parable of the Sower. It is probable that Christ and *Ecclesia*, representing the New Law, were to be found in the oculus of the southern, sunny, transept. Caviness (1977) discusses the cycle of Canterbury's 12 typological windows and provides reconstructions in an appendix, where Moses appears in nine. As Caviness (1981) shows, a number of these can still be seen. Thus in the second typological window in the north choir aisle Moses leads the people out of Egypt, and Christ leads the nations. Moses and Christ are in almost identical poses. In the north-east transept is Synagogue with Moses and *Ecclesia* with John, representing the New and Old Testaments. Surviving glass in the fourth typological window shows Moses receiving the Law, a type of the Sermon on the Mount. It is the *Pharisei* who turn and walk away. Similarly the sixth typological window proclaims it is 'the Pharisees who despise the word of God', [S] VNT VERBA DEI QVI CONTEMPNVNT *Pharise*.

Taking the cycle overall, Heslop concludes:

In my reading the guilt of the Jews is less important than their role in history, especially the process by which the idea of a chosen people was transferred through Christ to *Ecclesia*. When the Jews are identified as such in the inscriptions in the windows, it is usually in a positive context. ... It is clear that those

responsible for this imagery were far more alert to the Judaic foundations of Christianity than any need to castigate the Jews.

‘The harmony of the two testaments’ was the principal theme of Abbot Suger’s internal decoration at St Denis in 1145. There it is symbolised above all by the glass roundel showing Christ standing between *Ecclesia*, with chalice and book, and *Synagoga*, with tablets of the Law; He crowns the former but raises the veil of the latter. Suger’s inscription on the window, reflecting Augustine’s statement, reads: ‘What Moses veiled the doctrines of Christ unveiled.’

For Rowe ‘it appears that images of *Synagoga* physically denounced may have developed first in the Byzantine realm’. An early example of the impact of the Crusades is to be seen at St Gilles-du-Gard, where the southernmost of the three tympana on the west front of the abbey church of c.1130–40 depicts a crucifixion. On Christ’s right is *Ecclesia*; to His left *Synagoga*, pushed so violently by an angel that she falls. She wears a crown in the form of an elaborate circular structure. O’Meara suggests this represents the Dome of the Rock, and that the façade as a whole is a memorial to the successes of Raymond IV, count of St Gilles and Toulouse, d.1105, who distinguished himself at the siege of Jerusalem, 1099, but refused the title of king of the city.

### England: the triumph of *Ecclesia* and the rejection of *Synagoga*

Early sculptured examples of the triumph of *Ecclesia* are found on the late-Romanesque fonts of c.1180 in the Norman churches of Stanton Fitzwarren and Southrop in the Cotswolds. At Stanton Fitzwarren, under ten arches, ‘Eclesia’ [sic] and ‘cherubin’ are depicted along with figures representing the victory of eight virtues over their respective vices, prostrate at their feet. *Ecclesia*, a crowned figure holding a chalice and a lance with a cross head, pierces a dragon, ‘serpens’. At Southrop is a similar font, with eight arches, where virtues and vices are again depicted under arcading. Under one arch is *Ecclesia*, crowned and holding chalice and pennoned cross. Adjacent, looking towards her, is Moses with the Tables of the Law in his left hand. Behind him we meet possibly the earliest English sculptural example of *Synagoga*.



Figure 16 *Synagoga* on Southrop Font, c.1180

Blindfolded by the pennon of her broken staff, her crown slipping from her head, she has all the characteristics of the later fallen *Synagoga* (Figure 16).

One of the most remarkable representations of the theme was carved on the ivory Cloisters Cross, some 23 in high by 14½ in (58 by 37 cm) wide, now exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The roundel at the centre of the rear of the cross portrays the Lamb of God, with halo, looking backwards. In front stands *Synagoga*, thrusting her unbroken lance at the unscathed chest of the triumphant lamb. She holds a scroll that reads: 'Cursed is everyone that hangeth from a tree.' On the front of the cross we are informed: *Vita cluit, Synagoga ruit molimine stulto*, 'Life has been called, *Synagoga* has collapsed with great and foolish effort.'

For Elizabeth Parker, the 'heightened life and tension' in the cross is 'a later phase of the style found in [Master Hugh of] Bury's Bible' of 1138, and the cross was 'created for liturgical and private contemplation by a member of an English monastic community, possibly \*Bury, educated in the exegetical methods of the Paris schools and fully engaged in the issues that divided Jewish and Christian theologians'. Other elements address 'twelfth-century Jewish denunciation of the Church.'

Moving to the thirteenth century, f.21r of a psalter of Winchester cathedral priory of about 1250, now BL Cotton MS Nero C IV, is a miniature of the Passion where the onlooking Jews are shown as 'hideous monsters of iniquity with grotesque faces, sharp teeth and enormous moustaches. This fantastic phenomenon is carried on through the whole of the Middle Ages.' (See Caricatures.)

There are several English examples of *Synagoga* as architectural statuary. In the Judgment porch leading to the angel choir at \*Lincoln Cathedral are what Arthur Gardner has described as 'four magnificent statues, unfortunately headless and mutilated', of c.1270–80. Standing on a corbel *Synagoga* will have been blindfolded and have held the Tables of the Law in her left hand. What are remarkable are the deep-cut folds of her gown below its scarf waistband, which is tied in a large loop similar to that of Christ in the tympanum above the doorway. For Stone *Ecclesia* must have been 'the finest of the erect and noble statues of the English thirteenth century'. For W. R. Lethaby both were 'of quite extraordinary beauty'.

The statue of *Synagoga* at the entrance to the chapter room of Rochester Cathedral, Kent, is superbly preserved and can probably be dated 1342. In contrast to the Lincoln figures, the drapery is smooth and forms charming twisted folds at the edges, below the narrow, loop-knotted belt. She is blindfolded but the beautifully sculpted broad forehead and the lower half of her face, with finely featured nose, lips and chin, can be seen. In her left hand she holds the broken lance with pennon; in the other the falling twin Tables. *Synagoga's* folds and the looped knot on her waistband are to be found on a similar, but smaller and much worn, figure at Crowland Abbey, some 40 miles (65 km) south of Lincoln. At the church of St Peter Howden in East Yorkshire a *Synagoga* of 1320 is amongst a number of very worn figures.

In 1956 pieces of a female figure, painted vermillion and powdered with small daisy plants, were discovered at the Minorities, just outside London city wall. She holds a flat object with a fold in the middle, displaying gold margins. If this is *Synagoga*, she is holding the Tables of the Law firmly, and in this respect is similar to the *Synagoga* at Lincoln and Rochester, and those in the stained glass at St Denis and Canterbury. Halfway down her left thigh, a long narrow scar suggests she originally held a rod. Whilst in style the figure 'shows a remarkable similarity' to the *Synagoga* at Rochester, it is 'slightly bolder and more mature'. The unfinished state of the back suggests that it originally occupied a niche. Evans and Cook ask, 'Can it have been from the chapter-house of St Paul's, begun 1332?'

The triumph of *Ecclesia* is also found in stained glass windows of the chapter-house vestibule and the painted boards of the chapter-house roof at York Minster. In the former *Ecclesia* wears a crown and holds a church; below, *Synagoga* is shown with her crown falling to the ground. The latter included the figure of *Synagoga*, blindfolded, with broken lance, falling crown and Tables of the Law. These Harrison suggested should be dated 1307. At Little Casterton church, Rutland, two exceptionally good, over-life-size figures of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, with broken spear, are painted in red line in the jambs of the western lancet. Of late thirteenth-century date, they are one of the few extant English examples of the subjects in this medium.

□ A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins* (1968), 128–46; C. F. O'Meara, *The Iconography of the Façade of St Gilles* (1977), 95–137, & 'Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: The Relationship of the Foundation to the Façade', *J Soc Architectural Historians*, 39 (1980), 60; M. Schlauch, 'The Allegory of Church and Synagogue', *Speculum*, 14 (1939), 448–63; N. Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (2011); Smalley (1983), 78; Heslop (2001), & (2011); L. Edwards, 'Some English Examples of the Medieval Representation of Church and Synagogue', *TJHSE*, 18 (1958), 63–75; *BoE Wiltshire* (1975), 477, fig. 11b, & *Gloucestershire*, 1 (2000), 621, fig. 19; E. Parker, 'Editing the "Cloisters Cross"', *Gesta*, 45ii (2006), 147–60; Wormald (1943); E. S. Prior & A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* (1912), 40, 316–18, 324–5, 335, & *A Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture* (1937), 169, figs 200, 203–4, 263; L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (1972), 125–7; W. R. Lethaby, 'Notes on the Sculpture of Lincoln Minster', *Archaeologia*, 60 (1907), 379–90; J. Evans & N. Cook, 'A Statue from the Minorities', *Archaeol J*, 113 (1956), 102–5; Caviness (1977), 116–20, 168–75, pls 30, 37, 105, & (1981), 26–7, 84–5, 91–2, 102–4, 112–13, 116, 120, 126–7, 130, 136, 142, 153–4, 167, 171–2, pl. VII, figs 23–7, 156–9, 175, 217, 219, 228; F. Harrison, *Painted Glass of York* (1927), 59; S. Brown, *Stained Glass at York Minster* (1999), 29, 30; B. Blumenkranz, *Le juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien* (1966); *BoE Leicestershire & Rutland* (1989), 480

## Synagogues, *L. scolae judeorum*

### The Ancient World

From earliest times synagogue provision and embellishment were regarded as a duty incumbent upon the wealthier members of each community. As Naveh points out, the



'vast majority of the [ancient] synagogue inscriptions are dedications... [which] generally begin with the phrase... 'may X be remembered for good''. At Jericho one reads,

May He who knows their names and (the names) of their children and (the names) of their households, write them in the Book of Life together with all the Just... The most common blessing formula is 'May he have the blessing' or 'May the King of the Universe bless his property.'

At the fourth-century synagogue of Hammath Tiberias 'B', Severus, 'the pupil of the illustrious Patriarchs... completed (the construction), praise unto him.'

In the Diaspora also early synagogues were the result of private donations. Benefactors made secular buildings available for community use. At Ostia in the late second or early third century, 'Mindius Faustus constructed the synagogue and dedicated the Ark of the Sacred Law.' At Stobi in Macedonia, a white marble column, probably of third-century date, records that Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos, 'father of the synagogue, having governed all my life according to Judaism', gave the ground-floor of his house 'to the holy place... not touching the sacred treasury'. 'Father of the synagogue' denotes 'a major patron and benefactor of the community' or leading member of the congregation. That this term is found in nine inscriptions at Rome is particularly significant, given the key role played by the city and the Kalonymos family in building Ashkenazic culture. After expulsion from Rome, the family moved to Lucca and thence to Mainz. Such private benefactions continued throughout the medieval period.

### The Medieval Jewry

Pope Gregory the Great, c.540–604, whilst accepting that 'Jews should be free to pray in their synagogues without disturbance', added that 'they should not be permitted to build new ones'. During the papacy of Alexander III, 1159–81, the right to have and repair synagogues was reaffirmed. However, construction or enhancement of new synagogues was forbidden.

Sephardic synagogues were also founded by wealthy patrons. An inscription within the luxuriant mudejar plasterwork on the east wall at Cordoba reads: 'sanctuary in miniature (*miqdash me'at*) and resting place of the Scrolls of the Laws, completed by Isaac Moheb, son of Efraim in (50)75', 1314–15 CE. Reference is to Ezekiel 11:16: 'Thus saith the Lord God: Although I have cast them far among the heathen, and although I have scattered the countries yet will I be to them a little sanctuary in the countries where they shall come.' The synagogue at Toledo, now *el Tránsito*, built as an annexe to his house by Samuel ha-Levi Abulafia, treasurer to Pedro the Cruel of Castile (1350–69), bears the inscription, close to the niche containing the Holy Ark, 'Behold this sanctuary dedicated to Israel and the house that Samuel built.'

For Blumenkranz 'there can be no doubt that the medieval synagogue and *scola judeorum* are synonymous'. He cites Rigord, biographer of the French King Philip Augustus writing in 1182, that the Jews called their synagogues 'schools'. They served the

full range of communal activities, including assembly hall and court; there is evidence of ovens in at least three French medieval synagogues. (See Jewish Court.)

*Miqdash me'at* is also found at Worms. The synagogue of 1174–1213, now reconstructed, was burned down on Kristallnacht, 1938, but the foundation inscription of 1034 was saved:

Jacob son of David and Rahel his wife employed their wealth to the glory of God by building a little sanctuary and embellishing it with fittings. Thus they earned themselves 'a Place and a Name'. They should remain in good memory. Whoever reads this should say an Amen.

These were indeed 'sanctuaries in miniature' as compared to the Temple, *Bet ha-Miqdash*. Asaria provides comparative plans of medieval German synagogues.

### England

Here also the synagogue, as the centre of worship and study, was at the heart of each Jewish \*community. Unlike other places in the Ashkenazic world, there is virtually no archaeological evidence; mere traces of a medieval synagogue and two \**mikva'ot* at \*London, and a possible synagogue at \*Guildford. However, the same forces were at work; medieval synagogues were associated with the wealthy and powerful. For details of founders, we are dependent on documentary sources, predominantly official, which uniformly refer to them as *scola*. English, and many other medieval Ashkenazic synagogues, occupied backland sites. In this respect they were similar to the non-Conformist meeting houses of post-Restoration England, which sought to be out of sight and out of mind.

### Magnate Foundations: the *magna scola* and its thirteenth-century successors

The earliest English synagogue was the *magna scola* founded in London by the community leader, \*Rabbi Josce, Rubi Gotsce, who appears in the 1130 \*pipe roll. *HaNadib*, 'patron of scholars', he invited Abraham ibn Ezra to travel from \*Rouen to London as his guest in 1158. There ibn Ezra wrote *Yesod Mora* and *Iggeret Shabbat* for Rabbi Josce, who provided the postscript to his *Second Commentary on Genesis*, Bodleian MS Mich. 238.

The model for Rabbi Josce's great synagogue in London was most probably that built at Rouen c.1100, only 75 yd (70 m) west of his mansion in the *rue aux juifs*. Excavated in 1976, its walls still stand to some 15 ft (4.5 m). The synagogue, oriented east–west, was entered through a vaulted vestibule on the south. It had four, deeply splayed, windows in the north wall, and a stair turret in the north-west corner. The south, west and north walls are buttressed with attached columns, two on the south having sculpted bases, suggesting that the Ark was at the east end, as at Speyer (1084), Worms (1175), Regensburg (1227) and Prague *Altneuschul* (1316). The Rouen *scola* measured 46½ by 31 ft (14 by 9.5 m), giving a ratio of 3:2, as at Cologne, where Doppelfeld's excavations revealed a sequence of four synagogues, of 1000–c.1370, all similar in design, size and orientation.

The first documentary reference to the site of the London *magna scola* comes as late as 1212–13, in a charter that records the grant to Chicksand Priory of ‘all the land with houses and appurtenances in the parish of St Mary Colechurch’ between the great synagogue to the north and 12 shops to the south. Derek Keene has shown that these formed a block along the north side of Poultry, 6 on either side of the entry to Coneyhope Lane, which appears as *Conohop Lane* in the *Calendar of Wills* for 1292. The *magna scola* thus lay to the east, not as Richardson believed to the west, of Colechurch Lane, which became Old Jewry only after the \*expulsion. It was behind the houses by the junction of Colechurch Lane and Lothbury. \*Aaron of Lincoln, d.1186, and \*Jurnet of Norwich, d.1197, had direct access to the synagogue from the rear of their London mansions (S1 on Plan 7).

It is highly unlikely that this *magna scola* survived John’s reign. Documentary evidence shows that in 1215 the baronial forces reused stone from Jewish houses to strengthen the city defences. In addition Hebrew \*tombstones from the Cripplegate \*cemetery were incorporated into Aldersgate and Ludgate. A successor was certainly built on this site, for the leaders of the London and provincial communities continued to occupy houses backing onto it. \*Aaron of York’s house in Colechurch Lane, his base during his \*archpresbyterate, is described in a grant of 1246 as adjacent to the *scola*. Next door but one, with access no doubt through a rear court or postern, was that of \*Aaron I le Blund.

Henry III’s \*1253 Statute concerning the Jews ordained that ‘in their synagogues the Jews, one and all, subdue their voices in performing their ritual offices, that Christians may hear them not’. Once the Friars of the Sack had built their church on former Jewish property sold to them by Queen Eleanor, the *magna scola*’s backland site no longer fulfilled this requirement. Her charter, in R. R. Sharpe’s *Calendar of Letter Books, C* (1901), indicates that the friary was built by *Colecherchstrate*, abreast ‘the parishes of St Olave in Jewry and St Margaret, Lothbury’. In 1272 the friars complained to Henry III that the ‘continuous ululations of the Jews in their synagogue disturbed them whilst they were at their devotions next door’. In consequence, the king commanded the community to abandon their *scola*, which was subsequently given to the friars, confirming the site of the synagogue across the two parishes. However, he granted permission for a new synagogue to be erected on a different site. Until its completion, the Jews were to be ‘less noxious’ to the friars. In the fifteenth century the Grocers Hall occupied part of the site of the *magna scola*, and Coneyhope Lane became Grocers Hall Alley.

The *magna scola*’s replacement is described in royal charters of December 1280 and July 1281 confirming \*Aaron son of Vives’ grant to the London community of ‘a messuage of stone with all its court’ behind the houses on the south side of Catte, now Gresham, Street, ‘to build a synagogue’ (S4 on Plan 7). To avoid any intervention by the ecclesiastical authorities, the witnesses to the second charter included Hauteyn and Ludham, justices of the Jews, the mayor and the two sheriffs of London. Aaron purchased a plot from Margalicia, daughter of Benedict *episcopi*, who retained a house on the street front. This

is one of the very few instances where precise, if ambiguous, dimensions for a synagogue are given. For Richardson it would have had 'a floor area of approximately 27ft by 36ft [8 by 11 m]', with 'a courtyard of larger dimensions' to the south. Access was no doubt by an alleyway, similar to that described in 1249 as leading to the *scola* in its court at Norwich. Eleven years after the expulsion, a husting roll refers to 'the great stone house which was once the school of Aaron son of Vives with entry to the same, four shops adjacent on the north and a \*herb garden on the south', in the former 'court'.

Aaron also gave the synagogue a collection of 'books of their Law and others', which had belonged to the \*Oxford community. For these he had paid £126, credited against a 1000-mark bond he had given to Queen Eleanor. Through such grants he established his status within the community vis-à-vis his rival, \*Master Elias. Adjacent to the synagogue and court, on the west, was Aaron's own Catte Street house and court. The situation is thus comparable to Copin of Worcester's establishment of a *scola* adjacent to his home in Fish Street, Oxford, in 1228. To the east of the synagogue was the house of Vives son of Master Moses.

In July 1281 the Franciscan Archbishop Pecham wrote to Richard Gravesend, bishop of London, that he understood that, 'to the confusion of the Christian religion' a synagogue was being constructed by the London community 'under pretence of a school, *scola*'. He ordered Gravesend to stop all such work, by sentence of excommunication and interdict if necessary. His efforts were in vain. Permission for its erection, despite the provision in the \*1253 Statute, had been specifically granted by Henry III in 1272 to Aaron son of Vives, and confirmed by Edward I's charters to his brother, Edmund, earl of Lancaster and Aaron's patron.

### London: Private Synagogues

Pecham also understood that, 'to the mockery and great scandal of the Christian religion', almost all the more important London Jews had their own synagogues. Certainly, there is evidence of at least three private synagogues in the city in the early thirteenth century, two of them converted into chapels dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

The first, always described as 'in Jewry', is recorded by Thomas \*Madox in his manuscript *Feudal History*, BL Add MS 4542 ff.37–8, where he gives details of a grant by Sampson filius Isaac in 1227 to his son Abraham and his wife Milke of a plot that extended from the highway, evidently Catte Street, to 'the synagogue'. This lay behind two properties fronting the north side of Catte Street, at its junction with Basinghall Street, which belonged to Bellasez, widow of Leo Preciose, and Aaron Crespin (S2 on Plan 7).

In February 1233 the liberate rolls show that Simon de Bassishaw, ministering in the chapel of St Mary in the Jewry, 'which was a synagogue', was receiving £3 yearly 'for his maintenance, of the king's gift'. His successor, Robert, was still serving as chaplain in 1242. Why Henry III should have decided on the synagogue's conversion at this date is not evident. In 1222 the council of the archdiocese of Canterbury meeting at Oxford

had stated 'we prohibit the construction of new synagogues', but not until \*1253 did Henry ordain 'there be no synagogues...in England save in those places in which such synagogues were in the time of King John'. In 1256 Henry III granted the building that had served both as synagogue and chapel to John fitz Geoffrey.

The site was excavated 1985–86. The only surviving remains were 'two well-finished and relatively ornate Reigate stone buttresses', which formed part of its northern wall, but pottery finds on site are dated to c.1170–1240. Bowsher's suggestion that this may represent a reconstruction of the earlier synagogue seems improbable, given the tardiness with which the royal chaplains' salaries were paid over the years. The excavation of four tenements on the north side of Catte Street, between the lane leading to the Guildhall and Bassishaw revealed a 'sunken-floored stone-lined feature'. This has now been interpreted as a \**mikveh*. This evidently served the synagogue some 65 yd (60 m) to its north-east.

The second private synagogue, on the north side of Threadneedle Street, in the angle with the present Old Broad Street, was built about 1231, according to Stow. The close rolls show that in 1243 Henry granted this synagogue to the hospital of the order of St Anthony of Vienne as a chapel of St Mary. In 1250 he commanded Aaron son of Abraham and Elias l'Eveske to pay £20 toward the repair of this chapel and the provision of a framed icon of the Virgin, surmounted by tabernacle work of 200 canopies. In 1309 the bishop of London accused the hospitallers of building a chapel on 'a profane site, contrary to canon law'. His real concern may have been its adverse impact on the parish church of St Benet Fink, just across the road. Strangely, there is no documentary evidence of Jewish settlement east of Colman Street and the line of the Walbrook. The 1250 close rolls refer to the former synagogue as in the 'Minor Jewry'.

A further private synagogue was revealed in 1278. This lay behind a house on the southern frontage of Catte Street, between Colechurch and Ironmonger Lanes (S3 on Plan 7). At an enquiry into the ownership of the property, the jurors gave evidence that it was only by his son's 'licence and good pleasure and not otherwise that Hagin had ingress into and regress from the synagogue which was in that house'. (See *Jews and the Court*.)

### Patronal Foundations in the Provincial Jewries

The earliest recorded patron of a provincial *scola* was the wealthy Jacob *le Vieil* at \***Canterbury**. A cathedral rental of 1188 shows that his *scola* flanked the rear wall of his great stone house, at the corner of High and Stour Streets, formerly *Hethenmannelane* (S on Plan 3). The vestiges of his 'worn back doorstep', which probably originally gave access to it, was noted in 1969 by Newman in the *Buildings of England* series. A communal synagogue was valued at 11s 8d a year in 1290.

At \***Hereford**, a synagogue will have predated the arrival of \*Hamo c.1220. A man of great wealth, also a scholar and connoisseur, with a private library, he built a new, larger and more prestigious *scola*, probably by his house, near the present All Saints church,

facing the city's great marketplace, now High Town. This was lost to the family on the death of Hamo's son, Moses, in 1253. The expulsion returns suggest it had to be replaced with a communal synagogue, close to the house of Aaron II le Blund in *Juenstrete* that, with shop adjacent, was valued at 4s per annum in 1290 (see Plan 5).

At **\*Oxford** the site of the replacement synagogue established c.1228 by Copin of Worcester can be located with precision. Adjacent to his home in Fish Street, it is described in the St Frideswide's cartulary as 'the house called synagogue'. Its annual value at the expulsion, 18s 9d, was by far the highest of the provincial synagogues. Today Copin's house and synagogue lie beneath the quad and west front of Christ Church College.

Abraham Pinch, eldest son of **\*Chera** of **\*Winchester** and community leader, was hanged in 1234. His house in Shorten or Jewry Street, with its 'appurtenances', including the *scola* (S on Plan 12), escheated to the king, who granted house and synagogue to Adam, his 'saucer' at the royal palace in the castle. The community sought to prove that the *scola* behind Abraham's house was not an appurtenance, but the **\*sheriff** was ordered to hand it to Adam forthwith. This proved an object lesson to the English Jewries. The nine other synagogues recorded in the expulsion lists are all described as communal. Ironically, that at Winchester remained in private hands, those of **\*Licoricia's** grandson Jacob son of Cokerel, whose tenement, with *scola*, had an annual value of 16s 6d.

The evidence indicates that the **\*Nottingham** synagogue originally lay behind the home of an early community leader, but became isolated when the community moved to the old town. Mentioned in three stars of 1257–64 (Davis (1969), 116, 120, 127), it was behind a house in a prominent position, at the corner of Castle Gate and the Marsh, now Lister Gate (S on Plan 9). This is confirmed by a reference in 1391 to a house 'formerly called *Juscole*, in *le Lystergate* ... in the street leading from the church of St Peter to the Friars Minor'. The synagogue building is described as over 'a cellar'. Its position was remarkable, for it was in the new, Norman, borough, some 500 yd (457 m) from the Jewry in *Wallsete*, now Warser Gate, behind the northern wall of the Anglo-Saxon borough or *burh*. The *venella Judaeorum* of 1315 and Jew Lane of 1414, now Church Lane, was probably the route the community took each week from the old town to the *scola*, which in 1290 was valued at 3s 11d a year.

At **\*Gloucester** Bonenfaunt, eldest son of community leader, Elias, who died in 1210, paid 16d in annual ground rent for the *scola*, almost three times as much as for his own house. This suggests it occupied a much larger plot, offering space for such communal facilities as oven, butchery and even a well. Both were in Eastgate, not far from the eastern gable of St Michael's church (S on Plan 4). The synagogue fell into Christian hands on the Jewry's **\*expulsion** from the town in 1275.

At **\*Cambridge**, after the death of Master Benjamin or his son c.1224, the burgesses paid Henry III the considerable sum of 40 marks, £26 13s 4d, for his house, which was built so stalwartly that they converted it into the town gaol. 'An old synagogue' to the

rear (S on Plan 2) they granted to the Franciscan friars, who complained that their only access was through the gaol. In 1224 the community had to find premises closer to the Jewry. This second *scola* was closed in 1275, when the Cambridge community had to move to \*Huntingdon, together with their books. At \***Stamford** a rental (TNA/SC11/426) records that Matilda de Wakerle paid 6s for 'the house which was their *scola Judeorum*', but the site is unknown. According to Leland, the synagogue's furniture and its rich store of books, including those of Huntingdon, were sold by auction in 1290, and bought by Prior Gregory for \*Ramsey Abbey's library.

Diaie, leader of the \***Worcester** community, granted to his daughter Belia, on her marriage to Jacob Couperon of Gloucester, a house described in the 1266 close roll as 'in front of the *scola Judeorum*' (S on Plan 13). In 1241 Bessa wife of Elias is referred to as 'sitting by her husband's synagogue door' at the small Jewry of \***Warwick**.

### Communal Synagogues

The English Jews had to live and work within two quite different forms of government: their own and that of the Crown. As Katz points out, the majority of their individual and group needs were provided from within their own \*community, in which the dominating force was religious. Thus communal life centred on the synagogue. Given also the vulnerability of the patronal synagogue, it is hardly surprising that the expulsion returns record that all but one of the synagogues, that at Winchester, were in communal hands. Evidence suggests that a wide range of essential facilities, including kitchen, would be found in the \*Jewish court behind the synagogue. At Northampton a well to the rear provided the pure water required for making unleavened bread.

The English sources provide little evidence of the wider role of the *scola*. However, glimpses are provided by two \***Norwich** *shetaroth*, published by Davis. In no. 56 there is reference to 'the communal synagogue'; no. 16, a \*chirograph deed of 1249, records the concession by 'the Jewish congregation of Norwich' of the right to extend an adjoining house over the gate and passageway leading to the *scola* (Lipman (1967), fig. 13, plots 14 and 16). Whilst this would have afforded the undoubted benefit of enhanced privacy, the deed records that the beneficiary, Isaac of Warwick, who was to afford 'free ingress and egress to all worshippers', had to pay 'the executive' 4d per annum 'towards the funds of the Synagogue'. After the \*coin-clipping crisis the community had to pay 5 marks to recover the *scola*, which was valued at 5s in 1290.

Despite antipathy to the synagogues, the state took full advantage of them as a means of communication with the English Jewries. Thus in 1244 proclamation was made by the sheriff on behalf of the clerks of the Exchequer to the Jews, that 'any Jew or Jewess [of Hereford] that might have any claims to make upon the heirs of Robert le Berwe must be before the Justices on Monday next before the feast of St Andrew'. After a similar proclamation made in the London synagogues, the \*constable of the Tower sent word, 'as well in Latin as in Hebrew, that no Jew or Jewess made any such claim'. Such

a system implies the existence of at least one synagogue in all communities, and the attendance of all male members. Proclamations confirm the presence of synagogues at \*Bedford, \*Devizes, Huntingdon, \*Marlborough, \*Sudbury, and \*Wilton, but there is no documentary evidence for \*Exeter, \*Berkhamsted/\*Wallingford, \*Ipswich or \*Leicester (see Maps A and B).

### Other Provincial Synagogues

\***Lincoln** is the only provincial community for which there is evidence of more than one *scola*. The 1256 patent rolls refer to the synagogue 'of Peytevin the Great who had fled on account of the death of [Little St] Hugh'. Its location is unknown. There are no further references to Peytevin, and no indication as to the fate of his synagogue. It may have been the *scola* referred to in a deed of 1344, quoted by Hill, which refers to 'a plot of land with buildings in the parish of St Cuthbert in the corn market, in which plot the Jews' School used to stand'. It is recorded that a Lincoln *scola* was burned down by the \*Disinherited in November 1265. There is a further reference in BL Lansdowne MS 826/5 to the community owning 'a house adjoining the *scola*', valued at 10s, in 'the street of the synagogue' as well as 'two houses over the entrance' to it. Debate continues as to whether 'the Jews' Court' next to the Jew's \*House (B on Lincoln Plan 6), was the site of this synagogue.

After 1911 'the Court' became the centre of considerable notoriety, when a new owner claimed that a well in a dark corner of the room facing The Strait was where Little St Hugh's body had been thrown after his crucifixion. However, first-hand evidence was given in 1923 that the well had been dug as a tourist attraction. A recent, detailed, survey of 'the Court' has shown that it was 'more or less completely rebuilt in the late sixteenth and/or seventeenth century', and that 'there is no hard evidence that the present building contains anything of medieval date, with the possible exception of its being based on medieval foundations'. The 1344 deed's reference to a synagogue in St Cuthbert's parish does not necessarily locate it on this western side of The Strait. Hill believed it 'cannot be regarded as proven' that it was on the site of the Jews' Court. As we have little precise evidence as to the medieval bounds of Lincoln's parishes, which were radically redrawn at the Reformation, the synagogue's location remains problematic.

Christopher Johnson has drawn attention to deeds of 1312/13 and 1324. The latter refers to land in St Martin's parish 'where used to stand the Jews synagogue'. This was on the east side of Hungate, behind Garmston House (S on Plan 6), some 100 yd (91 m) south of the Jew's House and Court. Johnson shows it had belonged to Elias Martrin, who died by 1233, when his heirs owed the king £44; the 1249 charter roll recording its purchase from the Crown provides the first reference to Hagin son of Master Moses, 'a Jew of London' (see Archpresbyter and Jews and the Court). The area between the houses in Hungate and High Street, some 150 by 30 ft (46 by 9 m), might have accommodated a \*Jewish Court.



At **\*York** there is no hint of more than one synagogue. Nor is there any reference to a *scola* in the expulsion returns. The patent rolls explain that, after Josce le Jovene was hanged on coin-clipping charges in 1279, his house was sold, as an escheat, to John Sampson, keeper of the York Exchange. Queen Eleanor also granted him the adjacent *scola* site to the south, 'with steps to the entrance...in length from the high road of Coningestrete towards the east, to the river called Ouse towards the west' (S on Plan 14). There is no reference to this as an escheat, but it would have served the queen well to assume that the *scola* belonged to Josce in order to acquire its site, and the community may well have decided that discretion was the better part of valour.

According to the *originalia* rolls, the abbot and convent of St James were granted the **\*Northampton scola**, 'two ruined houses before its entrance' and the adjacent houses, formerly held by Sara of London, all valued at 14s 8d a year. The adjective 'ruined' underlines the condition of the community in its last years. Significantly, there is reference to a well and curtilage on the other side of the *scola*, suggesting a Jewish court. A 1504 rental records the synagogue in the 'Parmentry', the street of tailors from the Old French; a will of the 1630s describes the *scola* as in Silver Street, probably a later name (S on Plan 8). Firm evidence is yet to be brought forward to support recent claims that remains of a medieval Jewish synagogue have been found in Sheep Street.

At **\*Bristol** the *scola* occupied different sites. According to William of Worcester, the Jewry was originally on Key Head, close to Frome Bridge (S1 on Plan 1). He tells us, from 'Small Street gate as far as St John's Gate, past the high wall of the synagogue and St Giles's church, measures 110 steps'. Leland reported that by the mid sixteenth century the *scola* had been converted to a 'warehouse'. Having suffered during the baronial wars as a consequence of its vulnerable position, the Jewry moved to the east of the town, to the parish of St Peter's. When relations with the parishioners turned sour in 1275, the Jewry was burned by a mob. In the expulsion returns, the remaining Jews, with synagogue, were close to the castle. Leech's map 6 identifies the grounds of the *scola Iudeorum* as an extensive L-shaped plot on the north side of Narrow Wine (Winch) Street, adjacent to that of Hak le prestre (S2 on Plan 1). Protected from the public by the town wall on the north, this could have provided space and privacy for both *scola* and Jewish court. The *scola* was valued at 3s in 1290.

Prior to 1285 **\*Colchester's** synagogue was in a *solar* (great chamber, private room of the owner and his family, always on an upper level) at the west end of High Street, in St Runwald's parish, close to the marketplace. It may have been in the house granted to Rabbi Yehiel's son, Samuel, by his brothers in 1258. The expulsion returns refer to both a *scola* that 'belonged to the community', valued at 7s per annum, and to a tenement of Sancte, 'formerly the synagogue with a shop adjoining, value 7s p.a.'. For *Frauenschuln* see **\*Women of the medieval Anglo-Jewry**.

□ Levine (1981), 67, 139, & (2000), 252–8, 271–8; D. L. Moe, 'The Cross and the Menorah', *Archaeology*, 30 (1977), 148–57; D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe*, 2 (1995), 538; Krinsky (1996); Cantera

Burgos (1984), 3–149; Reuter (1984), 18–19, 37; Asaria (1959), 110–36; Blumenkranz (1980), 33–72; Halbout-Bertin (1984); Tanguy (1990); Metzger (1982), 59–75; Chazan (1980), 30; *CLR*, 1226–40, 199, 223, 262, 306, 488; *CR*, 1238, 61, & 1243, 142, & 1256, 369–70, & 1272, 522; *CChR*, 1280, 245, & 1281, 253; Hillaby (1993b); Bowsher, I (2007), 71, 84–5, 113–14, 124, 126–7, 130, & II (2007), 336–8; Richardson (1960), 195, 237–41; Schofield (1995), 208–9 & fig. 53; Rokéah, 3 (1975), 50, & (2000), no. 1241; Keene (1984); Keene & Harding (1987), 348–9; Lipman (1967), 123–5, fig. 13; Johnson (1978)

**Tabulas** *see* Badge

## Tallages

The king, like other feudal lords, had the customary right, whenever royal necessity demanded, to impose tallages on the tenants of his ancient demesne and the burgesses of his royal boroughs. As the Laws of Edward the Confessor \*c.1136–38 state, ‘the Jews themselves and all their possessions are the king’s’; they thus formed a third category. By the thirteenth century tallage, whilst in theory an arbitrary payment, was usually levied on the royal towns every three or four years. However, as Warren explains, ‘royal tallage was not servile, ... not fixed in amount, not small and regular, it was large and occasional; ... imposed at the king’s will and could not be refused’.

Details of the first general taxation of the Jewry, called a *donum*, gift or aid, appears in the 1159 \*pipe roll. Of particular interest, it indicates the relative wealth of the London Jewry, and of the ten provincial \*communities established during Stephen’s reign. Earlier pipe rolls of Henry II’s reign record other payments, ‘*de dono Judeorum*’, by a number of \*provincial Jewries: in 1156 the Jews of Norwich had paid 5 marks, Cambridge 60 marks and Oxford £5.

## Henry II to John, 1168–1210

According to Gervase of Canterbury, a levy of 5000 marks was imposed on the Jewry in 1168. Richardson concluded that ‘the silence of the pipe rolls does not indicate the story is ill-founded’. The Jewish syndicates (*see* London, 1165–79) that had provided Henry II with short-term funding for the \*sheriffs collapsed in 1179. Richardson believed that the king ‘abandoned the policy of exacting loans from the Jews and relied [solely] on taxation to give him the revenue he needed’.

In 1186 came the ‘exceptionally heavy’ Guildford tallage. The pipe roll for 1189/90, the first year of Richard I’s reign, records that it was imposed after Henry II had taken the cross ‘at Guildford’. Our principal authority, Gervase of Canterbury, reported that it totalled £60,000, but for Richardson this was ‘no more than a symbol for a very large sum’; he suggests 10,000 marks was more probable. The only indications as to its severity, the pipe rolls for 1191–98 provide details of the arrears. The London Jewry owed £3254 12s 8d. By contrast, its contribution in 1194 was a mere £470. Details of the arrears of three provincial Jewries are also available: Essex at \*Colchester some £465; Sussex at \*Chichester some £321; and Kent at \*Canterbury, £195. No other provincial Jewries were,

apparently, tallaged. For many of Henry II's wealthiest Jews, the Guildford tallage was disastrous; Abraham son of Josce the Rabbi (see Genealogy 7) and le Brun each owed £1000, whereas in 1194 the highest individual payment was £97 10s 8d. The 1186 tax must have been based either on poor advice or on over-optimism on the king's part.

Richard I imposed a tallage of 2000 marks in 1190/91. The levy of 5000 marks in 1194, headed 'the promise made by the Jews of all England', may have been a matter of some negotiation between king and the community, first at a royal council at \*Northampton and later at Laigle in Normandy. Details of communal and individual payments for the first half year are available in a list of receipts at Easter. These totalled some £1750, or 2600 marks. There were no contributions from \*York, \*Bury or \*Lynn, which had been subjected to anti-Jewish attacks in 1190; nor from \*Thetford or \*Bungay. The details provide evidence of the hierarchy of the 20 provincial communities that contributed, their number having doubled since 1159. London's proportion had declined from 37% to 27% of the whole. Five of the six major contributors were from provincial Jewries, with Jacob of Canterbury making the largest individual payment. The evidence of the *Promissum* as to the hierarchy of wealth within each community enables interesting comparisons to be made with those found in the tallages of 1221 and 1239–42 (see Appendix). The Jewry was assessed at an additional 3000 marks in 1194, towards Richard's ransom.

John levied a 4000-mark tallage in 1207, and 10% on all bonds. In \*1210 he imposed the so-called Bristol tallage that, the chroniclers report, totalled £40,000. The \*plea rolls of the \*Exchequer of the Jews in 1218 provide confirmation, referring to 'the debtors of the Jews when all the Jews of England were arrested by command of the king to render him 60,000 marks'. The impact of the Bristol tallage, and the methods subsequently adopted by John in an attempt to secure payment, combined with the Civil War of 1215–17, proved almost terminal for the English Jewry. Many of its poorer members migrated. The 1220–24 receipt rolls provide names of those who, having survived the rigours of those years, still had arrears outstanding.

### Henry III: The Early Years, 1216–39

Henry's Council of Regency initially dealt gently with the Jewry it had re-established in \*1218. Its first tallage, nominally an 'Aid for the marriage of Princess Joan, the king's sister', in 1221, amounted to a mere £1000. In 1223 a further tallage, of £2000, was imposed, bringing some £1700 into the exchequer that year. The 1226 tallage, for confirmation of royal charters, was again doubled. Other justifications for tallages included a French expedition in 1230, expenses in Brittany in 1233, and that 'they shall succour R[ichard] earl of Poitou and Cornwall, with 3000 marks to make his pilgrimage to the Holy Land' in 1237.

In 1232, as Stacey shows, a tallage of 10,000 marks was imposed on the Jewry, but the next year payment by instalments was agreed: 1500 marks per year in 1233 and 1234; and 3000 marks per year in 1235 and 1236. Until the swingeing \*reliefs of one-third the value of their inheritance had been paid in full, the heirs of super-plutocrats of the English

Jewry such as \*Hamo of Hereford in 1231 and \*David of Oxford and Leo Episcopus of \*York in 1244, were exempted from tallage.

Of the criteria by which communities were assessed for tallage little is known. As usual, bribery and corruption were rife. This was a game played by the justices of the Jews with the wealthy, both communities and individuals. In 1234 the curtain was lifted by the testimony of the London Jewry against Robert Passelewe, senior justice of the Jews, Stephen de Segrave, the Justiciar, and Peter de Rivallis, the Treasurer. Passelewe had received 100 marks from the London Jewry, euphemistically described as for 'aid' in receiving the tallage, and a similar sum 'for equalising London's tallage with that of York which formerly it had exceeded'. Five of London's wealthiest Jews – Aaron, Elias and Leo le \*Blund, Aaron son of Abraham and Elias l'Eveske – had given money, jewels, silver cups and dishes to lighten their assessments for the 1234 tallage. \*Aaron of York, who like his fellow magnates could not have been ignorant of the game being played and may even have initiated it, became \*archpresbyter in 1236.

The terms of the tallage assessors in 1237 and 1249 are provided by the patent rolls. In 1237 five named Jews 'and others' were appointed to assess the tallage of 3000 marks on all Jews having chattels, except \*Elias l'Eveske and Isaac son of Josce,

sparing none nor grieving any except according to his capacity and power, so that the tallage be in no part delayed on the day of payment through their default. This they are to deliver in writing to Aaron of York to make distraint for the said tallage and to collect and receive the same.

Despite the fine words about 'capacity and power' to pay, the revelations of 1234 and Aaron's appointment in 1236 strengthened the suspicions of the lesser Jewries that the magnates' malpractices explained their own excessive proportion of the tax burden. The problem also existed at community level, as at Canterbury in 1250–53.

### Dramatic Change, 1239–55

The levy of a Third on the chattels and bonds of all Jews in \*1239 was akin to a poll tax. By reducing the threshold, the net was cast much wider, to include many who had never before paid tax. It illustrated the striking gulf between *majores* and *minores*. Payments by London's 90 contributors ranged from £245, 30% of the whole, to 3½d; by the 24 at \*Gloucester from £3, some 32%, to 3d. As Stacey (1987a) explains, despite harsh measures, total receipts probably did not exceed £3000. The Third was therefore abandoned; but not before preparations were in place for a 20,000-mark tallage.

Henry III embarked on a census of all Jews. In July 1240 the close rolls record that exchequer clerks were sent to enquire as to the chattels and bonds of Jews at Northampton, Cambridge, Lincoln, York, Nottingham, Bedford and Norfolk and Suffolk and to record the name of every Jew and Jewess aged 12 years and over.

At the Worcester 'parliament', \*1241, Henry III brought about a radical redistribution of tax assessments for the tallage of 20,000 marks of 1241/42. The result was swingeing

tax demands on the Jewry's three wealthiest members, who paid more than half: Aaron of York, 6000 marks, his father-in-law Leo Episcopus and \*David of Oxford 2200 marks each. Ultimately, this all but ruined what Lipman called 'the super-plutocrats' of the English Jewry. The change was equally dramatic in terms of the burden on individual communities. Almost 50% was levied on York, 19% on London and 13% on Oxford. By contrast, six minor communities – \*Warwick, \*Wilton, Gloucester, Colchester, \*Bedford and \*Worcester – contributed 0.2% or less. The named assessors were warned that in default their punishment would 'be a terror to all'. The majority of extant \*tallies relate to this tallage.

A crisis between the *majores* and *mediocres/minores* also arose at Saragossa in 1264. There taxation was either by assessors appointed by the wealthy, or by self-assessment under oath on pain of \*herem, excommunication. The transparent shortcomings of the former system encouraged widespread evasion by the most wealthy, rending the unity of the Spanish communities that, being larger, had a vigorous artisan class. This Bahye ben Asher vividly described in his book, *Kad ha-Kemah*, 'The Jar of Flour':

many are there of insecure livelihood and heavy obligations who shed their life-blood and pay taxes with their marrow and blood ... yet the villainous rich man who says 'there is no God' and fills his chambers 'out of the oppression of the poor and the sighing of the needy' ... undermines the foundations of the Torah and the very roots of faith whereon all commandments of the Law depend ... He who so sins testifies that he does not acknowledge his Creator.

Such sentiments may well have been shared by small English communities, such as Gloucester and Worcester, led by Bonenfaunt son of Elias and Hak, who fought at the Worcester 'parliament' for the interests of the poorer Jewries, which had had to bear the consequences of the tax evasion by the York and London magnates – and David of Oxford.

In 1244 Henry III imposed a tallage of £40,000 following the London \*ritual-child-murder allegation. The plea rolls record 'payments on account' from 'the Jews' of Warwick, Gloucester, Bristol, Nottingham, Oxford, Bedford, Lincoln, Stamford, Cambridge, Exeter and Norwich. Ranging from £150 at Lincoln to £8 3s 4d at Bedford, these are evidently initial payments.

The close rolls show that in 1245 Henry III ordered that, if the cash was not forthcoming, 'some of the richer Jews should be arrested', and he would arrange for them to be 'taken to Ireland and imprisoned there' (see Wales and Ireland). In 1246 it was commanded that 'none be spared, neither great nor small, old nor young.' Nevertheless, according to Stacey only two-thirds of the £40,000 had been paid by 1250.

In 1249 the patent rolls record that Elias l'Eveske, Aaron son of Abraham, Aaron of York and Abraham of \*Berkhamsted, the earl of Cornwall's personal Jew, were to 'assess the tallage of 500 marks and 26 gold marks and to take with them two middle class Jews and two poor Jews ... so that the rich be not spared and the poor not too much grieved'.

With an assessor of the character of Abraham, the effectiveness of such a command must be much in doubt. Next year Matthew Paris reports that Abraham was sent with Philip Lovel to enquire 'into concealed Jewish property', and that almost all other Jews endeavoured to have him put to death, 'offering the earl 1000 marks not to protect him'. In 1250 two tallages of 5000 marks each were imposed on the Jewry.

Early in 1252 the London magnates Aaron I le Blund, his son, Samuel, and brother, Elias, sought to flee the country with their valuables, but were arrested. Two years later Elias l'Eveske, their archpresbyter, made his impassioned plea for the Jewry to quit the realm. Richard of Cornwall, a shrewd businessman, nevertheless retained him in post for a further three years. The patent rolls show there were two small tallages in 1255, in July for 500 marks, 'to the use of Richard, earl of Cornwall', and October for £1000. Aaron of York, having declared himself bankrupt, was exempted from the second tallage; London and the provincial communities were surcharged 10% for his 'portion'.

For Stacey, in the 14 years between 1241 and 1255 'close to 100,000 marks [£66,667] was imposed in direct taxation on the Jewry...more than three times the total assessment of the 18 years between 1221 and 1239'. This represented 'a watershed in Anglo-Jewish relations'. The impact of taxation at this high level had wider implications. By 1241 exchequer clerks were carrying out scrutinies of the \*chests to list their contents. When a Jew defaulted on tallage payments the sheriff could be ordered to extract 'his better and sounder bonds' from the chest for return to Westminster, so the exchequer could distrain his Christian client directly to make up the shortfall. Thus what was intended as a tallage on the Jews fell on the shoulders of their clients, whose lands, offered as security, were now in jeopardy. \*Interest ceased, but the Christian had to make arrangements with the Crown to pay the amounts outstanding, with the threat of seizure of their lands in the case of failure. This was to have profound political consequences, leading to widespread support from the knightly class for Simon de \*Montfort and the barons.

### Tallage in the Jewry's final years

Once the Jewry had recovered from the depredations of de Montfort, Earl Gilbert, the barons and the \*Disinherited between 1264 and 1267, Henry III, anxious to revive the community, treated it more tenderly. In 1269 the Jewry paid a fine of £1000 for a three-year respite from tallage. The following year, however, Henry imposed a 6000-mark 'aid' on the English community, to assist with the Lord Edward's crusade expenses; only 4000 marks being received, the shortfall was made up by a loan from Richard earl of Cornwall, to be repaid by the Jewry, under penalty. Brand reports that a further 5000 marks was levied in 1272, apparently only on the London Jewry; however Mundill, noting the 'considerable financial hardship amongst the Jewish community', cites amongst others a single payment from Hereford, by Aaron le Blund; four from Canterbury; and three from Lincoln, including Stamford.

The Great Tallage of one-third on all Jewish moveable goods was levied in Edward I's absence, in late 1273 or early 1274. The receipt rolls refer to it, optimistically, as a tallage of 25,000 marks. Two months after Edward's coronation in August 1274, royal clerks were empowered to levy arrears 'on the goods and debts of defaulting Jews', and to compel 'Jews who are rebellious or contradictory ..., by exile or abjuration of the realm if necessary, to pay their portions'. In November the instructions became more specific: 'if any, after the said third day, be found ... except at Dover, let judgment be done ... as upon one carrying away the king's own goods.' The opprobrium resulting from the distraint of clients of the many Jews who could not pay their tallage in full may well have persuaded Edward to introduce the Statute of the Jewry in \*1275.

A fine of £1000 was imposed in 1276, and the following year a tallage of some 3000 marks, with another in 1278. There was a further call on Jewish resources in 1280, with an annual chevage or \*poll tax of 3d to be paid by all English Jews aged 12 years or over who declined to be baptised. The money was to be collected by the converts and used to meet the expenses of the *Domus Conversorum* (see Converts, House of). The last tallage, in \*1287, was preceded by the so-called 'mini-parliament', to which delegates were summoned from 18 communities. From York the exchequer clerks were unable to name a single delegate. None was called from London. Rokéah indicates that this levy, which raised almost £5000, brought the total received during Edward I's reign to over £10,000.

Powicke was the first to draw attention to the complexities in using sources relating to tallage payments, observing that it 'is not possible to compile an exact total of the exactions ... between 1237 and 1259'. He notes that the

difficulty is to separate the various payments from each other. Thus the 'great tallage' [announced in 1244] was spread over several years, and is sometimes referred to in terms of the payment due in a particular year or half year. A 'tallage of 10,000 marks' may simply be the annual payment of the great tallage of 60,000.

Rokéah, encountering similar problems in the 1270s, found that tallage payments 'were not always specified as being such, appeared in a variety of records, and were hidden on occasion in lump payments or in transfer of debt bonds from Jews to the Crown'.

□ For lists of Jewish tallages: M. Jenkinson, 'List of [65] Rolls of Receipt from Jewish Tallages and Other Jewish Sources' [1193/94–1294/95], *TJHSE*, 18 (1958), 291–3, giving TNA references; for 1186–1260, Stacey (1988), 136–7; for 1265–90, P. Brand, 'A Preliminary List', in *PREJ*, VI, 72–3, & 1271–2 to 1276–7; Rokéah (1997), 203–7

□ Warren (1987), 154–6; *Gervase of Canterbury*, I, 205, 422; *PpR*, 1189–90, 230; Abrahams (1925); Stacey (1985), & (1987a), 143–59, & (1988); Richardson (1960), 161–75 & index under 'Taxation'; Adler (1941); *PREJ*, I, 4, 74–5; Powicke, 1 (1947), 311–13; *CR*, 1245, 339, & 1246, 395; *CPR*, 1255, 439–43, & 1272, 545–6, 671, & 1274, 61–3; Baer (1961), 228–31; Mundill (1998), 72–107; Hillaby (2003a), tables 1–3, & (1984), table 6, & (2002), 75–81; Rokéah (1997), 197–8 n. 15, 203–7, & (2000), xxvi n. 48, & (2001)

## Tally Sticks

A common tool since classical times for witnessing financial transactions, tallies were used at many levels of society. The royal exchequer was once termed 'the Tallies', and continued to use them as receipts for the sums paid in by the \*sheriffs. They were pieces of wood, usually 8 to 12 inches (20 to 30 cm) in length ('from the tip of the index finger to the tip of the outstretched thumb'), on which were cut notches of differing widths, depths and intervals, to record details of loans. When cut to the satisfaction of both parties, the tally was split down its length, with a half given to each. Their names were then written on the tally pieces in ink.

The *Dialogus de Scaccario* describes the procedure followed by the *talliator* or cutter of the tallies. The notch cut at the top of the tally to represent £1000 was 'wide enough to hold the thickness of the palm of the hand'; for £100 'that of a thumb'; £20 'that of the little finger'; £1 'that of a swelling barley-corn'; and 1s 'enough for the two cuts to make a small notch'. A single cut represented 1d, a small hole or point ½d. The *Scriptor talliarum*, or writer of the tallies, wrote the corresponding values on the sides of the wood. Jenkinson discusses the shape and position of notches, and provides illustrations.

The \*Exchequer of the Jews evidently sought to replace the tally with a \*chirograph as early as Easter 1221 when the receipt rolls record that three \*communities – \*Exeter, \*Hereford and \*Northampton – paid £1 for the right to continue their use. Although banned by the \*1233 Statute, which introduced the three-part chirograph, tallies remained in use at some centres. In the new \*chests (1284–90) at the \*expulsion there were 58 tallies of cash transactions, at six centres: 24 from Exeter, 12 from \*Devizes, 9 from \*Oxford, 8 from \*Bristol, 3 from \*Hereford and 2 from \*Nottingham.

Adler reported in 1935 that;

In the [National Archives], there are 262 Jewish tallies [E. 402], of which two are private and the remainder Exchequer tallies. Upon the latter is indicated in Latin the name of the tallage for which the payments were made, the Hebrew names of the Jews and other Hebrew words being added in many instances.

He appends a 'complete list of all known Jewish tallies', including one still 'in the Show Case next to the Terrace Cafeteria in the House of Commons', and 17 in Birmingham. The latter form part of the large number of deeds and documents collected by Sir Benjamin Stone and given to the Public Library in the 1920s, a number of which he had displayed at a lecture to the JHSE in 1900. The majority of these tally sticks represent payments to the 20,000-mark tallage of 1241, others to the related Third levied in \*1239. Stacey gives details of individual payments, categorised according to Adler's groups. Of a list of \*Isaac of Norwich's debts in 1239, 26 were recorded on tallies. Olszowy-Schlanger's research has established that 47 of those in TNA and 11 in Birmingham have Hebrew inscriptions.

The Jewish Museum has two wooden tallies, bequeathed by Sir Hilary Jenkinson (Figure 17). The first, for the \*1241 tallage, is inscribed 'Isaac Carnifice de t.xx mill m' with the amount paid, 1s, shown by the small notch at the bottom right. This is not



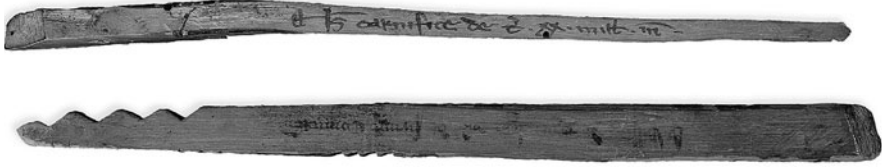


Figure 17 Tally sticks in the Jewish Museum

Source: © Jewish Museum, London.

therefore the tally of Isaac the *\*shohet* at Gloucester, who paid only 5½d. The second, although illegible, is of considerable interest, for it illustrates the system, outlined above, of denoting the payment made by notches, here £4 4s: four larger notches of £1 above, and four smaller ones of 1s below. *See also* Chest and Chirographs.

□ *Dialogus*, 32–7; H. C. Jenkinson, ‘Medieval Tallies, Public and Private’, *Archaeologia*, 74 (1923–24), 289–351; Richardson (1960), 193; Clanchy (1993), 47, 123–4, 202; Stokes (1913), 75–82; Adler (1935a); Stacey (1985), 212–13, 224; Mundill (1998), 126–8; TNA, B75, B92, B97, B114; Lipman (1967), 250–2; Jewish Museum Accession, nos 653 & 653a; Olszowy-Schlanger (2013)

### Tewkesbury, Gloucs.

Never a recognised Jewry, Tewkesbury was the setting for the notorious, apocryphal, anti-Jewish story, ‘The Jew of Tewkesbury’, first found in Rishanger’s *Chronica et Annales*. Under the year 1260 he describes how a certain Jew, having fallen into a privy on his Sabbath, refused to allow himself to be pulled out in order not to profane his holy day. Hearing this Richard de Clare, sixth earl of Gloucester d.1262, would not permit him to be pulled out on the following day, Sunday, out of reverence for *his* holy day. In consequence, the Jew died.

The Tewkesbury Abbey annals make no reference to this story, although they do record that de Clare had difficulty raising a loan of 100 marks when he went on crusade in 1249. Only through the agency of the abbot of Pontigny was he able to borrow this sum, for which he had to pay £100. The annals record, together with other local news, the birth, and death, of Richard’s daughter, Eglantine, in 1257; the death of his brother William in 1258; and Richard’s own death and burial in the abbey in 1262; but make no mention of any Jew in Tewkesbury.

Richard Sermon has shown that Rishanger’s source was probably a similar, but more concise, story in a French collection of Latin verses of c.1180, Bodleian MS Digby 53 fol. 15. ‘While at the latrine Solomon, if not Samson, slipped and fell down. They let down a rope. “Do not pull,” said he. “It is the Sabbath.” The people applauded. The count heard and ordered that there tomorrow [also] he should remain.’ Shortly after, variations on the theme are found in Germany.

The Tewkesbury version was reworked by the Chester monk, Ranulf Higden, in his *Polychronicon*, completed 1340–52. For Smalley this is ‘a glorious jumble of fact, legend

## Thetford

and marvel'. For Gransden, Higden's prime purpose was 'to amuse and amaze with marvels and good stories ... some true, some fictitious and including the fabulous ... such as Cyclops, Sciapodes and Cynocephali'. His Tewkesbury story was repeated, amongst others, by Foxe in his *Book of Martyrs* (1570), Stow in his *Survey of London* (1598) and Walter Raleigh in his *History of the World* (1614).

The only record of a Tewkesbury Jew in the \*plea rolls of the \*exchequer is in 1277, when Benedict son of Isaac of Honiton, one of the sureties that Josce son of Pygge would stand trial in the case of the forged Pershore abbey charter (*see* Worcester), was reported to 'abide at Tewkesbury'. In the same year the \*sheriff of Gloucester was ordered to take all Jews without a \*community into the king's hands. A local tradition, that Tewkesbury had a \*synagogue, is without documentary support.

□ *Gloucs Notes & Queries*, ed. B. H. Blacker, 1 (1881), 264–5, 306–7; Rishanger, RS 28, 4; Higden, RS 41, viii, 246; A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 (1982), 43–57; *AM*, I, 137–8, 159, 165, 169; R. Sermon, 'The Jew of Tewkesbury: An Urban Myth?', *Tewk Hist Soc Bull*, 15 (2006), 54–61; Bale (2006), 23–53; Smalley (1983), 21; Hillaby (2002), 109–10; *PREJ*, III, 294, 319; R. Sermon & N. Spry, 'Locating Tewkesbury's Medieval Synagogue?', *Tewk Hist Soc Bull*, 16 (2007), 30–2

## Thetford, Norfolk

Thetford, like \*Bungay, had a seigniorial Jewry founded by Earl Hugh Bigod. It originated as a major Danish trading centre at the fording point for the Icknield Way, close to the confluence of the Thet and Little Ouse, which was navigable as far as what became the flourishing seaport of \*Lynn on the Wash. In 1066 Thetford had 943 burgesses and 12 churches; from 1079 to 1095 it was the seat of the East Anglian bishops. In Domesday Book Roger Bigod shared the borough with the king. William Warenne, the third earl, founded an Augustinian priory on the south bank of the river Thet in 1148.

On the north side of the Thet, 38 years earlier, Hugh Bigod's father had built a Cluniac priory, where all the Bigod earls of Norfolk were buried. Here, between priory and the castle, the borough was built. Thus both castle, with its massive 80-ft (24 m) motte, the largest in Britain, and borough were Bigod foundations; for Brown 'Bigod foundation and lordship make more sense and must be accepted'. Recently it has been suggested that Thetford was a double borough. If so, the borough identified by Crosby as belonging to the Warennes was south of the river.

Thetford had had an important mint since the early tenth century. Some 16 moneyers operated here during the reign of Henry I. The evidence suggests the Jewry was founded during the troubled years of Stephen's reign, in *Heathenmanlane*, now Guildhall Street, which linked borough and castle. Here, as at \*Castle Rising, Jewish expertise may have been significant in providing silver for the moneyers. From April 1141 Earl Hugh was 'the most restless of Stephen's opponents', and Thetford's mint struck baronial coins. Their distinctive designs and weights, lower than the regular issue, suggest 'the

moneyers were defying the central authorities'. Some rare coins were struck with a cross superimposed on the reverse design.

In 1157 Hugh had to surrender all his castles to Henry II. The Jewry survived under royal control, for in the 1159 *\*Donum* it was assessed at 45 marks, only 5 less than *\*Winchester* and *\*Cambridge*, which ranked third equal of the ten *\*provincial Jewries*; its sister Jewry at Bungay, like *\*Northampton*, paid only 22½ marks. When Henry's eldest son rose in revolt in 1173, he was supported by Bigod. The castle at Thetford was slighted on Henry's orders, to prevent it falling into Bigod's hands. In June 1174 Hugh led his own men, reinforced with Flemish mercenaries, against Norwich, where they slaughtered many of the people and sacked and burned the city.

Whereas Bungay Jews established their own Jewry in Norwich and remained in evidence for many years, there is no trace of any Thetford Jew in the *\*pipe rolls* or in the Northampton *Promissum* of 1194. Given the size of its medieval Jewry, this is surprising, and it may be that Thetford's *\*community* was the subject of a massacre in 1174. Some have suggested 1190, but this is highly unlikely as, following the York massacre and the assault on the Lincoln Jewry of that year, punitive fines were imposed on their citizens by Richard I's chancellor, William Longchamp. If not in the same league as York and Lincoln, Thetford was a wealthy town. It is difficult to believe that Longchamp would have forgone an opportunity to raise further funds for Richard if there was any evidence of a massacre at that time. In 1193 there is reference to the death of a single Jew at Thetford – not a resident, but a native of Bury.

The site of Thetford's twelfth-century Jewry remained long in the local memory. In September 1796 'Heathenman' Street was the site of a house fire. (See also Bury and Canterbury.)

□ Blackburn (1994), 154, 159, 176–8; Brown (1989), 213–14; Biddle (1976), 397, 468, 500, 504; A. Crosby, *A History of Thetford* (1986), 30–50, 102 n. 23; Hillaby (2003a), 21–6, 31; Lipman (1967), 12, 21, 128–9, fig. 13; Streit (1993), 180; P. Everson & M. Jecock, 'Castle Hill and the Early Medieval Development of Thetford', in *Patterns of the Past*, ed. P. Pattison et al. (1999), 97–106

## Tombstones

Miraculously the Jewish *\*cemetery* at Worms survived the Nazi era. The oldest gravestone bears the date 1076/7. In 1987 the remains of by far the largest collection of Jewish tombstones were found at Würzburg, hidden in the walls of the former church of Dominican nuns. They date between 1138 and 1147. Of English medieval Jewish tombstones only one fragment has survived: the top right-hand corner of the frame and part of the four-line inscription. It was rediscovered at *\*Northampton Museum and Art Gallery* in 1987. The inscription has been interpreted as: 'This is the tombstone of... the learned Solomon' (Figure 18).

In its simplicity of design and projecting rectangular frame, it strongly resembles those twelfth- and thirteenth-century Ashkenazic tombstones still standing in Worms

and to be seen in the Cologne museum. These stood upright, in contrast to Sephardic tombstones, which were recumbent to avoid confusion between those of the faithful and of the infidel, thus conforming to the edict of the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil, reigned 847–61.

*Wetton's Guide* of 1847 gives a confusing account of the tombstone's provenance. First it records that 'parts of a Hebrew inscription, said to be to the memory of a rabbi, have been dug up in St. Sepulchre's parish. The piece was discovered in Princes Street, but it was unfortunately built up again in a cellar wall.' Further on it recounts that 'in Princes Street near Grey Friars Street foundations of buildings with encaustic tiles were found, and in the same street at the bottom of Albert Street were stone coffins and other evidences of interment, together with the Hebrew inscription already alluded to'. The reference to 'encaustic tiles' and 'stone coffins' makes it clear that this was not a medieval Hebrew site, but vestiges of the friary. The friars may have purchased the 'moveable stones' (tombstones?) 'with the wall... worth 30s if sold', referred to in the \*expulsion returns.

During his post-war excavations of the site of \*London's medieval Jewish cemetery, outside Cripplegate, W. F. Grimes found neither bodies nor tombstones. However, fragments of six reused tombstones have been discovered elsewhere in the city: one in 1586, when Ludgate was rebuilt; four more in 1617, when Aldersgate was reconstructed; the last in 1753, at Moorfields. All six were eventually given to the old Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, but subsequently lost. The texts had been recorded, a number by John Selden (1584–1654), the jurist and Hebraist who also transcribed Asher's inscription at \*Winchester castle. The only fragment to bear a date refers to Abraham the Good, who died in 1211. The tombstones in Cripplegate cemetery probably suffered the same fate as London's Jewish stone houses, being used by the baronial forces in 1215, according to Stow, to strengthen the city's nearby gates and defences.

Another fragment is recorded by Cooper in his *Memorials of \*Cambridge*. In 1782, when the foundations of the Guildhall were being dug, 'several gravestones were discovered', one of which had 'an imperfect inscription in Hebrew': 'the sepulchral stone of Israel... who died'. At \*Bristol, due to the distance of the Brandon Hill cemetery from the town, the gravestones were left *in situ* until 1844, when the Queen Elizabeth's Hospital school was built on the site; but no record of the inscriptions was kept.



Figure 18 Tombstone fragment in Northampton Museum

At Jewbury in \*York, although some 500 bodies had been found, there was no evidence of the footings one would expect if upright tombstones had been used; nor of the damage and disturbance at the heads of the graves that would have occurred if they had been robbed, as at Northampton. However, 'the rarity of intercutting of graves suggests they must have been marked in some way', probably 'by wooden posts which have left no archaeological trace'. Given the wealth of the York \*community in all but its last years, this lack of evidence of the use of tombstones, as found elsewhere at London, Bristol, Northampton and Cambridge, and on the Continent, is extraordinary.

□ Reuter (1984), 46–7; K. Müller, 'Würzburg: The World's Largest Find from a Medieval Jewish Cemetery', in Cluse (2004), 379–87; M. Roberts, 'A Northampton Jewish Tombstone c.1259–1290', *Medieval Archaeology*, 36 (1992), 173–7; G. N. Wetton, *Wetton's Visitor's Guide to Northampton* (1847), 15, 49; W. F. Grimes, unedited papers at Museum of London Archives; Honeybourne (1961); Hillaby & Sermon (2007), 101–3; Stokes (1913), 114; Lilley et al. (1994), 308, 381–2; Rokéah (2000), no. 1241 n. 89

### **Tovey, d'Blossiers** *see* Jewish Historical Society of England

His book, *Anglia Judaica: The History and Antiquity of the Jews in England* (1738), was the first to be devoted primarily to the Jews of medieval England. The last 50 pages or so bring the story up to date. Tovey had been appointed Principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford, in 1732. His sources, he explains, are 'our Historians, printed and manuscript, the records in the Tower and other public repositories'. He was no doubt prompted by Thomas \*Madox, whose *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer* was published in 1711. *Anglia Judaica* is dedicated to George Holmes, 'Deputy Keeper of the Records in the Tower'. Tovey derived some help from William Prynne's *A Short Demurrer* (1656), written to oppose readmission during the Protectorate.

### **Tower of London** *see* London, Constable of the Tower of

### **Treasure**

As early as the tenth century a judgment of Rabbi Meshullam son of Rabbi Kalonymus (c.910–85) refers to Jews keeping their money 'buried in the ground (where, for better security, money should be kept)'. According to Agus, this was a tradition that went back to the Talmudic period. Concealment of treasure has a long history as a means of tax evasion – as prevalent in thirteenth-century England as it is today. This was particularly the case in the \*relief of a third due to the Crown from the heirs of a deceased English Jew. It also offered security in troubled times. The exhibition 'Treasures of the Black Death' at the Wallace Collection, London, in 2009 provided spectacular examples from the hoards found at Colmar in 1863 and Erfurt in 1998.

### **The Crown and hidden Jewish Treasure**

In England, gold and silver objects, coin or bullion hidden by an unknown person but not abandoned belong according to common law to the Crown, unless the true owner

can substantiate his claim. Thus the 1189 \*pipe rolls record that Josce son of Benjamin of Oxford paid 10 marks for buying 'a treasure trove of gold' without obtaining royal consent. In John's \*1201 charter to the English Jewry, treasure, with homicide, mayhem, deliberate assault, housebreaking, rape, larceny and arson, was one of the exceptions to 'the breaches of right that shall...be examined and amended amongst themselves according to their Law'.

In July 1256 Cok son of Aaron had to pay Henry III 20 gold \*marks, some £120, that 'he, his wife and children be quit of inquisition and suspicion which the king has against them of chattels and moveables of Aaron [son of Abraham], his father, concealed and carried away', and that he may have 'his own houses in London, his charters and muni-ments and other moveables'. In September and the following April two members of the Crespin family were also fined for carrying away and concealing Aaron's chattels. (See London, Abigail and Family of.)

In 1264, when the London Jewry was attacked by the mob, at least one of its members resorted to burial of valuables. Hagin the \*archpresbyter found safety, with the \*chiro-graph \*chest, in the Tower where he was joined by the Italians and Cahorsins who had collected their treasure from nearby London religious houses. Cok son of Aaron, 'the most famous Jew in the city and the richest', was slaughtered by the leader of the mob. Hagin, apparently well informed, sent a group of Christians and Jews to dig up £1000 worth of Cok's treasure, buried in land adjoining his house. Ultimately Hagin's clandestine operation led to his downfall in 1280. Less affluent Jews had to turn to their Christian neighbours for safekeeping of their most treasured possessions; not all were returned. Ten years later \*Aaron son of Vives faced a similar accusation, that at Samuel le \*Blund's house, he had found 'gold, silver and other treasure, tantamount to a large sum'. However, an inquest determined that the claim had been made 'maliciously and falsely'.

The \*coin-clipping crisis of 1276–79 showed that burial of precious commodities was not restricted to the outstandingly wealthy such as Cok. The commission of January 1275 was to 'inquire of those who entered the houses...of the [many] Jews lately detained in prison and carried away treasure [stored wealth or riches, especially in the form of silver] and goods found therein'. Further provincial examples of treasure burial are provided by members of the late thirteenth-century \*community at \*Colchester, which was never a major provincial centre. Three Jewish \*coin hoards were found there in 1902, 1969 and 2000. In the first were 10,926 and the second 14,065 silver pennies; the third had 'certainly once contained a coin hoard, but this had been removed'. All three hoards were placed in specially constructed lead containers; the first, to hold £50, that is 12,000 pennies; the second a total of some 100 marks, 16,000 pennies; the third, much battered, was similar in size to the second.

#### \*Cambridge, the Dolphin Inn Hoard

In September 1817 the *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* reported that on 23 August men working in the cellar of the Old Dolphin Inn, at the

southern corner of the junction of All Saints Passage, formerly Dolphin Lane, the *vicus judeorum*, and Sidney Street, formerly Bridge Street, had found 'the mouldered remains of a leather bag, out of which there fell, jingling, a parcel of gold rings containing precious stones in very ancient setting; also some old silver coins, and other articles of value'. The jewellery consisted of a large brooch and five rings of pure gold studded with rubies, of which one remained; a small brilliant gold fleur-de-lis broken from some trinket; and a piece of coral set in silver. The rings, of which there are colour photographs in Cessford and Newman, are now in Trinity College Library. The workmen having quarreled about the booty, the full size and nature of the hoard is unknown.

The site lay in the heart of the Jewry but, given the mixed nature of settlement in such areas, it is not possible to say whether the person who deposited the hoard was Christian or Jewish. The *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal* describes the coins as bearing the head of Henry III on the obverse, whilst the reverse had a 'double cross extending to the edge of the Coin, and three *Pellets* in each quarter', thus identifying them as long-cross coins, in use between 1247 and 1279 (see Figure 6b). Without providing any evidence, both accounts state the coins were struck in Henry III's fifty-first year, October 1266/67, in which year the \*plea rolls record that the \*Disinherited carried off the Cambridge chest. However, elsewhere we are told the attack on Cambridge took place in August 1266. \*Pawnbroking formed a significant part of the business of most Jews, with rings commonly pledged.

### The Church and Jewish Treasure

Jews also looked to major ecclesiastical institutions to provide security for their treasure, a trust evidently founded on their business relationships. At \*Bury St Edmunds the chronicler, Jocelin of Brakelond, describes how during the abbacy of Hugh, 1157–80, the Jews' 'money was deposited in our treasury, in the sacrist's custody'. At \*Canterbury in 1187, when Archbishop Baldwin was seeking to starve his monks into submission, Gervase reports that the local community smuggled supplies to the monks and offered prayers in the \*synagogue for their well-being, indicating the close relationship between them. Immediately after the \*York massacre in March 1190, Richard Malebisse and his associates forced the cathedral clerks to hand over the bonds deposited there by the Jews and burned them, in the minster. In 1217 Bishop Peter des Roches, in charge of the royal exchequer, commanded that \*Isaac of Norwich's bonds be placed in the hands of the prior of Norwich Cathedral for safekeeping.

The Canterbury provincial council held at Oxford in 1222 declared: 'in future Jews shall not presume to enter churches...and we strictly forbid any of their possessions to be stored in churches'. This was anticipated by the \*Worcester diocesan synod in 1219, which forbade Christians from receiving Jewish money as if it were their own and depositing it in churches for greater safety, and repeated the clause in 1229 and 1240; the London diocesan synod of 1245x59 acted likewise. In the province of York, however, there was no such

legislation. After his death in 1243, the treasure of Leo Episcopus was found in the custody of his major clients, the Gilbertine canons of Malton Priory, 16 miles (25 km) north-east of York. The liberate rolls report that in December ‘the prior of Malton was commanded to deliver to the king, under a sure guard, the treasure late of Leo the Jew, found in his priory and left in his keeping’. Leo’s total wealth was assessed at 21,000 marks.

Despite the 1222 ruling, members of the English Jewry continued to look to neighbouring abbeys and priories for the safekeeping of their ‘treasure’, even in the province of Canterbury. In the 1261 scrutiny of the \*Wilton chest, enquiry extended to ‘gold, silver [and] jewels’, including those ‘on deposit in religious houses’. In 1277 the abbot of Pershore was commanded to attend the exchequer, where the barons had a copy of the letter allegedly written by his predecessor: ‘Know all that may see this letter that I have received from Hak of Worcester £35 of silver, 2 marks of gold, 55 silver spoons and 4 silver bowls without feet of the weight of 60s... to keep for him, and his heirs, who shall bring to us this obligation.’ The letter, sealed at Pershore in August 1261, some ten years before Hak’s death, proved fraudulent. At Waverley, almost halfway between \*London and \*Winchester, the 1279 close rolls record that the abbot was ordered ‘to keep safely the goods and chattels that \*Benedict of Winchester has deposited in the abbey’.

□ Agus, I (1965), 64–5, 148; Roth (1951), 5; C. Cessford & R. Newman, ‘The Dolphin Inn Hoard’, *Archaeological Journal*, 168 (2012), 272–84; Jocelin, 10; Gervase of Canterbury, I, 405, & II, 235; CS, III, 55, 121, 177–8, 318, 652; Hillaby (1990c), 108–10; Rigg (1902), 96–8, 114–15; CPR, 1256, 489, & 1257, 551; CCR, 1279, 519

## **Two Tables** *see* Badge

### **Usury**

For both Jew and Christian the Bible provided a categorical condemnation of usury. Exodus 22:25, ‘If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury.’ Leviticus 25:35–7,

And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee; then thou shalt relieve him: yea though he be a stranger, or a sojourner; that he may live with thee. Take thou no usury of him, or increase: but fear thy God; that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase.

Deuteronomy 23:19–20, ‘Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury.’ Ezekiel 18:10–17 at 13: he that ‘Hath given forth upon usury, and hath taken increase: shall he then live? He shall not live: he hath done all these abominations; he shall surely die; his blood shall be upon him.’

Probably the first reference to the matter of inter-Jewish loans in English medieval records is found in the 1191 \*pipe roll, where Judas, a \*Bristol Jew, ‘owes 2 oz of gold for an enquiry in *capitulum judaeorum* [chapter of the Jews] whether a Jew could take \*interest



from another Jew'. There is no record of its decision. However, eight \*Norwich \*stars indicate how the problem was resolved, by using a Christian intermediary. Deuteronomy 23:20 includes the clear statement: 'Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury.'

In the early years of Henry II's reign, a number of Christian usurers flourished. William Cade of St Omer received some £5600 from the Crown between 1155 and 1165. When he financed the transport of Flemish soldiers to England, he was granted the farm of the revenue of the port of Dover as security. At his death, c.1166, £5000 was outstanding to him from debtors in England, Flanders and Normandy, including leading members of the English baronage. For Jenkinson Cade's property in England, and presumably Normandy, was confiscated by the Crown because he was a usurer; but Richardson points out that no goods for deceased usurers appear on the pipe roll before 1170. William Trentegeruns, *vicomte* of Rouen, d.1159, and subsequently his wife, Emma, both served Henry in a similar capacity, enjoying the farm of the port of Southampton. Others included Richard fitz Sawin, Ralf Waspail, and the London merchants, Gervase of Cornhill, who at various times between 1155 and 1182 held the shrievalties of London, Surrey and Kent, and William fitz Isabelle. The last loaned money to the abbey at Bury St Edmunds.

The legal penalty for usury is considered by Richard fitz Nigel in the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, written about 1178 with later emendations. 'Royal power can take no action ... while [the usurer] is alive, for there is still time for him to repent; instead he is left to the ecclesiastical courts, to be judged according to his rank. But when he dies, all his goods go to the king.' A similar view on usury is expressed by Ranulf de Glanville, d.1190, in his *Tractatus de legibus*. Richard then considers usury 'in the manner of the Jews', which is called 'open and common ... the agreement provides for someone to receive, in the same currency, more than he lent, for example a pound for a mark, or two pence per pound of silver per week in addition to the principal'.

The church's attack on usury as avarice dates back to the fourth century. It was condemned by Ambrose of Milan, popes Leo and Gregory the Great. The development of European commerce in the twelfth century led to its consideration at the Third Lateran Council in 1179, which determined that 'manifest usurers shall not be admitted to communion, nor, if they die in their sin, receive Christian burial'. On the other hand, Jews lending money at interest, so long as it was not burdensome or inordinate, were generally accepted, for the French and English kings derived considerable financial benefit from their activities.

In 1145 Pope Eugenius II, in his bull *Quantum praedecessores*, calling for the Second Crusade, sought to absolve all crusaders from paying interest on debts incurred in relation to it. As Richardson explains, this established 'a principle ... capable of wide application'. For Henry II,

if usury could be suspended while crusaders were engaged in the wars of the Church, it was not unreasonable to suspend usury while vassals were engaged in

the king's wars. Nor were these the only circumstances that called for consideration. The king might feel justified in relieving any favoured subject.

The application of such principles by Henry III explains the eventual bankruptcy of the family of \*Hamo of Hereford, for many of his clients were colleagues of Walter II de Lacy and thus lords of the Welsh March.

Seeking to protect Christians, canon 67 of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 ordered that they should be 'compelled by ecclesiastical censure to abstain from all commercial intercourse' with Jews who extorted 'oppressive and immoderate rates of interest' from them, until the Jews made 'suitable satisfaction' for their excesses.

Despite the major role of Pandulf, the papal legate, Henry III's Council of Regency took a very firm line to prevent episcopal interference with the newly established \*communities. Both patent and close rolls show that in \*1218 the \*sheriffs of \*Hereford and other shires were to

proclaim throughout all your bailiwick that we have assured to the Jews our firm peace. No action to the contrary taken by the bishop ... is of any effect, for the Jews are no concern of his ... You shall not permit the Jews to be impleaded in any ecclesiastical court on account of any debt. All these things you shall do as they were done in the days of our father, John.

Responding to canon 67, that Christians should 'strive to hinder the Jews from practicing such excesses,' Archbishop Langton, followed by the bishops of Lincoln and Norwich, sought in 1222 to impose an embargo on the sale of food and other necessities to Jews. This attempt was scotched by a further, prompt, action by the royal council.

In France Louis VIII's response in 1223 was quite different: 'no Jew's debt shall accumulate interest from 8 November.' Seven years later Louis IX and 13 of his barons ordained that henceforth they would 'cause no contracted debts to be repaid to the Jews'. In 1235 Louis commanded all Jews to 'live by their own labour or trade, but without usury'. Given his dependence on Jewish \*tallages, Henry III was unable to follow Louis' lead. However, in June 1240 he ordered all foreign merchants practising usury to leave England within a month. Mavis Mate has shown how this affected the terminology used by the treasurers of Canterbury Cathedral; they abandoned the word *usura* in their accounts of money borrowed from Sienese and other merchants, but its payment continued under the terms 'profit' or 'for grace'. Such evasion was not new, and could be achieved by other means. A loan by Cade to the Cistercians of Louth Park, Lincs, indicates a simple way for the monks, and Cade, to evade the charge of usury: the loan was secured on the abbey's wool crops for the next six years.

By the early thirteenth century Flemish merchants were replaced by others from the Midi, especially Cahors and Sens, and Italy, from Siena, Florence and Rome, later referred to generically as 'Lombards'. Transporting wool by ship was much safer and more profitable than transferring cash overland. Some of these merchants also served as papal tax gatherers, and would hardly be welcomed by English ecclesiastics.

Denholm-Young explains that, while the term 'Cahorsin' or 'Caversin' 'clearly means a native or inhabitant of Cahors,...from the mid thirteenth century or earlier it was applied to any foreign usurers, especially Italians'. Paris describes the 'Coursins' as 'those manifest usurers...driven from France...protected by this pope in England'. In 1230 merchants of Cahors were arrested in \*Northampton. Five years later, when the Cahorsins settled in London, Roger Niger, bishop of London 1228–41, endeavoured to expel them from his diocese on charges of usury. They persuaded Pope Gregory IX to summon Niger to Rome. Unable to travel due to his health, the bishop had to retract. Unlike the Jews, the Cahorsins were not defenceless – even against the king. In 1240, when Henry sought to intimidate such foreign merchants by withdrawing royal protection from all who did not depart by a stated time, Paris reports that 'they concealed themselves'. In June 1245 he tried again, in an attempt to raise 6000 marks. Some gave way, so this was repeated in 1251 and 1253. As Powicke puts it, 'henceforward transactions between the foreign merchants and the Crown were frequent'. Paris also tells us that in 1253, when St Louis of France expelled those Jews not prepared to abjure usury, the Coursins thereupon 'eagerly took the place and offices of the exiled Jews'.

The lament, nearing death, of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln 1235–53, as reported by Matthew Paris, was vitriolic:

The world knows that usury is held up to detestation in both Testaments, and is prohibited by God, and now the pope's merchants or agents, to the discontent of the Jews, practise their usury openly in London and devise divers schemes of oppression against the servants of the Church, and especially religious men, compelling those who are pressed by want to lie, and to affix their signatures to false writings, which proceeding is to practise idolatry, and to renounce the truth, which is God. For example, I accept a loan of a hundred marks for a hundred pounds: I am compelled to give a written paper and to sign the same, in which I acknowledge to have accepted a loan of a hundred pounds, to be paid at the year's end; and if you should wish to pay to the pope's usurer the money lent you within a month, or some time less, he will not receive any less than the full hundred pounds, which terms are more oppressive than those of the Jews; for when you return to a Jew the money he has lent you, he will receive it with a good grace, and with only interest commensurate with the time the money has been lent.

The patent rolls reveal that in June 1262 the English Jewry suffered the ultimate humiliation. With civil war approaching, Henry III granted the community to his son, the Lord Edward, in return for most of his estates, from which he received an income of £2000 per annum. The following year Edward granted the Jewry to Peter Beraud or Béraldi and his fellow merchants of Cahors. On 5 April 1264, after hearing the news of the defeat and capture of the young Simon de \*Montfort at \*Northampton, wild rumours circulated as to the supposed intentions of some Jews, and the London mob rose. For Wykes

400 Jews were killed; for Fitz-Thedmar more than 500 'despoiled and murdered after nightfall'. Such figures are well in excess of Ephraim of Bonn's estimate of 150 Jews killed at \*York on the night of 16 March 1190. Together Jews, Cahorsins and Lombardi fled to the Tower, with such valuables as they could collect from local abbeys and priories.

After the battle of Evesham Henry III sought to restore the fortunes of his Jewry as best he could. However a series of \*tallages, from that imposed by Henry in 1270 to fund Edward's crusade to the so-called Great Tallage of 1274, ruined not only the Jewry but also, and more significantly, the clients of those who could not pay. It is hardly surprising, given Edward's actions in June 1262 and the odium that resulted from the most recent tallage, especially amongst the knightly class, that he decided on drastic action: the \*1275 Statute of the Jewry, which enacted that 'no Jew shall lend anything at usury'.

As trade in Jewish bonds for cash was now forbidden, the \*chests were despatched to the exchequer for scrutiny. Did this statute bring an end to Jewish usury? Certainly, as Mundill has clearly demonstrated from his analysis of the bonds and \*tallies in the new chests opened in the 1280s, there was a marked but variable shift from cash to bonds valued in grain and wool. Whilst at \*Nottingham 48 out of 60, and at \*Cambridge 31 of the 36 bonds were for cash, at \*Canterbury 94 out of 95 were for cereal, the remaining one for wool.

Is this, however, adequate evidence for the abandonment by the Jewry of usury? As Lipman pointed out, at \*Norwich, where only two of the 60 bonds were for cash,

nothing in the evidence suggests... that the Norwich Jews changed their main business after 1275 and became dealers in corn and wool; but rather that they continued moneylending under the camouflage of produce contracts, couched in a conventional form... connived at by the authorities.

The final section of the \*1276 Petition of the Commonalty of the Jews against the 1275 statute clearly indicates the handicaps Jews would have to face if they were compelled to trade in competition with Christian merchants. For Brand,

it seems doubtful whether even [those] which really did genuinely envisage future deliveries of commodities would not also have been regarded as 'usurious' under contemporary canon law, since the form they took seemed designed to ensure a profit for the Jewish creditor.

See Interest.

□ A. Fuss, 'InterJewish Loans in Pre-Expulsion England', *JQR*, 65 (1975), 229–45; Stein (1955); Jenkinson (1913); J. H. Round, 'The Debtors of William Cade', *EHR*, 28 (1913), 522–7; Richardson (1954), & (1960), 51–61, 142; *ODNB*, 'Cade, William', esp. refs; *Dialogus*, 146–9; R. Rist, 'The Power of the Purse: Usury, Jews and Crusaders 1198–1245', in *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. B. Bolton & C. Meek, (2007, Turnhout), 197–213; *Rot Litt Claus*, I, 354, 357, 359, 567; Parkes (1938), 284–6; Powicke, 1 (1947), 314–15; Paris, III, 13, 45–8; *CPR*, 1240, 239, & 1262, 233, 283; Chazan (1980), 213–16; Mate (1973); Y. Renouard, *Les Cahorsins, hommes d'affaires Français du XIIIe siècle*, *TRHS*, 5S, 11 (1961), 43–67; N. Denholm-Young, 'Merchants of Cahors', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 4 (1946), 37–44; Wykes, 141–3; Fitz-Thedmar, 62; Mundill (1998), 126–7; Lipman (1967), 168; Brand (2000), 153

## Wales, The Marches of, and Ireland

There were no Welsh Jewries, just individual English Jews serving the financial needs of the Anglo-Norman marcher barons seeking to carve out more lands for themselves in Wales. As Davies makes clear, 'within his lordship the marcher lord was governor and unrivalled landlord; only the lands and affairs of the church lay beyond his reach'. In disputes he had the right to settle 'by waging war'. The distinction between English and Welsh law and that of the March, which was an admixture of English and Welsh elements, was fully recognised in Chapter 56 of Magna Carta. For their English holdings the marcher lords were tenants of the Crown, and thus subject to direct pressure from the English king. As only the Crown could furnish Jews with adequate security that their loans would be repaid, Jewish financial activity in Wales was restricted to the lands of the Anglo-Norman lords.

Thus the solitary Michaelmas 1130 \*pipe roll of Henry I's reign shows that the king was the ultimate guarantor of the Jewish loan made to Richard fitz Gilbert, whose father had been granted Ceredigion by Henry in 1110. The loan was no doubt providing Richard with the money required to build castles to guard his marcher lordship, at Aberystwyth to the north and Cardigan to the south.

By the reign of Henry III \*Hereford had become the centre of military operations against Wales. As lord of Ewias, Walter II de Lacy had vital political and military interests in the Welsh Marches. By bringing together the affairs of his Anglo-Norman lords in Wales and Ireland, Henry II was to create problems for his successors, John, Henry III and Edward I. Walter persuaded the wealthy Jewish magnate, \*Hamo, to take up residence in Hereford and provide funds for himself and a number of his fellow marcher lords, such as John I of Monmouth, one of Henry's principal agents in the southern march, and Walter III and Roger II de Clifford. Availability of Jewish loans led to a flurry of castle-building to defend their lands in the southern Welsh March.

Walter II de Lacy improved the defences of his great castle at Ludlow with a gatehouse similar to his south-east gate at Trim in County Meath. In Ewias, he built Longtown castle to guard the vital route between the castles at Hay-on-Wye and Abergavenny, and established Grandmontine monks at Craswall as part of his process of colonisation of Ewias. John of Monmouth built a circular keep at Monmouth, similar to that of Longtown. Jewish finance played a significant role in all these projects.

Loans to some eight powerful marcher baronial families brought ruin to Hamo's successors, his sons Ursell, d.1241, and Moses, d.1253, who in 1231 had had to face a \*relief of £4000 on their father's estate. In addition Henry III, facing a military threat from Llewelyn and the Welsh, was pardoning debts owed to Hamo's heirs by some of the most politically and militarily important marcher lords. Thus in 1234 he cancelled the 1000-mark loan that Ursell had made to Walter III de Clifford ten months previously; and postponed for a year the first repayment on Walter de Lacy's £1000 loan – ultimately, not a penny was paid.

Once de Lacy was old and blind, and no longer of value to the king either in Ireland or Wales, Henry began to distrain his lands for repayment to the Crown of his debts to the Jewry. As Matthew Paris records, when Walter died 'he left only his wasted inheritance to his [grand]daughters'; his only son had died in the service of the Crown. Hamo's family suffered a similar fate on the death of Moses. The Crown took all their assets except the family home, which Moses' widow had as dower. The close rolls show that she and her son had to sell 'the stone and timber thereof'. John of Monmouth's family fared no better. In 1270 his son had to grant his father's honour of Monmouth, with its castle, to Prince Edward in remission of his father's debt of £1777 to the Crown.

Apart from \*Caerleon, we have but slight evidence of Jews gaining a livelihood in the Marches. This was restricted to the southwest. At Abergavenny castle, the administrative centre of the Cantilupe lordship, Isaac the Jew paid £3 6s 8d for an annual licence in 1256/57; some 20 years later Vives son of Vives paid a mere 4s. In 1270/71 an unnamed Jew made an advowry fine of 1 mark at Striguil (Chepstow), now the castle of Roger Bigod III. This was a payment by someone who was not a landowner in the lordship for protection in the lord's court. In 1283 Peter the Jew fined only ½ mark for the same privilege. Giraldus Cambrensis reports in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* that a monk of Margam Priory in Glamorgan converted to Judaism; but Gerald was no friend of the Cistercians.

□ R. R. Davies, 'Kings, Lords and Liberties in the March of Wales, 1066–1272', *TRHS*, 29 (1979), 41–61; D. Stephenson, 'Jewish Presence in, and Absence from, Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *JHSE*, 43 (2011), 7–20; Hillaby (1984), 381–419, & (1985), (1992–93), & (2003a), 39, & (2006); *PREJ*, II, 278

## Ireland

The *Annals of Innisfallen* describe how in 1079, 'five Jews came from overseas with gifts for Tairrdelbach [O'Brien, king of Ireland 1072–86] and they were sent back again over the sea'. There is no hint as to their origin.

After Dermot MacMurrough of Leinster fled to England in 1166, he persuaded Earl Richard de Clare (Strongbow) to provide him with military assistance. At least one of Richard's knights received financial support from Josce, a Jew of \*Gloucester, who was fined £5, the 1169/70 pipe roll records, 'for the moneys he lent to those who went over to Ireland despite the King's prohibition'. Henry II's message forbidding the expedition had probably arrived too late for Josce to be able to cancel the loan; he was lucky to get away with such a small fine. Strongbow himself, seriously in debt, had probably looked to \*Aaron of Lincoln for funding.

In 1171 Henry II led an expedition to establish his authority over the Anglo-Norman invaders, and nominally the Irish kings. To undermine Strongbow's growing power, he appointed Hugh de Lacy as justiciar, granting him the strategically situated kingdom of Meath. 'To my men of \*Bristol' he 'gave, granted and confirmed my city of Dublin

for [them] to inhabit.' The west of Ireland, however, was to remain unconquered. The political situation in Ireland was thus quite different from that in the Welsh Marches.

In 1220 Hugh's son, Walter II de Lacy, now lord of Meath, performed a great hosting to the crannog of O'Reilly, where the ruins of his early castle, some 190 by 140 ft (58 by 43 m), could still be seen in the early twentieth century. This he followed with improvements to the defences of his great keep at Trim. It was with the financial support of Hamo and his family that Walter was able to develop what has recently been described as 'Ireland's largest and finest castle.'

Of Jews in thirteenth-century Ireland, as Roth explains, 'we know little of their condition or distribution'. The patent rolls record that in July 1232 Henry III granted Peter de Rivallis the chancellorship of Ireland, with 'custody of the King's Jewry in Ireland'. All Jews of Ireland were commanded to 'be intente and respondent to him as their keeper in all things touching the King'. In recording the granting of land, the 1241 Dublin White Book prohibited its sale to Jews: '*vel in Iudaismo ponere*' (see Exclusion Clauses). This merely adopted the legal form from English practice. However, the close rolls show that, to ensure a prompt response to his demands for a \*tallage to be paid at Michaelmas 1245, Henry threatened to hand a number of the richest English Jews to the Irish justiciar for imprisonment in that country.

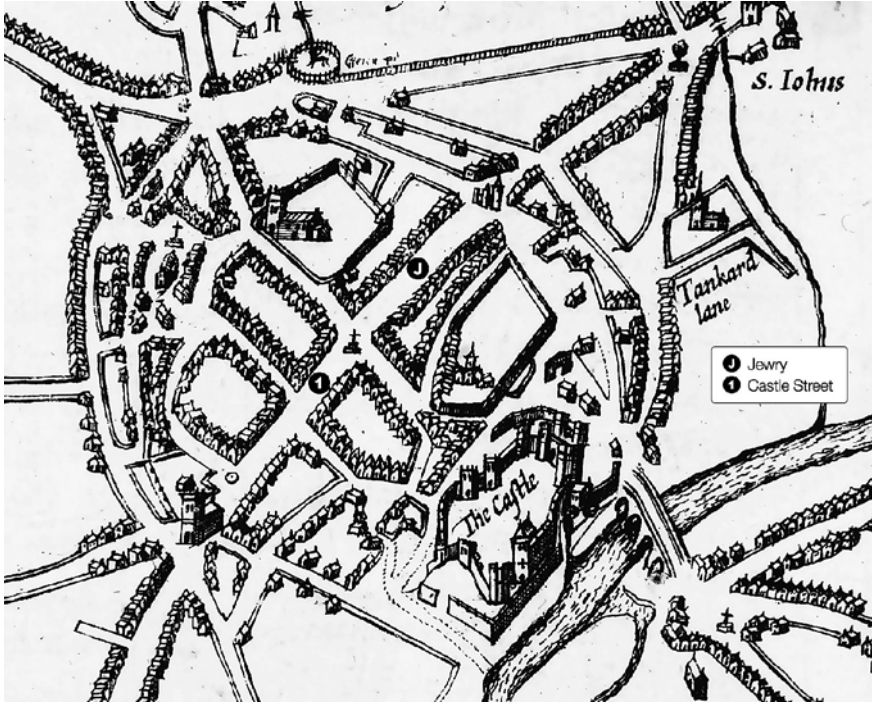
Following Henry II's grant of the 1171 charter, Bristol had developed particularly close links with Dublin. An incident involving Benjamin of \*Colchester's son Aaron of Ireland shows that the city attracted incomers of dubious reputation. In 1282 Aaron went to the shop of the Bristol goldsmith Robert of Arras, offering a silver plate for sale. When weighed, it proved to be of fused clippings. Snatching the plate, Aaron threw it from the bridge into the river Severn. Refusing trial by the usual mixed Jewry of Christians and Jews, he was gaoled at Hereford. A pledge of 3 \*bezants from friends, and the gift of property in Colchester with an annual rent of 8s, bought Aaron his freedom from the Crown.

□ L. Hühner, 'Jews of Ireland', *TJHSE*, 5 (1908), 226–31; *The Annals of Inisfallen* (MS. Rawlinson B.503), ed. & trans. S. Mac Airt (1951); *PpR*, 1169–70, 78; T. McNeil, *Castles in Ireland* (1997), 244; *CChR*, 1232, 166–7; *PR*, 1232, 494; *CR*, 1245, 339; Roth (1964), 46, 92; Rigg (1902), 120–1, 127

**Wallingford** *see* Berkhamsted, Abraham of

## Warwick

A county town, with a formidable castle (see Plan 11) in the hands, not of the Crown but of the Beaumonts, earls of Warwick. The earliest reference to Jews in Warwick is in 1182, when \*Aaron of Lincoln's agents, Peitevin and Leo, acknowledged receipt of £109 5s 4d from the \*sheriff of Warwick and Leicester on behalf of Earl Hamelin de Warenne, earl of Surrey d.1202, whose great keep can still be seen at Conisborough, Yorks. Only 15 miles (24 km) north-east of Warwick, \*Coventry priory, elevated to cathedral status in the early twelfth century, was an important client. In 1184 Solomon of Warwick was



Plan 11 Plan of Warwick, from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611)

Source: © University of Bristol Library Special Collections.

seeking to recover money lent to the prior. By 1186 there was a flourishing Jewish \*community, for one of Aaron's most valuable collections of bonds was lodged here; £491 6s 8d was due from Robert Beaumont, earl of Leicester, d.1190, and £233 6s 8d from Ranulf, sixth earl of Chester. (See Leicester.)

When Leo of Warwick died in 1191, his son Josce paid a \*relief of 100 marks for his debts and chattels. In 1194 Warwick, paying £62 7s 10d, ranked ninth of the 21 Jewries contributing to the Northampton *Promissum*. Fourteen members are listed under the two headings of Warwick and its shire; Josce son of Benedict, who paid the largest sum, some £20, and Solomon of Warwick appear in both lists. Richardson discusses the complex arrangements made by another Leo of Warwick regarding \*interest payments on a bond in 1205.

There is striking evidence that the community dispersed. Warwick was not amongst the 17 communities recognised in \*1218, and it made no contribution to the \*tallages of 1221, 1223 and 1226. Henry de Beaumont, fifth earl of Warwick (1204–29), was a strong supporter of King John and Henry III's Council of Regency, who repaid him for his



loyalty by favours and grants. He evidently took a very different view from his neighbour, Ranulf earl of Chester, who regarded the Jews of Coventry and Leicester as his personal property. In 1219 Robert Cosin, questioned about a house in Warwick that was in the hands of the Crown, reported that 'it *had* belonged to Josce son of Solomon', probably lost during John's reign.

At least four Warwick Jews are found at \*Gloucester in 1221, where the largest single contribution to the tallage, more than a quarter of the total, was made by Abraham of Warwick, with his son and son-in-law. The first entry in the \*plea rolls of the \*Exchequer of the Jews, which reopened at Michaelmas 1218, refers to Antera 'of Coventry', elsewhere 'of Warwick', claiming a messuage in Coventry. In 1220 the rolls show Leo of Warwick pursuing the prior of Coventry Cathedral, who was defending himself against a plea of debt.

The 1221 and 1223 receipt rolls record members of Warwick's former Jewry elsewhere: Solomon son of Josce of Warwick at \*Northampton, Benedict of Warwick at \*Oxford, Manasser at \*York, and Abraham, with his son Ursell and daughter Bona, at \*Exeter. By 1234 Isaac of Warwick, son of Abraham of Oxford, was at \*Norwich where, as Lipman shows, he became a prominent member of the community, owning a house adjacent to the *scola*. Such dispersal provides remarkable evidence of the flexibility and mobility that was a marked characteristic of the English medieval Jewry.

The death of Henry de Beaumont in 1229 probably explains an attempt by Jews to re-establish the community. This resulted in an order to the sheriff in 1234 to exclude Jews from all Warwickshire towns; but they were allowed to remain in Warwick for one month – to pay their tallage. A Jewry was, however, recognised by \*1241, when it was represented at the Worcester 'parliament' by six delegates: Benedict of Kent, Elias son of Abraham, Benedict of Evesham, Leo son of Deulebene, Angevin of Warwick and Peitevin son of Mosse. The community ranked fourteenth of the 19 Jewries, paying some £26, a mere 0.2% of the total, to the 20,000-mark tallage of that year.

In 1244 the community witnessed a violent conflict between two of its leading families, such that, exceptionally, it had to call on the sheriff for an inquest of Christian jurors in the county court to resolve the issue. Elias son of Abraham claimed that, at the door of his \*synagogue, Leo son of Deulebene kicked his wife Bessa, 'so that she fell ... in a fit as if dead'. Leo's wife Henna, his sister Muriel, and daughters Antera and Sigge then 'dragged Bessa out of the doorway by her hair and beat her and so ill treated her that, when she was brought home, she miscarried of her infant'. It was also alleged that a gold buckle and eight gold rings, worth 10 marks, had been stolen from Bessa.

Leo countered that Elias, who brought the charge, had not witnessed the incident; that none of the allegedly stolen items had been found in his family's possession; that Bessa attacked his daughter, Antera, and gnawed her nose and ears, and at home 'smeared herself with the blood of animals and caused it to be spilled around her bed'. The court fined Elias 1 mark for a false charge of robbery, but ordered Leo, his wife, two

## Westminster Abbey Muniments

daughters and sister to depart from Warwick with all their chattels within eight days, 'never to return', and Leo to provide pledges that no harm would come to Elias or his family.

In the same year Elias son of Isaac Lombard was convicted as a \*coin-clipper, the evidence being found in a pit in his house. Subsequent tallage payments portray a moribund community: £12 in 1244, the lowest of all except \*Bedford; and in 1255 the smallest of all 21 payments, nothing in July and only £1 towards the £1000 October levy.

In the late 1260s and 1270s several Jews are recorded as resident in the town, with an \*archa. One of them, Moses son of Leo, was hanged on coinage charges in 1280. His house, in Castle Street (1 on Plan 11), worth 14d yearly, was granted to Philip Greyvil. Six lawful Jews 'of those who used to reside at Warwick', now members of the \*Northampton Jewry, were summoned to an inquest concerning one of Moses' bonds. The community was not represented at the \*1287 'mini-parliament'. There is no record of any bonds in the Warwick \*chest at the \*expulsion, nor any valuations of Jewish property.

Despite its tenuous history, the site of the Jewry remained firmly embedded in the memory of Warwick's townsfolk. It is recorded as *vico vocato le Iuerie* in 1347, *le Juverie* in 1388, and *Jury Street* (J on plan) in 1610–11. Today, as Jury Street, it extends from High Street to the east gate. Elias's synagogue, in all probability just off this street, was in the Crown's possession in 1279, as was Moses' messuage in *Castlestret* (1), the other side of the market cross, next year.

□ Jacobs (1898), 174; Davis (1969), nos 23, 40, 88, 148; *PpR*, 1185–86, 104, & 1191–92, 92, 130; Richardson (1960), 268–9; *PREJ*, 1, 1, 9, 15, 19, 29, 31–3, 38, 74, 103–4, 159, 188–9; Hillaby (2002), 67–9; *CR*, 1234, 515–16, & 1241, 353–4; Stacey (1985), 241–6, & (1987a), 150–1; Rigg (1902), 11–12, 122–4; *CPR*, 1255, 444; *CChR*, 1280, 222; Lipman (1967), 18, 40, 133; Rokéah (1993), 207, & (2001), 74; *EPNS*, 13, *Warwickshire* (1936), 261; *VCH, Warwickshire*, 8 (1969), 486–7; R. Dace, 'The Jews of Warwick c.1180–c.1280', *Local Historian*, 37 (2007), 243–9

## Westminster Abbey Muniments

This is the largest repository of English medieval Jewish records after the National Archives and the British Library. In 1888 it was the major source for M. D. Davis's *Shetaroth: Hebrew Deeds of English Jews before 1290*, Publication no. 2 of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition. Of the total 208 deeds, 86 of the 94 from \*Norwich, all but 2 of the 51 from \*Nottingham, and 7 from \*Lincoln came from Westminster Abbey Muniments. One of these, a marriage contract, describes the famous wedding gift to the husband of \*Master Benedict's granddaughter Judith: 'a precious volume containing the 24 books of the Bible written on calf skin'. Republished in 1969, Davis's book remains a basic text for those interested in the English medieval Jewry.

In 1908 S. Levy contributed an article to the *TJHSE* on what he described as 'the Norwich Day-book'. The text of these four rolls, which cover the period September 1225

to March 1227, together with further rolls from the abbey's muniments of various dates between 1224/25 and 1255–58, are appended by Vivian Lipman to his *Jews of Medieval Norwich*. From these Lipman analysed 365 business relationships of forty-three Jewish creditors; 87 represent the dealings of \*Isaac son of Jurnet.

The following year Robinson and James drew attention to what, from their numbering, were the most prestigious documents in the collection: MS 1, a Hebrew pentateuch of 395 folios, 'very well written', annotated in a Latin hand of the thirteenth century, bears the signature of John de Grandisson, bishop of Exeter 1327–69, as does MS. Bodl. Or. 135. Neil Stratford refers to Grandisson's 'impressive theological library, with books both in Latin and Hebrew'. It was apparently whilst he was a student at the university of Paris, 1313–17, that Grandisson learned Hebrew. His tutor was the Cistercian monk, Jacques Fournier, later elected Pope Benedict XII at Avignon. MS. 2 is a Hebrew–Latin psalter where the Hebrew text, in the centre of the page, indicates it was written before the Latin, Gallican, version was added.

In 1936 L. E. Tanner reported on the 'Collection of Jewish Shtarrs' amongst the Muniments:

There are nearly 200 \*starrs and almost as many analogous documents such as lists of debts, registers of Bonds, royal Precepts to the \*Chirographers of Norwich and so on. The reason for the presence of this collection in the Muniment Room is not apparent. They were certainly there in Widmore's time [Revd Richard Widmore, Librarian 1733–64], for he removed them from the vast chest traditionally known as the Cambridge Ark in which they were apparently placed in the thirteenth century, and put them in the cupboards in the Muniment Room.

For Barbara Harvey the explanation for their being placed there is 'no doubt because of its proximity to the \*Exchequer of the Jews', which was adjacent to Westminster Hall.

In 2007 Ann Causton edited a collection of 268 hitherto unpublished documents from the Westminster Abbey Muniments relating to the thirteenth-century English Jewries at \*Bristol, \*Canterbury, \*Colchester, Lincoln, Norwich and Nottingham. In his 1998 chapter on '\*Provincial Jewries under Edward I' Mundill used the Muniments to considerable effect in relation to the Canterbury, Lincoln and Nottingham \*communities; he itemises the Westminster documents in his references.

□ S. Levy, 'The Norwich Day-Book', *TJHSE*, 5 (1908), 243–75; Lipman (1967), 70 n. 1, 82–94, 187–312; J. Armitage Robinson & M. R. James, *Westminster Abbey: Library: The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey* (1909); Olszowy-Schlanger (2003), nos 6 and 20; Smalley (1983), 342, 348–9; N. Stratford, 'Bishop Grandisson and the Visual Arts', in *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration*, ed. M. Swanton (1991), 145; L. E. Tanner, 'The Nature and Use of the Westminster Abbey Muniments', *TRHS*, 4S, 19 (1936), 62–3; Harvey (1977), 169–71; Causton (2007); R. Mortimer, *Guide to the Muniments of Westminster Abbey* (2012)

**Wilton**

Granted a guild merchant in 1121, Wilton was probably the largest trading centre in Wiltshire. The borough was an important minting place, where coins were struck from the second half of the tenth century to 1250. Here Stephen built a castle in 1142, although today even its site is a matter of speculation.

Abraham of Wilton, with Mosse of Chichester and Jacob of Hereford, are found in the town in the 1204 fine roll. Joppe son of Josce of Wilton was freed from prison in 1217, but the Jewry was not amongst the seventeen recognised in \*1218. However, like \*Southampton, \*Huntingdon and \*Bedford, it was tallaged in 1226, when it ranked sixteenth of the twenty-one Jewries, contributing £7 13s 1d, more than \*Colchester. In the mid thirteenth century Wilton's economy was already on the decline, due to the growth of the new diocesan centre at Salisbury, founded c.1219 three miles (five km) to the east, which had some 3300 poll tax payers by 1377. Wilton's tradesmen complained in 1240 about the decline of its daily markets. Deulecresse of Wilton, living in Salisbury in 1249, presumably used the Wilton \*chest to register his loans.

Two of 'Wiltshire's' five delegates to the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament' were from Wilton: Solomon and Isaac, sons of Josce. Fifteenth of 19, the \*community paid £26 2s 6½d to the 1241/42 tallage, more than \*Gloucester, Colchester, Bedford and \*Worcester. The 1244/45 \*plea rolls identify Solomon and Isaac as the \*chirographers. In 1255 Wilton's Jewry, fourteenth of 21 communities, paid £32 in tallage, excluding 'the portion of Aaron'. This was the same amount as \*Exeter, but its rival, \*Marlborough, paid £40. Abraham Russell, Moses Babelard and David son of Jacob were the pledges for Wilton's payment.

The patent rolls show that in 1253 Russell had been indicted before the county justices and the barons of the \*Exchequer of the Jews for 'the clipping and exchanging of old money for new'. For an unspecified fine to the king he was 'quit thereof forever'. In 1256 he and William Isembard, mayor of Wilton, were dismissed as chirographers 'on account of fraudulent practices'. William was hanged, but in December that year Abraham had to fine 'for having had to do with' Letitia of Cerf (Cerne?) minster. He fled with his wife, Gyna, 'beyond the sea'. In January 1259 Gyna, now widowed, fined 40 gold \*bezants, paid to Queen Eleanor, for 'peaceful residence in England'. She married Moses of Kent, a \*Cambridge Jew.

In 1261 a scrutiny was ordered, not only of the bonds relating to lands and rents in the Wilton and Marlborough chests, but also of the 'gold, silver [and] jewels', including those 'on deposit in religious houses'. In 1262 thirteen Wilton Jews paid £43 13s 10d in tallage, some £5 more than the Marlborough community. After de \*Montfort's death at Evesham in 1265, 'out of compassion for the losses which the Jews of [Wilton] have sustained by occasion of the late disturbance in the realm', Henry III appointed 24 burgesses, of whom 22 are named, as 'guardians and defenders of the said Jews, their lands, houses, goods and rents and possessions; without term'. Further scrutinies of the

Wilton chest took place in 1269 and 1273, when the chirographers were Moses Babelard son of Elias and Benedict, his son-in-law. In \*1275, after the Statute prohibiting \*usury, twenty-five bonds were in the chest. Nine belonged to Moses, six to his son, Abraham; amongst those with single holdings was Isaac of \*Dorchester. Six others had 'nothing in the chest'. In 1276 a Moses of Kent and his wife, Fluria, paid 2 bezants to dwell at Wilton. There was at least one victim of the \*coin-clipping crisis; of Salle's effects, three brass lamps raised 4s.

The only named member of the 'Wiltshire' delegation to the \*1287 'mini-parliament' was a Vives of Wilton. Of the 25 Jews named in the 1290 list of bonds from 'Wiltshire' not one is 'of Wilton'; 13 are 'of Marlborough'.

The house of 'the most prominent member of the 13th-century Jewry', we are told, 'faced the Market Place'. Confirmation of a Wilton \*synagogue comes from royal proclamations read out there in 1273 and 1275.

□ *CPR*, 1247–58, 184, 439, 443, 532, & 1258–66, 187, 521, & 1275, 127; *CR*, 1259, 357; *PREJ*, I, 60, 107, & II, 108, 115, & III, 61, 127, 133, 139, 211, 226, & IV, 15; Mundill (1998), 22, 165; Adler (1935a), 61

## Wiltshire

Three Wiltshire Jewries – \*Wilton, \*Marlborough and \*Devizes – were, at different times, recognised \*communities, each with its own \*chest. However, there was a joint 'Wiltshire' delegation to the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament', its members identified by the exchequer clerks as Isaac and Solomon, sons of Solomon, 'of Marlborough'; Solomon and Isaac, sons of Josce, representing Wilton; and Abraham Battcock. The only other county represented was neighbouring Dorset, with two delegates. (See Dorchester.)

Wilton became a \*tallage-paying community in 1226, Marlborough by 1244 and Devizes had a chest by 1258. In the 1241/42 tallage, £26 2s 6½d is ascribed to Wilton, but may have been a joint contribution with Marlborough. Proclamations between 1270 and 1275 show that there were \*synagogues at all three centres. The dynamics between the three communities were fundamentally changed in 1275 when Marlborough's Jews were expelled to Devizes. Subsequently the latter's New Chest apparently served the whole county.

Abrahams' 1290 list of bonds, in this instance combining Old and New Chests, is related to Wiltshire, not to a particular Jewry. Total value was £392 1s 4½d, of which Mundill shows some £127 related to the New Chest: £85 6s 8d for grain, the rest for cash. Of the 26 bondholders, 13 are from Marlborough – all but two members of the family of Solomon son of Simon; others included \*Licoricia of Winchester's son Sweteman, 'son of David of Oxford', 2 from Chippenham, 1 each from Calne, Cricklade and Devizes, 1 from Newbury in Berkshire, and another from Dorset. Amongst those hanged during the \*coin-clipping crisis were Benedict of Marlborough, Moses of Devizes and Solomon of Chippenham. Solomon's chattels, when sold, included 48 brooches, 8 silver spoons, broken silver, 54 Latin books and one of his own, presumably in Hebrew. Adler also

## Winchelsea

provides details of the chattels that were sold of Salle of Wilton, Lumbard of Devizes, Bonamy and Isaac of Calne, and Sweteman, here 'of Wilton', elsewhere 'of Oxford'.

In \*1287 Wiltshire was the sole county called to send representatives to the 'mini-parliament'. There were four: Vives de Wilton, a Jew 'from outside Hungerford', and 'two of the richer and more prudent Jews of Devizes'. Only Lincoln and York equalled this number of delegates.

□ VCH, *Wiltshire*, 6 (1962), 12, & 10 (1975), 253, & 12 (1983), 208; Mundill (1998), 22, 165–9; Adler (1935a), 61–2, 64; Rokéah (1993), 171, 205, 209, & (2001) 84; Abrahams (1896), 103–4

**Winchelsea** *see* Expulsions, Local

## Winchester

Capital of Anglo-Saxon England, and cathedral city of the wealthiest of the English bishops. Until the end of the twelfth century, when they were relocated to the royal palace at Westminster, both royal exchequer and treasury were at Winchester. The castle (2 on Plan 12), by the Westgate, remained popular with the Angevin monarchs. Badly damaged in 1141 and 1215, it became one of the favourite residences of Henry III who lavished some £10,000 on its renovation as a palace. Winchester's mint was an early foundation, c.895. In Stephen's reign some seven moneyers can be identified in the city. As elsewhere, a royal exchange built c.1180 brought an end to Jewish trade in silver with the moneyers.

The bishop and chapter's St Giles's fair, on a nearby hill east of the city, was a major centre of Anglo-French trade, and a considerable attraction for the Jews. At its peak it provided an annual revenue of some £125 a year for the cathedral (1 on Plan 12); extended to 16 days c.1160, it reached its peak by the first half of the thirteenth century. By 1148 two Jews, Deulecresse and Ursulin, were resident in the city, in *Scowrtenestret*, now Jewry Street (J). In the 1159 *Donum* the \*community ranked fourth equal with \*Cambridge, after \*London, \*Norwich and \*Lincoln. The 1159/60 \*pipe roll records that Gentil paid the considerable sum of £15 'not to wed a Jew', probably her affianced.

Undisturbed by the 1190 riots and massacres, Winchester's Jewry weathered a \*ritual murder story in 1192. Satire directed at many aspects of contemporary society played a prominent part in the *Chronicle* of Richard of Devizes, a monk of the cathedral priory, died c.1200. It opens with a vivid description of the attack on London's Jewry at Richard I's coronation. Richard puts his ironic picture of Winchester into the mouth of a French Jew talking to a Christian lad seeking his fortune: 'For Jews' this city 'was the Jerusalem of England. Here alone they enjoyed perpetual peace'; 'the monks are so pious and kind, the clergy so wise and frank, the citizens so courteous and of good faith, the women of such beauty and modesty'. On arrival the lad delivered a note in Hebrew from his mentor to a Winchester Jew. When the recipient was accused of the boy's death, Richard tells us, the judges 'were won over by gold'. With such rumours in the city, its Jews were escorted to Westminster for interrogation. Eventually they were fined a mere £1 15s 1d.

However, as McCulloh comments, Richard's ambiguity and cynicism have given rise to 'widely varying interpretations of his Winchester crucifixion story'.

The first profile of the community is in the 1194 \*Northampton *Promissum* returns, when it ranked seventh. There were 13 contributions to the community's tallage of £85, including family groups: Abraham *filius* Bene paying £45, over 40%, was ninth amongst English magnates; the heirs of Moses of Wallingford paid £11 9s 4d; Lombard some £8; his mother, Anna, £7; and Cassi £6.

Our detailed knowledge of the thirteenth-century Winchester Jewry owes much to three people, working in quite different areas. Nicholas Vincent has thrown new light on the relations of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester 1205–38, with the English Jewry in general and that of Winchester in particular. One of the wealthiest bishops in Europe, he was described in a song as 'the warrior of Winchester who presides at the Exchequer, sharp at accountancy, slack at the gospels, turning the king's roll'. Derek Keene, by providing details in *Winchester Studies* II of the internal politics of the city, enables us to place the Jewry in its wider setting, thus adding a particular interest to its history. Suzanne Bartlet was primarily concerned with the lives of a number of the city's remarkable Jewish womenfolk. Her wide-ranging study, *Licoricia of Winchester*, published posthumously, encompasses many members of that family.

### The Era of \*Chera and des Roches

The pipe rolls record that in the 1210 Bristol tallage Chera and Isaac the \*chirographer, her second husband and business partner, were jointly assessed at 5100 marks. Despite having paid 2000 marks, over £1336, by 1211, Isaac was imprisoned at Winchester and Chera at \*Bristol castle. In 1216 the French and the rebels captured Winchester, but not its castle. The city was retaken by the royalist forces in spring 1217. The patent rolls show that, having made her peace with the king, Chera, with her servants, was released that year. The fine rolls record that Isaac was dead by September 1218.

In June that year the \*sheriff of Hampshire and citizens of Winchester were informed that, in line with the Council of Regency's new policy, the town's Jews had been granted their own community and were to be protected from injury or molestation. In reality, they were under the control of the bishop, Peter des Roches, who had served John as Justiciar in 1214–15 and had been Henry's guardian since 1212. When the exchequer opened late that year, both Roches and the regent took an active part in its proceedings. The bishop had his own agenda. As Vincent points out, 'there can be little doubt that Peter was associated with several prominent Jews', the most notable being \*Isaac of Norwich, Benedict Crespin of London, Elias of Lincoln – and Chera and her sons. Her creditors included 'several Hampshire men, later to be bought out by des Roches'.

By 1221 Chera also was dead. As in the case of Isaac of Norwich, Peter des Roches evidently established the policy of reduction in \*relief payments due from the family for hers and Isaac's debts, from the original £100 to 100 marks in 1221; ultimately to 40

marks in 1230, when over £1400 was still outstanding. Chera's four sons and a daughter, led by Deulebene, paid 50% of the community's tallage of some £50 in 1221. Of the eight Winchester Jews assessed in 1210 for tallage, only Ursell, Lombard and Josce remained; at least one was dead, and another 'beyond the seas'. Winchester nevertheless ranked third, after London and York, which position it maintained in 1223 and 1226. It was only in the latter year, with des Roches no longer a power in the county, that the community felt obliged to purchase dispensation from wearing the \*badge.

The seeds sown by Richard of Devizes in the 1190s were now flourishing. In 1225 there were apparently two further child murder charges, but in one case the victim was found alive. Yet another ritual-child-murder accusation was recorded in the Hampshire eyre rolls in 1232, when Chera's son, Abraham Pinch, was one of those accused of murdering a one-year-old boy, Stephen. His nurse, who fled, said she had sold him to Abraham, who had murdered him. The mother was imprisoned on suspicion of having caused her child's death. She escaped, took sanctuary in a church, confessed to the crime and abjured the realm. The jury however declared that she was ill at the time.

Given the intensity of public feeling in the town, the sheriff had secured the Jews in the castle. After their release in 1232, Winchester citizens, in Richard's words 'so courteous and of good faith', remained determined on lynch law. Having been accused of a minor theft some years earlier, Abraham Pinch was tried at the assizes in 1235, and hanged for felony early in February 1236. The Jewry's application for him to be interred in their \*cemetery was rejected; he had to be buried beneath the gallows on which he had been hanged, outside the city gaol, opposite his house in *Scowrtenestret*. The fine rolls show his elder brother, Deulebene, had died in 1235. Abraham was therefore head of the family and master of the \*synagogue.

Abraham's house, with its appurtenances, was granted by Henry III to Adam, the royal 'saucer'. The Jewry sought to prove that the *scola* behind the house was not an appurtenance. The close rolls show that in February 1236 the sheriff was ordered to hand over to Adam 'all the appurtenances of the house, except the *scola*', for which one suspects Henry III had been offered an appropriate fine; but in May Adam secured possession of the synagogue. This loss was to prove an object lesson to the English Jewries; in the expulsion lists all other synagogues are communal. However, the 1290 returns refer to the Winchester synagogue, *scola*, as part of the property of Licoricia's grandson, Jacob son of Cokerel; evidently she or her family had regained possession for the community.

As Vincent points out, des Roches, absent since 1227, returned to England in 1231. At Christmas that year Henry III was his guest in Winchester. In 1232 des Roches was almost as powerful in Hampshire as he had been between 1216 and 1223. With vast wealth accumulated as a principal office holder under John and the young Henry III, he became a major patron of religious orders, founding four monasteries in England, including Premonstratensian Titchfield in 1232–33 and Augustinian Selborne in 1233,



and another in France. He took advantage of his relationship with Chera's family to persuade their creditors to part with lands with which to endow Titchfield and Selborne with appropriate estates. Indeed, Vincent shows that Abraham Pinch, 'was the creditor of several men from whom the Augustinians of Selborne acquired land'.

Towards the Third on Jewish chattels in \*1239 Chera's son Elias paid £2; her daughters, Blanche, 18d, and Milka, 7d. Deulebene's widow, \*Belia, and \*Licoricia, first mentioned in 1234 as the widow of Abraham of Kent, each contributed £10. Lumbard senior paid £1 3s 6d, and Ursell's son, Manasser, 19s 2½d. Of the 29 named members of the Jewry, 20 paid less than 10s. At the Worcester 'parliament' in February \*1241 Elias, his two elder brothers dead, led the delegation; the other representatives were Manasser and Deudone, sons of Ursell, Diaie of \*Wallingford and Deulegard, son of Lumbard Senex. Analysis of contributions to the 20,000-mark tallage provides surprising details. From third place in 1226, Winchester had fallen to tenth, well behind old rivals such as \*Canterbury, Norwich, Lincoln, and even \*Hereford and \*Nottingham.

### The Era of Licoricia

The partnership was now in the hands of Elias and Belia, working with Licoricia. Both widows remarried: Licoricia in 1242, to \*David of Oxford; Belia to Pictavin of \*Bedford, where she remained after his death in 1261.

After David's death in 1244, Licoricia returned to Winchester an extraordinarily wealthy woman. With her came her children by Abraham – Cokerel, \*Benedict and Lumbard – and her young son by David, Asher, also known as Sweteman. The outcome of her negotiations with Henry III over the relief on David's estate suggests that she had established a firm understanding with the king. In 1255 Winchester shared first place amongst \*provincial Jewries with Lincoln, paying £106 13s 4d in tallage. Three years earlier the fine rolls record that Cresse of \*Stamford was accused of having 'violently seized and taken away the apple of Eve from the city's synagogue...to the shame and opprobrium of the community'.

Winchester's Jewry initially avoided the horrors suffered at the hands of de \*Montfort's supporters by such other communities as \*Worcester, \*Gloucester, Cambridge and Canterbury. However, in June 1265 Simon ordered his son to bring his forces to the river Severn in his support. Not fully realising the dangers his father faced, Simon the younger moved to Winchester where for three days he sacked and pillaged the town, killing all Jews not, with Licoricia, in the safety of the Jews' tower at the castle, which the liberate rolls suggest was not without its comforts. In 1249 the sheriff had been ordered to 'furnish the Jews' tower with a watch tower and leaden roof and make a fireplace therein', and in 1251 to make a penthouse 'before the doorway of the Jews' tower'. Simon's delays cost his father's life at the battle of Evesham. On 8 September Henry called a parliament to meet in the Great Hall of Winchester castle, where the lands of all 'rebels' were ordered to be taken into the king's hands. The consequence was

the coming together in the Isles of Ely and Axholme of the \*Disinherited, who attacked the Norwich, Cambridge, Bedford and Lincoln Jewries.

In June 1264 Henry III adopted the procedure introduced by his Council of Regency in \*1218 at \*Bristol, Gloucester, Lincoln, Northampton and Oxford. He appointed 'the twenty-four', a self-perpetuating group chosen from 'the most trustworthy and wise men of the town', as guardians of Winchester's Jews. Their dignity and authority were expressed by their crimson gowns and title, *iurati de civitate*. At least four had served as Christian chirographers. At \*Leicester 'the twenty-four' were also termed 'jurats', 'those who had taken an oath'.

At \*Worcester, Canterbury, Gloucester and Cambridge, there is evidence of collusion between Jewry and sheriff. By contrast, at Winchester joint interests created an alliance between Jewry and city fathers, raising the question as to how far this was the case elsewhere. For Keene, a 'feature of this period is the strikingly close commercial relations between the Jews and the [wealthy] citizens of Winchester'. Hints of such links can later be found at Hereford, where a number of patricians, in a conflict of interests with the bishop, attended the wedding celebrated by Aaron II le Blund's family in 1286, despite the threat of excommunication.

By 1268 relations between 'the twenty-four' and the general citizenry, the *communitas*, had reached crisis point. The latter accused the former of admitting Benedict son of Abraham, Licoricia's son by her first husband, to the guild merchant as 'a manifest scandal to Christian men'. In 1270, 'because of a matter of contention between some citizens [the popular party] and Benedict son of Abraham', Henry III, fully conscious of the need to restore the economic well-being of the English Jewry after all it had suffered during the 'late troubles', took Winchester's Jews into his special protection, appointing 25 named citizens as 'guardians and protectors of the Jews', of whom 18 had served since 1264. They also included Simon le Draper, wool merchant and one of the Christian chirographers, who had been mayor without break for the last four years; and the convert Henry de Winchester, also known as de \*Dernegate, who by 1273 was licensed to export wool. The 25 were to 'proclaim throughout the city that none do the Jews harm, on pain of life and limbs, and protect them and their households, lands, rents and possessions, and if harm be done them to have it amended at once'.

In 1272–73 Simon le Draper, with both Jewish chirographers, Licoricia's son, Benedict, and Deudone of Winchester, was accused of malpractices in relation to a debt held in the \*chest. In the 1273 elections Simon was replaced as mayor by another wool merchant, Roger de Dunstaple, a member of the anti-Jewish party of the *communitas*. Benedict resigned as chirographer on the grounds that he now lived in London. He was replaced by his son, Lumbard. Matters reached a head in 1274, when the new mayor and 13 others, 'with the assent of the *communitas*', fell upon Deudone, 'assaulted him, broke the doors and windows of his house, and carried off his goods and chattels to the value of 20 marks, against the peace and to the king's damage of £40'. Edward I

intervened personally, taking control of the city and handing it to his clerk, Adam of Winchester. Only in 1276 did Edward resolve the city's political problem, by breaking the exclusive control of the twenty-four with whom leading members of the Jewry had been so clearly associated. A movement of Jews out of the city had begun by 1274, when another of Benedict's sons, Aaron, was appointed chirographer at Canterbury.

### Decline of the Jewry

In 1277 Licoricia and her Christian maid servant were stabbed to death. Henry de Dernegate's evidence was instrumental in gaining the release of the three men indicted. In October that year Licoricia's grandson, Abraham son of Benedict, was 'assaulted, so that his life was despaired of, and his goods carried away'. In the \*coin-clipping crisis of 1278–79, his father and Deudone were hanged, and their chattels sold; Deudone's household 'cloths, bronze pots, basins, plates and other small utensils' were sold for £2 16s 8d to 'Master Ralph, the King's Saucer' in Winchester. Benedict and Deudone had played a strenuous role in the re-establishment of a Jewish presence in \*Southampton in the 1270s. Other Winchester Jews who suffered a like fate were Benedict's son, Lombard; Belecote's son, Salomon (Salle); and Salle son of Salle. Another of Licoricia's sons, Lombard, was fined for 'exchanging'. Fines from Winchester totalled some £403. The combination of the murder of Licoricia and the coin-clipping crisis represents the death knell of Winchester's Jewry.

To the \*1287 'mini-parliament' the Jewry sent only two representatives: Licoricia's grandson, Abraham son of Cokerel, and Lombard *le Petit*. Sweteman, Licoricia's son by David of Oxford, incarcerated in the Jews' Tower of Winchester castle, scratched on his dungeon wall: 'On Friday, eve of the Sabbath in which the periscope *Emor* is read [2 May 1287], all the Jews of the Land of the Isle were imprisoned. I, Asher, inscribed this.' Providing a remarkable link with the next era of the Anglo-Jewry, this was recorded by John Selden (1584–1654), 'Renaissance England's chief rabbi', in his *De Jure Naturali... Juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum*, 'one of the most genuinely philosemitic works produced by a Christian Hebraist in early modern Europe.'

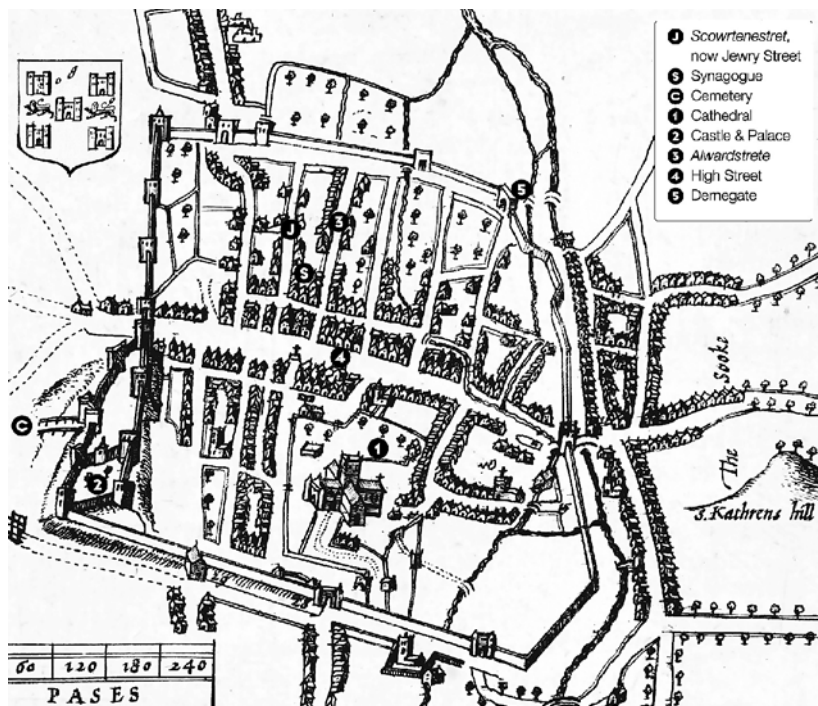
A survey of Jewry Street in 1285 names four Jews – Isaac of Newbury, Sweteman, a son of Deulegard and Jospin son of Gloria – as paying land tax, but notes that Cokerel 'has not paid for many years'. Bonds totalled £179 18s 8d: grain bonds of £129 18s 8d, wool £50, but none for cash. This is surprising for, with Draper, Dunstaple and Dernegate amongst its many wool merchants, Winchester Jewry had a considerable role in the trade. Of the 11 provincial Jewries for which details are available, only Bristol had a lower valuation, £72 10s.

Things were not much better in terms of annual property values. Only five houses were valued at over 10s a year: a tenement with *scola* of Jacob son of Cokerel, grandson of Licoricia, 16s 6d; Cressant's house, 15s 5d; that of Lombard son of Deulegard, 12s 6d; Abraham Cokerel, 11s 3d; and Sweteman, 10s 2d; others were worth a few shillings. Site

details are not given. Aaron the chirographer's brother and sister, Cok and Belaset, had joined him in Canterbury, as had two sons of 'Cresse of Winchester', Aaron and Hagin.

### The Jewry

Jewry Street was originally *Scowrtenestret*, the street of shoemakers (J on Plan 12). There was Jewish residential property in his street by 1148. Within a century it was *Yeruestret* and eight years later *vicus Judeorum*. The 1241 charter rolls show that Samarian the Jew had two messuages in the street, where also lived wealthy merchants, including, in 1269, a goldsmith. This is hardly surprising. With Southgate Street, it forms a crossroads by the market area in the High Street. It was also close to the security offered by constable and sheriff at the royal castle, to which a postern no doubt provided speedy access. It remains Jewry Street today. Jewish investment was not restricted to this area. In 1268 Benedict son of Abraham bought three properties in neighbouring *Alwardstrete* (3), and a fourth in *magno vico*, High Street (4). In 1285 his 'houses and plots of ground' were sold to eight people for a total of £207 7s 8d.



Plan 12 Plan of Winchester, from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611)

Source: © University of Bristol Library Special Collections.

The 1290 returns give further details of Jewish property in the town, valued at £44 and ranking eighth. They refer to Jacob son of Cokerel paying 2s 6d land tax for the \*synagogue, *scola* (S on Plan 12), which was worth 16s 6d a year. Keene indicates its site in his figure 72, a street plan of c.1300, as on the backland of plot 281-BD, on the east side of Jewry Street, south of St Michael's church. Excavations in 1974–75 and 1995 in the area of Crowder Terrace confirm that 'that place with its appurtenances which was the \*cemetery of the Jews' was outside the Westgate, to the north of Castle Ditch (C). The returns also record 'a [\*laving] stone of the value of 4s, on which the Jews washed corpses before burial'. It 'was found in one of the Jews' houses'. The place name 'Crowder' indicates the presence of a \**bet tohorah*.

After the general \*expulsion of the Jews, at Winchester as at \*York, a number of wealthy merchants took on the role of moneylenders in the locality. During excavations in Tanner Street a lead disc, with Hebrew inscription on the obverse, was found. The reverse is like that of a short-cross penny. Similar in both weight and size to such a penny, it may well have been used as a token.

□ Moore (1985), 17–20; *Devizes*, 64–9; McCulloh (1997); Allin (1982); Bale (2001); Vincent (1992), 119–32, & (1996a), 177–80, 288–90, 358–60; Biddle (1976), 101, 154, 284–6, 377–8, 478, 496–7, 511–19, 536, 539–40; Keene, I (1985), 75–9, 324, 384–7, & II, 666–7, 1034–5, fig. 72; Bartlet (2000), & (2009); Brown & McCartney (2004); Stacey (1987a), 219–20; *PpR*, 1211–12, 105, & 1212–13, 42; *AM*, II, 86; *CR*, 1232, 80, & 1234–37, 271, 341, & 1241, 375–6; *CLR*, 1245–51, 235–6, 369; *CPR*, 1266–72, 226, 417, & 1272–81, 38, 244–5, 357; *PREJ*, II, 108, 196, 227; Adler (1935a), 64; Rokéah, 2 (1974), 65–72, & (1984), 100–1, & (1993), 172, 174, 180, 200, 209, 211; J. P. Rosenblatt, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi: John Selden* (2006), 158–81; E. Marienberg, 'The Apple of Eve', Henry III Fine Rolls Project, <http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-12-2011.html> (26 January 2013)

**Winchester, Belia of** *see* Bedford, Belia of, and sons

### **Winchester, Benedict son of \*Licoricia, d.1279**

The son of \*Licoricia, by Abraham her first husband, Benedict was one of the leading figures of the post-\*Montfortian Jewry. His business interests were very wide, including six of the major towns of the realm: \*Winchester, \*Southampton, \*London, \*Bristol, \*Canterbury and \*York. His ultimate undoing was that, unlike \*Aaron son of Vives, he failed to establish a firm, permanent, relationship with a patron at court.

#### **Winchester**

Like many other sons of prominent Jewish families, Benedict gained early experience of the business world. By 1253 he was acting as his mother's \*attorney. The patent rolls show him and his elder brother Cokerel serving as pledges for their community's payments to the tallages of July and October 1255. In 1264, after the battle of Lewes, Henry III appointed the 24 'sworn men of the Old Usages of the City of Winchester' as guardians of the Jews. For Keene this represented 'a community of interest' between the wealthier Jews and the leading citizens. It was to lead to surprising events in 1268.

Simon Draper, the leader of the 'sworn men', was elected mayor in 1266, an office he retained for seven years. 'With the common counsel and assent of the bailiffs, the citizens and the whole community of the said city', the 1268 patent rolls explain, he 'received our beloved and faithful friend and special neighbour Benedict...as our fellow-citizen and fellow-guildsman in the guild merchant'. Together with charges of widespread malpractices, this led to a violent reaction by the popular, anti-Jewish, party within the city. The following year the rolls show that Benedict successfully sued Valentine, prior of St Swithun's, the cathedral priory, 'touching depredations and trespasses committed by certain citizens of Winchester and others upon the said Benedict and his wife'. Valentine made concord, for himself and his convent, binding himself to pay Benedict £100. By December 1269 Benedict's skills had come to Eleanor of Castile's notice; she persuaded Henry III that his outstanding debts should be free from interference for a decade.

The 24 were predominantly licensed wool merchants, exporting their goods out of Southampton. The ability of Benedict and other Jews to provide credit at critical moments was a motive behind his election. On one occasion Benedict was granted four houses in the city, one by Draper, the others by Christian neighbours; by 1280 he possessed no less than nine properties in the city. Benedict also held the office of Jewish \*chirographer until 1273; notably not a few of the 24 had served as Christian chirographers. In 1270 the memoranda rolls record that Benedict paid a fine of 12 gold \*bezants for Henry III to 'forgo proceedings against him for his alleged trespass of removing charters...from the \*chest and delivering them without the king's or his justices' writ'. Because of 'a matter of contention between some of the king's citizens of Winchester and Benedict' the king took the Winchester Jews 'into his special protection', appointing 25 named men as 'their guardians and protectors'.

Benedict's house, granted to Bishop Nicholas in December 1270 'to hold...without power of reclamation by...the said Jew or his heirs', lay 'in the suburb of Winchester without the gate of Dernegate' (see Winchester Plan 12), now Durngate, at the north-east corner of the city defences. His decision to live so far from the Jewry reflects those of Master \*Benedict at \*Lincoln and Master \*Elias at London; his motives were in all probability similar to those of Master Elias – to avoid prying eyes.

Benedict and his son, Lombard, also experienced difficulties in \*Southampton in 1273, when they 'were unlawfully ejected, without judgment', from Ronceval, the great house-cum-warehouse on the West Quay, their goods and chattels being taken from the building (*see* Houses). However, Benedict eventually re-established his control of what was one of the most important buildings in the port, where he no doubt enjoyed a lifestyle similar to that of his neighbour, Richard of Southwick.

## London

Keenly aware of the change in public opinion, Benedict established a position for himself in the capital by 1272. His first wife, Belaset, having died after 1267, he had married

Flora, daughter of Aaron I le \*Blund and widow of Solomon l'Eveske, d.1265, younger brother of Elias, \*archpresbyter 1243–57. This gave Benedict entry into two of London's major Jewish families. Here he was assessed for the tallage of 1272, at £100. By 1273 he had resigned as a Winchester chirographer because he was 'now resident in London'; but he ensured that Lumbard was one of the keyholders of the Winchester chest. His move was well judged, for in 1274, following the election of Roger de Dunstaple as mayor of Winchester, Deudone, Benedict's fellow Jewish chirographer, was attacked, and his house sacked by the mob.

Benedict's financial activities were not limited to London. The patent rolls show that in 1268 he had purchased a property in Coney Street, York, from the widow of \*Aaron of York. He also owned a house in Bristol. Furthermore, in 1273 the \*plea rolls show that Benedict had secured the appointment of his son Aaron as chirographer at Canterbury. Not surprisingly, given the poisoned atmosphere in Winchester, this led to an influx of its Jews, including Benedict's daughter, Belaset, and another son, Cok.

Benedict was one of seven jurors who in 1273 forsook Hagin, the archpresbyter, at the inquest in London as to whether he had 'wickedly concealed' the death of Cok's youngest son, Manser. The plea rolls show that Flora had died. Benedict had considerable difficulty gaining possession of hers and Solomon l'Eveske's property. Only two years later do the patent rolls record that Queen Eleanor granted Benedict 'all the possessions of his late wife' and 'the debts which late belonged to Solomon'. Eleanor was evidently impressed by Benedict's business acumen, for the Trinity Term 1276 memoranda rolls record that he had replaced \*Jacob of Oxford, who was no longer of 'right mind', as keeper of the \*queen's gold. He could have been under no illusions about the woman he served, but Benedict was in no position to decline the post from which Jacob had been so summarily dismissed.

By December 1278 Benedict was imprisoned in the Tower of London on \*coin-clipping charges. The \*constable's accounts record 13s 4d received 'from the Tower of Benedict of Winchester', and the same 'from Hagin's Tower'. The close rolls for January 1279 indicate that he was imprisoned in the Tower of London for 'certain trespasses concerning the king's money'; the abbot of Waverley was commanded 'to cause to be kept safely the goods and chattels of Benedict, Jew of Winchester, ... and not to permit anything to be removed thence until otherwise ordered'. Waverley, the premiere English Cistercian house, was situated on the river Wey near Farnham, virtually halfway between London and Winchester. In December 1279 we learn that four of Benedict's Winchester properties were forfeit. The following January the patent rolls refer to him as 'sometime Jew of Winchester, hanged for felony'.

In October 1280 Edward I granted lands and gardens valued at some 800 marks, the security for one of Benedict's debts, to Hugh son of Otto, his engraver of coin dies. Rokéah has shown that Benedict's goods and chattels were valued at £269 14s 3½d. They included 168 silver spoons, 124 gold rings, 28 silk girdles, not all of which had been

## Winchester, Chera of, d.1221, and Family

sold six years after his death, and a silver cup described as ‘\*pawned’ to Benedict. Also unsold were 49 ‘\*books of the law of the Jews’, whose value was unknown. However, Henry de \*Dernegate, the patent rolls reveal, was fined ‘1000 marks for having in his possession a quantity of the goods of the condemned Benedict’.

Relations between Benedict and Dernegate, apostate Jew and agent provocateur, were never good. Benedict would have been well acquainted with Henry’s conversion in 1252, when he received both Christian name and a knighthood from the king. Like Benedict a guildsman, Dernegate was one of the 25 appointed in 1270 as guardians of the Jews. In 1277 he was a member of the inquest that found the three accused not guilty of the murder of Benedict’s mother.

Edward I also favoured Dernegate, but his motivation was different. In 1278 he arranged for Henry to travel around England purchasing ‘melted silver’. This is described by Brand as a carefully contrived ‘sting’ campaign. His expenses were approved personally by Edward, who even sought to persuade his council that Dernegate be granted power of ‘testimony’ in cases concerning clipping. Benedict’s Bristol house was close to the \*synagogue in Winch, Narrow Wine, Street. He would therefore have been aware when Dernegate was arrested with suspect plates in Bristol and lodged in the nearby castle. In March 1281 Dernegate was to be released from gaol in Winchester if he could find 12 men of the county to stand surety for the payment of his 1000-mark fine for concealing Benedict’s goods. Whether Benedict was one of Henry’s victims, we will never know.

□ Keene, I (1985), 75–9, 324, 384–7; Brand (2000), 1144–58; Stacey (1992a), 276–7; *CPR*, 1266–72, 223, 417, & 1280, 357; *PREJ*, II, 1, 2, 43, 72, 95–6, 107–8, 119–20, 196, 227, & III, 292–3, & IV, 178; Rokéah, 2 (1974), 65–7, & (1993), 172, & (2000), nos 305, 383 & 703, 425, 443, 647, 656, 716, 911, 1162 n. 14; M. Adler, ‘Benedict the Gildsman of Winchester’, *Misc JHSE*, 4 (1942), 1–8; Adler (1935a), 59–60, 66–7; *CCR*, 1279, 519, & 1280, 36; *CFR*, 1281, 144; *CChR*, 1279, 220–1; Parsons (1995), 126–7, 141

## Winchester, Chera of, d.1221, and Family

Chera was the first of a trio of successful businesswomen in \*Winchester. Her first husband was Abraham Crespin. Chera subsequently married Isaac the \*chirographer, becoming his business partner. In 1207 she was lending money to the Benedictine monks of Hyde Abbey, close to the cathedral. Chera and Isaac’s joint assessment for the Bristol tallage was 5100 marks, £3400, of which, the \*pipe roll shows, they paid over £1336 in 1211. Nevertheless both were imprisoned by King John in 1213, Chera at \*Bristol castle and Isaac at Winchester. In the case of Chera, this was hardly durance vile. She was released in April 1217, with her servants, Walter de Laurton and Franket, and returned to Winchester, which had now been retaken by the royalist forces. She immediately commenced actions to recover outstanding debts. Isaac was freed shortly afterwards, but was dead by 1218.

Chera’s creditors at this time included the Augustinian Southwick Priory in Surrey and Henry de Brébeuf who, she claimed, owed her £300 including \*interest. During



these early years of the regency, like \*Isaac of Norwich, Chera established a close working relationship with Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester 1205–38, who had served King John as Justiciar. As he was also charged with the re-establishment of the exchequer, their relationship was to be to the advantage of both. On his return from crusade in 1231, Bishop Peter founded a priory of Premonstratentian canons at Titchfield in 1232–33, and another, for Augustinian canons, at Selborne, 1233. The estates he provided included mortgaged lands acquired in a number of cases from what Vincent calls ‘the Pinche family enterprise’.

Chera had at least eight children by her two marriages, four sons and four daughters. She was dead by 1221, when the fine rolls name Deulebene, her eldest son, as her heir. He had supported her in a court claim against a Winchester chaplain the previous year. They also show that the payments that ‘Deulebene and his brothers, heirs of Chera; Benedict Crispin [presumably the son of Abraham Crespin]; and Aaron and Samson, sons and heirs of Isaac’ had agreed to pay the king for the debts that Isaac and Chera owed the crown had been reduced from £100 to 100 marks per annum. Peter des Roches evidently acted as intermediary in these arrangements. Further reductions were made: in 1225 to 60 m, and in 1230, when over £1417 was still outstanding, to 40 m a year.

Four sons and a daughter are named in the 1221 tallage: Deulebene paid £7 10s 8d; Elias, £5 9s 6½d; Abraham (Pinch), £4 5s 4½d; Hamekin (little Abraham), £3 17s; and Antera, £1 19s 4d. Elsewhere, Hester, Blanche and Milka are referred to. By 1223 Chera’s son-in-law, Ursell, and his son, Vives, were also working in the family business. In July 1225 Elias and Abraham Pinch were amongst the four Jews accused of \*ritual murder. Charged with another such crime in 1232, Abraham was hanged for petty theft in 1236. He had inherited the family house and \*synagogue when Deulebene died in 1235.

The partnership now included family members of all three of Winchester’s businesswomen: Elias; Deulebene’s widow, \*Belia, who subsequently married Pictavin of Bedford; and the outsider, \*Licoricia. To the Third of 1239 Chera’s daughters, Blanche and Milka, paid 18d and 7d, respectively. Chera’s reputation lived on. When leading the Jewry’s delegation to the Worcester ‘parliament’ in \*1241, twenty years after his mother’s death, Elias is still referred to as ‘son of Chera’; in 1253 his son was ‘Abraham son of Elias son of Chera’.

□ *PpR*, 1211–12, 105, & 1212–13, 42, 50; *PR*, 1217, 59–60; Cole (1844), 289–93, 306–7, 313–15, 320; *CFR*, 1218, 219, & 1221, 48, 51, & 1225, 22, & 1230, 214, & 1235, 73, & 1236, 331, & 1237, 206; *CR*, 1236, 230; *PREJ*, I, 19, 97, 119; Vincent (1996a), 179, 288–9, 359; Bartlett (2000), 35–9, & (2009), 27–30, 40–4; Roth (1951); Stacey (1987a), 219–20

**Winchester, Henry de** *see* Dernegate, Henry de

### **Winchester, Licoricia of, d.1277**

Licoricia was the most successful of medieval Anglo-Jewish women financiers. When first recorded, at Winchester in 1234, she was the widow of Abraham of Kent,

presumably the Abraham of Canterbury who was one of those accused of ritual murder in 1225. They had three sons, Cokerel (Isaac), \*Benedict and Lumbard, and a daughter, Belia. The close rolls reveal that by January 1234 she was already lending money, in partnership with a certain Peytevin. Two years later Licoricia *de Cantuaria* was working with \*Chera's son Deulebene and \*Belia. In 1240 the monks of Winchester Cathedral repaid her loan of £10. Stacey draws attention to 'the inexplicable absence of the wealthiest citizen, Licoricia, from the extant returns' of the 20,000 mark tallage of 1241/42. This is probably accounts for Winchester's lowly position, tenth; it contributed a mere 1% to the Third of 1239, when Licoricia and Belia each paid only £10.

In 1242 Licoricia married \*David of Oxford, after his controversial divorce from Muriel. A son, Asher, also known as Sweteman, was born in 1243. On David's death next year Licoricia was sent to the Tower where, with all David's bonds and chattels, she was placed in the custody of 'six of the richer and discreter Jews, willing or unwilling'. In July 1244 Henry released his brother-in-law Simon de \*Montfort and sister, Eleanor, dowager countess of Pembroke from the debt of £110 11s outstanding to David. The \*relief due for 'all the charters, muniments and debts late of David of Oxford' was 5000 marks, the third largest after those of Leo Episcopus of \*York, 7000 marks, and \*Hamo of Hereford, 6000 marks. The 1246 patent rolls show that nearly 4000 marks were devoted to the royal works at Westminster Abbey. Licoricia evidently established a special relationship with Henry III. In 1251, for a fine of 25 marks a year, he granted her all David's debts, 'wherever they are found'; and that she 'be not put... in any tallage, so long as she keeps the said terms'.

Licoricia returned with her children to the Jewry in Shorten Street, Winchester, where Cokerel acted as her business manager. It was probably the inability of Leo's and Hamo's heirs to meet their repayments obligations that persuaded Henry III of the necessity of assisting Licoricia to draw on her creditors. Indirectly, he thus became a partner in her business activities. Licoricia won time and, on at least one famous occasion, royal support to recall the money due from her major creditors. In January 1250 Henry granted that 'she shall have seisin of all the lands, rents and tenements late of Thomas de Charlecote, which are her pledge, and that she shall not be disseised thereof until the debts for which they are pledged were paid'. This was to become a cause célèbre, with a law suit spanning a number of years.

Licoricia sent in her own bailiff to run the Warwickshire estate that the young Thomas had inherited from his father. Her bailiff assaulted Thomas, who was awarded 5 marks damages. Thomas claimed that the £400 loan was illegal because it arose from a loan of £180. As \*usury on usury was against the Statute of Assize, the court granted him full seisin of the lands, but Licoricia was to have the corn. Imposing a nominal fine of half a gold mark, Henry pardoned Licoricia, but referred the matter to Richard of Cornwall, who realised the wider political implications for other knightly landowners of the case. Thus the subsequent inquest found for Charlecote.

Relations with the king were sorely tested in 1258, when Licoricia's one-time partner, \*Belia, now living in \*Bedford, sent her 'a gold ring' to give to Henry III, no doubt as a *douceur*. This disappeared. Licoricia, accused of its theft by her neighbour, Ivetta, was sent to the Tower. It was established that Ivetta was the thief, and Licoricia gained her freedom; but the ring was never recovered.

Licoricia's relations with Henry, who frequently visited Winchester, his favourite palace, were apparently restored, for in 1261 he ordered that 'his Winchester Jews' should not be tallaged onerously. In 1266, the patent rolls show, 'in compensation for her damages and grievances' resulting from the late disturbances, Licoricia was authorised to distrain on the pledges named in her \*chirographs, 'in whosoever hands they be', unless the debtor could produce his quittance. With Henry's death in 1272, Licoricia's influence was spent. The extraordinary range of her activities is indicated three years later, when the \*sheriffs of \*Wiltshire, Norfolk, \*Warwick, Hampshire, Surrey, Oxford and Bedford were 'ordered to produce the debts of Licorice'.

In 1277 Licoricia's daughter, Belia, found her and Alice, her Christian maid, dead, 'each having a blow to the chest, made by a blow to the heart'. Rumour that there had been goods and chattels worth £10,000 in the house is improbable. Chattels found in the house worth £10 6s 3d belonging to Cokerel and £2 14s 4d to his son, Abraham, were returned to their owners. Three men indicted for Licoricia's murder were released, due notably to the intervention of the convert, Sir Henry \*Dernegate. Ralph le Seller was said to be the guilty party. Despite the efforts of Licoricia's sons, Cokerel and Sweteman, the matter was never resolved. Her son Benedict was hanged on \*coin-clipping charges in 1278–79.

□ Bartlet (2000), 41–54, & (2009); Brown & McCartney (2004); Stacey (1987a), 151, 219–20; *Rot Litt Claus*, II, 50–1; *CR*, 1231–34, 27, 362, & 1234–37, 27, 230, & 1261, 398; *CPR*, 1232–47, 433, 478, & 1247–58, 58, 85, 182, & 1266, 585; Rigg (1902), 19–27; *PREJ*, III, 248, 258, 293, & IV, 73, & V, 98; Rokéah (1984), 126–7

**Windsor** *see* Expulsions, Local

## Wine

'Wine ... maketh glad the heart of man,' saith the psalmist. It played a highly significant role in the life of the medieval Jewry. Thus at the ceremonies of *Kiddush*, 'sanctification', and *Havdalah*, 'separation', marking the beginning and end of the Sabbath, the head of the household would utter the benediction over a cup of wine, a symbol first of the joy of that day, and second of hope for the new week. At *Seder*, the meal celebrating the first night of the Passover, those present would enjoy four cups of wine; at wedding festivities two such cups were enjoyed; and at a circumcision, one.

Fear of contact with idolatry had led to a fundamental distinction between wine produced by a Jew, which was 'permitted', kosher, and that by a non-Jew, which as 'libation wine', *yein neseikh*, was forbidden. 'The sages had ruled that no benefit whatever may be derived from such wine,' but by the era of Rashi, 1041–1105, it was accepted that non-Jews

were 'not idolators who poured libations to idols'. Subsequently, as Soloveitchik puts it, 'the tosafists... overtly fashioned the law so as to align it better with regnant practice and need'. It was now permitted for the wine of a Jew, reduced to 'forbidden' status, to be sold to non-Jews. Nevertheless, fear of wine being rendered forbidden as a result of being 'touched' by a non-Jew remained a matter of deep concern to many Jewish families. Thus they guarded their wine zealously, taking strict preventative measures to ensure that it was not 'touched' by non-Jewish household servants and so rendered forbidden. We read of wine being kept in a locked cellar, the master and mistress guarding the key with great care, that in their absence their Jewish maid could not gain access.

\*Responsa, first of Gershom of Mainz (950–1028) and later of students of Rashi in the *Sepher ha-Orah*, established that wine transported in casks by non-Jews in boats or wagons was 'permissible'. The boats referred to will have served the vineyards of the Rhine and its major tributaries. As Roth points out, 'in contrast to other commodities', such as meat, bread and cheese, '*Kasher* wine definitely required the use of the \*seal. Its ritual fitness did not depend only on origin, but also on the subsequent record.'

## England

Where beer was a national beverage, as in England, it could be consumed freely with Christians, and substituted for wine for *Havdalah*; but, like bread, it was forbidden during Passover. \*Master Moses provided details as to how a Jew could celebrate *Seder* without wine, which his student, \*Moses ben Isaac ha-Nessiah of \*London, included in his *Sepher ha-Shoham*. \*Jacob ben Judah, '*hazan* of \*London', reports in his *Etz Hayyim* of 1287 that for Rabbi Isaac ben Perez of \*Northampton 'we in England where [permitted] wine is not abundant just taste a little wine from the *kiddush* cup, and when we want to make another blessing we add a little fresh wine to what remains'.

Richard I's charter of \*1190 ordered that 'the Jews throughout all England and Normandy be acquitted of all customs and tolls and prisage of wine, as our own property'. One assumes that this acquittal formed part of Henry I's charter, which is referred to in John's of \*1201, where it is repeated. Close contact between \*York and Cologne is evidenced in the sale of Benedict and Josce's books, 'precious as gold', brought for sale to Jews of 'Cologne and other places' on the Rhine. Such evidence suggests a considerable trade during the twelfth century in wine produced from the Jewish vineyards in the Rhine valley referred to by Soloveitchik.

According to William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* of c.1125, the Severn valley was 'close packed with vineyards' producing white wine 'not far behind that of France'; but in this era most red wine apparently came through Rouen. Such 'ordinary wine', *setam yeinam*, from Christian sources was forbidden to English Jews. However they had access to wine from Jewish vineyards of the Rhine valley. As Roth points out: 'The wine bought by Gentiles in Germany, which is exported to England under seal in order to be sold there to Jews, was permitted for consumption by Rabbi Jacob [Tam] of Ramerupt

[1100–71] towards the end of his days.’ Possibly this explains why \*Isaac of Norwich built a wharf adjacent to his house on the banks of the Wensum. Here he could ensure that the barrels were tended by Jewish labour, and that the wine remained pure. Also significant, major Jewish properties in York, including that of \*Aaron, extended to the north bank of the Ouse. Documentary sources show that by 1280 York Jews were drawing ‘permitted wine’ from Gascony. Indeed, there is evidence that Isaac son of Benedict, a Jew of \*Colchester, rented out his vineyards to a Ralph le Mazun in 1269.

The impression that ‘permissible’ wine in any quantity was restricted to the very wealthy is apparently confirmed by the close rolls. In 1243 the constable of Dover arrested Miles of Northampton, a Jew sent by \*Aaron of York to buy wine ‘across the sea’ for his use; in 1275 Benedict of Winchester agreed to forgo the debt owed to him by the widow of Nicholas of Gloucester in return for a tun of kosher wine, or £3 in default. In 1280 Master Moses’ son, \*Master Elias, was prepared to combine forces with his arch rival, \*Aaron son of Vives, to commission Arnold Peleter of Gascony to purchase seven tuns of good wine made according to the Jewish rite.

All four Jews referred to here were notable for their considerable wealth. However, elsewhere the close rolls suggest that permissible wine was available to the less affluent. In 1237 Samarian, Jew of \*Winchester, was ordered to hand over a large cask of wine that Henry III had promised Bartholomew Peche. To the tallage of 1221 Samarian and his father, Lombard, paid only £8 9s 0½d, compared to £24 3s 3d by \*Chera’s family. Roth explains that a number of Jews were obliged to provide royal nominees with wine, and that allowance was made on the tallage dues of others for ‘wine supplied for the king’s use’.

□ *Enc Jud*, 22 (2007); Agus, II (1965), 750–1, 777–9, 785–7; H. Soloveitchik, ‘Religious Law and Change: The Medieval Ashkenazic Example’, *AJS Review*, 12(2) (1987), 205–221, & “‘Halakhah’, Taboo and the Origin of Jewish Moneylending in Germany’, in Cluse (2004), 295–303; Malmesbury, *GP*, 196–7; R. Mundill, ‘England: The Island’s Jews and their Economic Pursuits’, in Cluse (2004), 228; *CR*, 1237, 409, & 1238, 111, & 1280, 60; Roth (1953), & (1964), 115, 119

## Women of the Medieval Anglo-Jewry

As Elisheva Baumgarten points out in her study of Jewish family life in the Middle Ages, in the 18 volumes of Salo Baron’s *Social and Religious History of the Jewish People* ‘not a single chapter is devoted to women or family’. Some 15 years earlier it was suggested that ‘from the 1880s to the 1970s, Anglo-Jewish historiography, whatever the subject or period, had managed to ignore women’. This is incorrect. It fails to recognise the remarkable achievement of Michael Adler who, in 1934, chose as the subject for his presidential address to JHSE, ‘The Jewish Woman in Medieval England’. To underline the importance he attached to the subject of his wide-ranging and well-illustrated address, it was reprinted, in a revised form, as the first chapter of his *Jews of Medieval England* (1939).

‘Though she could not sign a \*Starr’, the Jewish woman otherwise ‘possessed complete freedom within the limits of the Rabbinic Law and played a considerable part in the economic life of the Jewry.’ Adler identified some 15 women moneylenders from the second half of the twelfth century to the \*expulsion in 1290. These included \*Chera, \*Belia and the ‘picaresque’ \*Licoricia of \*Winchester, who have subsequently become the subject of individual studies. Given the context of Licoricia’s second marriage, and her extraordinary negotiations with Henry III over the \*relief she paid on \*David of Oxford’s death, she was a natural subject for further study. Living in Winchester, Suzanne Bartlet was able to place Licoricia firmly in her local context. Her article, ‘Three Businesswomen in Thirteenth Century Winchester’ (2000), embraced Chera and Belia also. She then embarked on *Licoricia of Winchester: Marriage, Motherhood and Murder in the Medieval Anglo-Jewish \*Community*, which includes an examination of the career of Licoricia’s son, \*Benedict of Winchester. Suzanne died in spring 2008, but her final text was ready. The book, prepared for publication by Patricia Skinner, was in print a year later.

### Women in the Money Market

Jordan has shown that in northern France ‘there developed a two-tiered system: larger loans granted by [Jewish] men or mixed groups of creditors to men; smaller domestic loans granted by women to women.’ The extent of moneylending by women in England has yet to be fully assessed. It was possible because women had a legal identity not only in Rabbinic but also in common law. The most famous example of a Jewish woman acting as her own advocate in the English courts is that of Licoricia, as David of Oxford’s widow, pursuing her claim against the Warwickshire estate of the young Thomas of Charlecote.

The first Jewish businesswoman of whom there is record in England is the, unnamed, wife of Jacob of \*London. The single extant \*pipe roll of Henry I’s reign records that in 1130/31 she and her husband offered the Crown 60 \*marks (£40) for support in their claim against the monks of Westminster Abbey; this was too early to have been \*Abigail. The first English Jewesses named as moneylenders were two of the seven Jews from whom Richard of Anstey borrowed on his travels through England in 1159–63: Mirabelle of Newport (Pagnell) lent him £4 10s at the \*interest of a groat, 4d, per week; Comitissa of Cambridge £5 at 3d a week.

By the end of the twelfth century increased documentary evidence enables us to build up a better picture of Jewesses who were major figures in the world of finance. In *The Jews of Medieval Oxford* (1951) Roth drew attention to Belaset, wife of Moses son of Isaac and grandmother of \*Master Moses of London. In 1176/77 ‘Moses...and Belaset his wife’ received a payment of £5 from the Crown. Belaset, who later took over her husband’s business, was for Roth ‘the most prominent woman financier in the Anglo-Jewish community at the end of the twelfth century’. To the \*1194 Northampton

*Promissum* Belaset and her sons paid £26 15s, ranking seventeenth nationally. Tenth, however, was Abigail of London, paying £40 7s 8d. Roth names three other contemporary Oxford women financiers: Regina, Henna and Chera *filia* Isaac.

\*Rabbi Josce's granddaughter Muriel, a widow, was to form a close relationship with Belaset. Muriel and her son Abraham played an increasingly important business role in London during the 1190s (see Genealogy 7). The pipe rolls record that in 1202 'Muriel the Jewess owes £100 to take Isaac of Oxford [Belaset's son] to husband as has been openly discussed between them.' They married next year but Isaac died shortly afterwards. Suspected of concealing his money, Muriel and Abraham were fined 1000 marks. Despite selling their lands and houses in \*Rouen, they had difficulty raising this sum. It is noteworthy that in the Third of 1239, Abraham was still referred to as 'son of Muriel'; Abigail of London's son, Abraham, was likewise described in relation to his mother. The \*plea rolls refer in 1241 to Elias son of Chera, 20 years after his mother's death, and to Abraham son of Elias son of Chera in 1253.

Two \*Gloucester Jewesses made highly successful personal representations to the Crown. The close rolls record that on 27 July 1217 Mirabelle, widow of Elias, petitioned William Marshal on his visit to the city for the return of her husband's property. Mirabelle and two other widows were among the four top taxpayers of their community in 1221, paying nearly 40% of its tallage between them. Mirabelle headed the list in both 1223 and 1226, in the latter year paying a similar percentage on her own account. From the 1235 close rolls we learn that her daughter Belia and two granddaughters, Mirabelle and her cousin Pucelle, and thus three generations of women in the family, were active members of the family business (see Genealogy 1). Following Mirabelle's example, her grandson's widow, Belia, appealed directly to Edward I in 1280 and again in 1287, when she claimed she was so severely tallaged she had nothing left to live on; yet her 'sons and daughters are in prison because of this [tallage]'. At \*Lincoln, probably the largest provincial Jewry, of some 115 individuals named in 1240, women make up a tenth of the payers, but a third of the 26 non-payers.

The dangers for women working in partnership with men are illustrated by the case of Saulot Motun's widow, Milla, against Samuel of Bolum. He claimed her 'to wife by reason of contract and commerce that were between them'. This Milla resisted, 'for that no such contract and commerce could lawfully make a marriage'. Debate ensued among the Masters of the Jewish Law who pronounced the marriage null and void. Milla was to have free administration of her chattels, to do with them 'as she may be minded'.

Barrie Dobson, elected president of the Ecclesiastical History Society in 1991, chose 'Christianity and Judaism' as the theme for the forthcoming year. His own lecture, 'The Role of Jewish Women in Medieval England', drew attention to the business activities of Henna after the death of her husband, \*Aaron of York, in 1268, but also widened the range of enquiry to raise questions such as \*family size, the household, kindred ties and the *ketubah*.

### Women and the Family

As to the role and status of women in the medieval Anglo-Jewry other than as money-lenders, national records provide slight help. For such information one has to turn to the commentaries and responsa of the sages, above all to the *Mishneh Torah*, Maimonides' codification of Jewish Law. As Roth and Zadoff point out, this was incorporated by \*Master Moses of London in his legal writings, and was the most quoted source in his son Elias's commentaries. According to Cecil Roth, \*Jacob ben Judah of London 'refers to it at each turn' in his *Etz Hayyim*.

*Sefer Nashim*, 'The Book of Women', forms Book IV of the *Mishneh Torah*. Treatise I, 'Laws concerning Marriage', is prefaced with four commandments. Two are positive: 'to wed a wife by means of betrothal', and 'be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth' (Genesis 1:28). Two are negative: 'a woman should not surrender herself without *ketubah* and betrothal' (Deutonomy 23:18); her husband 'shall not diminish her food, her raiment and her conjugal rights' (Exodus 21:10). In Genesis 2:18 God said, 'it is not good that man should be alone. I will make him an help meet for him.' Thus, 'a man without a wife lives without blessing, without life, without joy, without help and without peace'. For the Sages multiplication was 'one male child and one female', referring to Genesis 5:2, 'Male and female created He them'; for Maimonides a man was obliged 'by Scribal enactment not to cease being fruitful and multiplying as long as he has the power to do so, because whosoever adds one soul to Israel has as much as builded a whole world' (Treatise I, 1–16). This may well have been the grounds David of Oxford used to divorce his first wife, Muriel.

This command was certainly heeded by many of the wealthier members of the Anglo-Jewry (see Family Size), for whom practical benefits accrued from a large family. Some sons entered the family business, thus providing assistance in their maturity and old age, or, as in the case of \*Rabbi Josce and \*Hamo of Hereford, freeing them to pursue their scholarly interests. In many instances younger sons migrated to larger and more prosperous Jewries. Copin of \*Worcester moved to \*Oxford, where he established a synagogue in the Great Jewry, now St Aldates. Another opportunity for younger sons was to work as \*attorneys.

There is clear evidence of marriage alliances between prominent families. These could confer considerable economic benefits. On leaving London, \*Aaron II le Blund, having married the daughter of Bonenfaunt, head of the \*Gloucester Jewry, eventually established himself as a very successful leader of the neighbouring \*Hereford community. Such alliances also offered social and physical support, as is clearly evident in the actions of Hak, leader of the Worcester community. He married his son Josce to \*Hamo of Hereford's granddaughter, Contessa, and his daughter Belia to Bonenfaunt of Gloucester's son Jacob (see Genealogy 8). Thus, when the Jews \*expelled from the queen's dower towns of Gloucester and \*Worcester in 1275, they found refuge with the prosperous Hereford Jewry. Charter evidence shows firm economic bonds between the leading members of the three Jewries even before this time.



### Marriage and the *Ketubah*

For Maimonides a child came of age at 13 years, but a girl 'may not be betrothed without her consent or have herself betrothed without her father's consent'. \*Starrs, *shetaroth*, provide only indirect evidence as to the age of marriage in England, but Katz, discussing the Ashkenazic family, suggests that 16 was considered proper for girls and 18, at the latest, for boys. However, matches, and occasionally marriages, might be arranged at 13 or 14 for daughters and 15 or 16 for sons. Amongst the more affluent the young couple often lived together for a time at one of the parental homes to enable the boy to study the Torah and be introduced to the world of business.

The fine rolls record an interesting indication of the difference in the principles of inheritance for sons and daughters. In 1235 \*Elias l'Eveske and his daughter, Henna, made fine with the king for 1000 marks for 'removing all suspicion' against them regarding the chattels of her former husband, Josce le Prestre. Henna was granted £200 as dower, and her daughter £40 'in order to marry herself'. Henna being pregnant, her forthcoming child, if female, was also to have £40, but if male, was to share Josce's lands and rents with his son, Isaac, 'according to the laws and custom of the Jews'. Isaac also fined 1000 marks, for 'removing suspicion' and for having his father's chattels.

The *ketubah* refers firstly to the marriage contract, which the groom read aloud to the bride at the wedding ceremony for all to hear. It prescribed the mutual duties of husband and wife, including details of the wife's dowry and the financial responsibilities towards her accepted by the husband. The *ketubah* was also the amount settled by the husband on his wife under the contract in the event of his death, or a divorce. Regulations relating to the *ketubah* are found in the *Mishneh Torah*, Book IV. In the Talmudic period there was a minimum *ketubah* of 200 zuz for a virgin, 100 for non-virgins. In medieval England, £100 was 'the custom of the isle'. Goldin points out that 'the amounts written in the *ketubah* and the *ketubah* supplement were standard formulas and the actual payments made were not revealed'; but Baskin notes that, 'The significant value of her dowry could assure a wife a prominent position in her household.' In 1280, the close rolls record, \*Aaron of York's daughter Antera successfully claimed that, under the law and custom of the Jewry, her second husband, Lumbard, who had been hanged, had had no right in the house except through her, as it had been granted to her as dower on her first marriage, to Josce le Jovene's son, Isaac.

This aspect of family law is well illustrated in the Hebrew records of the English Jewry. In *Shetaroth* Davis provides a wide range of marriage contracts. Of the 94 Norwich deeds, 13 relate to marriage settlements; there are others from Canterbury and Nottingham.

Often cited is the marriage contract, illustrated in Adler (1939), of Judith, granddaughter of Master \*Benedict of Lincoln, to Aaron, the son of Benjamin, son of Josce Jehiel, in 1271. Judith's mother, Belasez, gives the bridegroom 20 marks and a 'precious volume' containing all 24 \*books of the Hebrew Bible. The couple being too young to marry, the

wedding is to take place four years later. Aaron's father undertakes to take charge of the book, which he will keep for the 'use of the children', and of the 20 marks, which will be lent out at interest to Christians. At the time of the marriage Benjamin undertook to give the couple £20 sterling, or more, as well as to provide their wedding apparel 'befitting their station', both Sabbath and weekday clothing, and the wedding feast.

In the event of some impediment, publicly well known, the nuptials are to take place within one month after its lapse. Benjamin mortgages all his chattels and property, real and personal, as a guarantee that he will perform his part of the covenant. Holding a sacred emblem, all parties swear to perform their respective parts, and deposit a fine of 100s in the hands of the \*bet din. Detailed arrangements are made for any breach: should Aaron refuse to marry Judith, he will give her £100, 'as is the custom of the isle'; if the father refuses his consent to the match, the deposit is to go to her mother; and so on.

A Norwich starr of 1249 provides details of the betrothal contract in what Lipman describes as 'a typical family', between the bride's father, Yom Tov ben Moses, and the groom, Solomon ben Eliab. The former promised a dowry of 10 marks at the nuptials and a further 5 marks later. He undertook to support them for a year in his own house, furnish them with all they required, provide ample board and lodging and both Sabbath and weekday clothes and shoes, pay their tallage if necessary and engage a teacher to instruct the young husband. Under threat of excommunication, both parties promised to fulfil the terms of the contract; the bride's father's caveat, 'as far as I can sway my daughter [Ziona]'s actions', echoes Maimonides' code. The 1159/60 pipe roll records that at \*Winchester Gentil sought to override the provisions of the *ketubah* by resort to the secular power. She paid £15 'not to wed a Jew', probably her betrothed.

Of the elaborate and public nature of the wedding celebration of one leading Jewish family, we have a remarkable account in the register of Bishop Richard Swinfield of Hereford. Chastising the Christian participants, he branded them 'sons of iniquity and rebellion' who, against his threat of excommunication, had taken part in 'impious feasts...holding intercourse with Jews, eating and drinking, playing and jesting'. They had attended the nuptials of a member of Aaron II le Blund's family, 'in procession on horseback, clothed in silk and gold, enjoying the minstrelsy, sporting events and stage plays'.

*Shetaroth* also illustrate the important role of the bet din, and public opinion, in family affairs. In one the wife relinquishes her settlement rights to her husband. Davis provides examples of widows seeking confirmation of their property rights under the terms of their marriage settlements. In some instances these were either sold or relinquished in favour of other members of the family, usually a son or daughter, suggesting that the widow, having paid the \*relief of a third to the Crown, felt secure in the family home. Goldin draws attention to 'the strength of the widow's ability to gain control over the family's property'. In 1188 the local bet din found in favour of Leah of \*Bristol whose stepson had claimed his rights to his father's chattels and bonds as against her 'and her

sons'. One *starr* records the widow's father, representing her young son, contesting her rights to the property that was her jointure; the *bet din* found in the widow's favour. In almost all cases the *starr* records that the widow took her oath as to the veracity of her evidence on the Ten Commandments.

In 1251, 'in the presence of witnesses', three evidently reluctant sons contracted to make adequate provision for their mother in Norwich. They engaged to grant her 'quiet possession of the big house in Mancroft Street' and 'not to thrust any stranger on her against her will and acquiescence'. To allow for 'deficiencies' in their '5 marks to be paid at the Tabernacle holiday' to their mother, she was granted a property that she could mortgage. They were also persuaded 'severally and jointly' to find 'a nice sweet partner for their sister Sara within the next three years' and provide 'a dowry of 10 marks, trousseau and to defray all costs of nuptials and wedding feast'.

The *bet din* also sought to take care of poorer members of the community. At Canterbury one was appointed to consider the plight, duly affirmed by oath, of a widow who had received a bare pittance, in all £2. She was granted free possession of a house and yard in Jews' Street, with everything appertaining, to the value of £10.

At Gloucester in 1280 Jacob's widow, Belia, successfully petitioned Edward I that:

according to the law and custom of the Jewry, Jewesses ought not to be distrained after the deaths of their husbands in their dowers [*ketubot*] ... but the justices [of the Jews] cause her to be distrained in the dower that she has by the king's assignment.

Edward ordered them, 'if it be so, ... not to vex or molest her contrary to the law and custom' of the Jewry, as expressed in Clause 1 of King John's \*1201 Charter: 'they may administer their own justice amongst themselves'. This was not the only successful case in this matter.

### Women and the Spiritual Life

Levine, noting that archaeological evidence 'from the farthest reaches of the Roman empire and Roman-Byzantine Palestine' found no traces 'of a separate area that might be labelled a women's section; nor ... inscriptions noting such accommodations', concluded that in late antiquity 'Jews gathered in the synagogue ... without making any distinctions in seating arrangements for males and females.' In the early Middle Ages, he suggests, 'this practice changed, and separate seating was finally introduced into the synagogue'. Recently, however, Spigel has reconsidered this issue and concludes, 'the evidence does not allow for a single answer to the question of separate seating for all synagogues, but rather forces us to consider the question on a case-by-case basis'; and that 'seating practices, both with and without the separation of men and women,' are further illustrations of Levine's 'exuberantly diverse' ancient synagogues.

Synagogues still standing in Spain suggest that the Sephardic approach was to provide screened balconies. In Toledo at Samuel ha-Levi's synagogue of c.1357, now known

as *el Tránsito*, women were accommodated in a *galeria feminina*, with its own separate entrance and a view into the men's synagogue through windows covered with a delicate fret, and embellished with inscriptions. At Cordoba the women's gallery was over the entrance of the synagogue completed 1315, and embellished with passages from the Psalms.

Evidence from the Ashkenazic lands, especially Germany, indicates a different approach. Excavations on the medieval synagogue site at Cologne show that, when it was rebuilt c.1096, a *Frauenschul* was constructed at its north-western corner. The Worms synagogue, the most prestigious in Germany, first constructed in 1034, was rebuilt in 1174/75. To this, as two dedication tablets tell us, a women's synagogue was added on the north side in 1212/13. This was only slightly smaller in area than the original, with entry by a door on the north. Significantly, the original inscription, now reinstalled, informs us that 'Jacob son of David, and Rahel his wife, employed their wealth to build a synagogue and embellish it' (emphasis not in original).

At Worms also is our first evidence of the role of women in the services. In his famous lament for his wife Dulcina and two daughters, slaughtered by crusaders in 1196, Rabbi Eleazar ben Judah, d.1238, informs us that Dulcina instructed and led the womenfolk in their prayers. She thus served as *hazanit*, woman cantor. She also sold parchment scrolls to allow her husband to devote his time to study. The role of *hazanit* at Worms is confirmed by a tombstone in the \*cemetery which describes how another, Urania, d.1275, 'with sweet tunefulness officiated before the women to whom she sang the hymnal sections'. As Dulcina was murdered some 17 years before the *Frauenschul* was built, one must assume that previously there was some form of partition, *mahizah*, possibly curtains, a practice described by Rabbi Mordechai ben Hillel almost a century later.

At Speyer, where the first synagogue was built 1104, a brick *Frauenschul* was constructed in the late thirteenth century against the south wall of the synagogue. Six openings or listening windows, splayed outwards into the *Frauenschul*, enabled the women to participate directly in parts of the services. Similar openings at Worms were replaced in 1842 by two wide pointed arches. If, as Monika Porsche believes, this provided 'a direct acoustical link', what was the role of the *hazanit*? At Speyer a small doorway at the west end of the northern wall apparently enabled a mother to pass her son to the *sandek*, godfather, upon whose knees the child was to be circumcised.

Where the Rhineland led, others were to follow. At the Erfurt synagogue the fourth stage of its construction of c.1300 may have accommodated a women's gallery. At Regensburg a similar structure added to the south of the synagogue, and entered directly from outside the Jewish quarter, may have been a contact zone for Jews and Christians rather than a women's synagogue.

Of the spiritual life of English medieval Jewish women virtually nothing is known, for there is no archaeological evidence as to the character of the synagogues of that era. Given the chronology of the German women's synagogues, and that no such second

*scola* was found at Rouen, it is improbable that they would have been found in England. The only possible exception may have been at York, which had close links with Cologne, where the plunderers of the Jewry in 1190 found a ready market for the 'splendid books' that Josce and Benedict had 'in great number'. However, the existence of a *hazanit* at Worms prior to the construction of the *Frauenschul* suggests she may well have had counterparts in this country. How far should the provision of women's synagogues be studied in isolation?

### A Gender Struggle?

Rabbi Gershom of Mainz, d.1028, achieved a fundamental change in relations between the sexes when he ruled firmly against polygamy, and against divorce without consent of the spouse. When the family of David of Oxford's first wife, Muriel, appealed to the Paris *bet din* they evidently had this in mind. Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg, d.1293, branded wife-beating as 'a way of the Gentiles', and even went so far as to advocate the flogging of husbands who behaved in that way. The rabbis' concern was the integrity of the Jewish family rather than the welfare of women.

For Martha Keil the building of the *Frauenschuln* represented 'banishment ... manifest in architecture'. Baumgarten, however, draws attention to changes in the role of women in public ritual; some donned the traditionally male *tefillin* (phylacteries) and *tzitzit*, ritual fringes. There were strong objections to women as circumcisers and even to their presence at the circumcision ceremony, of which the small door in the wall at Speyer is stark evidence. Rabbi Meir was one of those who objected to the presence of women at such ceremonies, and believed that only males should wear the *tefillin*. By the fifteenth century it was restricted to married men. Such restrictions on women's participation in public ritual and private devotions, Baumgarten suggests, are evidence of 'a gender struggle within medieval Jewish society', which was also evident in Christian society. *See also Mikveh*.

Shatzmiller discusses women in the medical profession in France, Italy and Spain, where they were not limited to the treatment of their own sex, gynaecology and obstetrics; 'ophthalmology appears to have been a female specialisation'. There is no such evidence in England.

□ E. Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (2007); *The Jewish Heritage in British History: Englishness and Jewishness*, ed. T. Kushner (1992), 21; Adler (1939), 15–45; W. C. Jordan, 'Jews on Top: Women and the Availability of Consumption Loans in Northern France in the Thirteenth Century', *JJS*, 29 (1978), 39; Roth (1951), 115, 125; V. Hoyle, 'The Bonds that Bind', *JMH*, 34 (2008), 119–29; *PREJ*, 1, 152; Dobson (2010), 127–66; Hillaby (2002); Seror (1995); *The Code of Maimonides, IV. The Book of Women*, trans. I. Klein (1972); Katz (1993), 113–30; Davis (1969), nos 3, 15, 19, 29, 35, 45, 50, 53, 55, 56, 61, 66, 98, 122, 156, 158, 172, 175, 176, 177, 180; Lipman (1967), 137–41; M. S. Berger, 'Two Models of Medieval Jewish Marriage', *JJS*, 52(1) (2001), 59–84; M. Keil, 'Public Roles of Jewish Women in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Ashkenaz: Business, Community, and Ritual', in Cluse

(2004), 317–30; Porsche (2004); S. Goldin, *Jewish Women in Europe in the Middle Ages* (2011); J. R. Baskin, 'Jewish Women in the Middle Ages', in *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective*, ed. J. R. Baskin (1998), 108–27; Taitz (1994); S. Bartlet, 'Women in the Medieval Anglo-Jewish Community', in Skinner (2003), 113–27, & (2009); Meyer (2011); Levine (2000), 471–90; Spigel (2012); Asaria (1959), 126; Reuter (1984), 18–44; Ostritz, 4 (2010), 63–83; S. Codreanu-Windauer, 'Regensburg: The Archaeology of the Medieval Jewish Quarter', in Cluse (2004), 393–40; Shatzmiller (1994), 108–12; Roth & Zadoff (2013)

## Worcester

This county town, with its cathedral, was from Saxon times a port (2 on Plan 13) on the river Severn. In 1159 the \*community paid 2 marks, £1 6s 8d, the smallest of all 11 contributions to the \**Donum*. The \*pipe rolls are then silent until 1184, when Bonefei, 'Jew of Worcester', probably its founder, owed the Crown one gold mark. On his death in 1192 his sons, Leo, Abraham, Isaac, Samuel and Jacob, owed a \*relief of £26 13s 4d 'for the debts and pledges of their father', assessed at £80 (see Genealogy 8). Two years later, Worcester ranked sixteenth amongst the 21 Jewries, paying £4 8s 8d to the \*Northampton *Promissum*. Leo, one of only five contributors, paid a third. In 1193 he paid a 20-mark fine to secure bail for a Jew (his agent?) imprisoned for 'burgling' one of Worcester's three hospitals, probably in pursuit of one of his debts. For a further 5 marks Abbot Simon of Pershore was obliged to repay his £20 loan. Bonefei's youngest son, Jacob or Copin, sought his fortune in \*Oxford where, with his sons and son-in-law, he paid the second largest contribution to the 1221 \*tallage. There, c.1228, he was to found the communal synagogue, next to his house in the Great Jewry (St Aldate's), on land acquired from the Augustinian canons of what is now the cathedral. Tom Quad stands on the site.

From 1200 Richard *Judeus*, or *le Giu*, appears 12 times in Worcester Cathedral Priory charters. The Christian forename is witness to his conversion, which permitted his rapid rise to the highest civic office. Worcester's first royal charter, of 1189, had granted the city the right to the profits from its markets and courts, and to pay its tallage dues directly to the Crown. Soon after King John's death in 1216, Richard was elected borough reeve, responsible for meeting demands for £49 in tallage arrears from John's reign. He was highly successful; by the time his successor took office, these excessive demands had been either met or cancelled.

## Anti-Judaism at Worcester

Although the Jewry amounted to no more than five families, Worcester's bishops, whose pre-Reformation diocese extended as far as the Avon at the great port of \*Bristol, felt threatened by Judaism. The tradition was established by John de Coutances (1196–98). For support he turned to Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, who in 1174 had written: 'I am going to \*Canterbury to be crucified by the perfidious Jews who torture me by their debts and \*usury.' Peter's response to Coutances, *Contra Perfidiam Judeorum*, opens:

You have made long and anxious complaint in your letters that surrounded by Jews and heretics you are attacked by them and have not ready the authorities in

the sacred Scripture by which you can refute their calumnies and answer their cunning sleights.

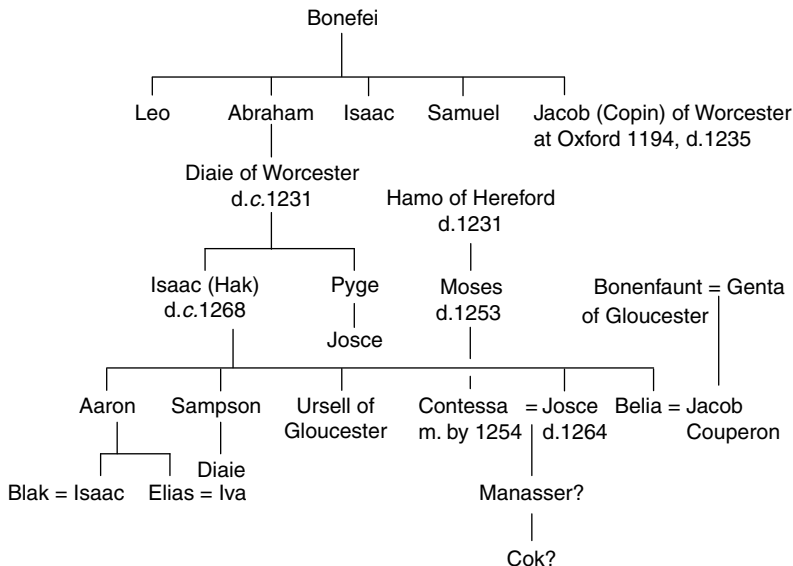
Bishop Sylvester (1216–18) was consecrated by Pope Innocent III himself at Perugia, having in 1215 attended the Fourth Lateran Council, which sought to minimise social contact between Christians and Jews. His successor, William of Blois (1218–36), was appointed at the instance of the papal legate.

In June \*1218, however, Henry III's Council of Regency, anxious to revive the English Jewry, confirmed the right of Worcester's Jews to their own community. Blois ignored the Council of Regency's mandate that 'our Jews are no concern of his'. Seeking to isolate Jews from their Christian neighbours, he introduced a series of statutes at his diocesan synod of 1219: Jews were not to receive ecclesiastical books, vestments or ornaments as pledges; Christian women were forbidden to act as wet-nurses to Jewish children, or to stay overnight in Jewish households; Christians were not to receive Jewish money to deposit in churches for safekeeping, nor to let out Christian money to Jews to accumulate \*interest. These prohibitions Blois re-enacted in 1229, and even complained to Pope Gregory IX that English Jews were not wearing the \*badge. His successor, Walter de Cantelupe, reissued Blois' measures in 1240 when, as well as enjoining the 'firm observance of the Lateran statutes', the synod ordered that 'such as consult Jews for the purpose of finding out by magic about their life or actions...shall be brought before the bishop to be punished'. Such supposed recourse to Jewish soothsayers reflects Matthew Paris's view of 'the magic arts...for which the Jews are infamous'.

Anti-Judaism remained a marked characteristic of Worcester Cathedral's annalist. Without emotion, he recorded the murder in 1263 of Jews of the Worcester community, and the slaughter and plunder of London Jews at the hands of Simon de \*Montfort's followers. He noted with approval in 1274 the passage of laws against the Jews. Having reported the arrest in 1278 of all Jews 'throughout the kingdom on one hour of one day', the next year he concluded, laconically, 'the greater part of them were hanged'; the Osney chronicler, by contrast, added, 'whether justly or unjustly'. The Worcester chronicler's reference to the \*1290 expulsion is prefaced by a detailed account of a Paris Jew who, in an 'attack on the dogma of transubstantiation', desecrated the host.

### The Jewry under Hak, c.1231–68

In the thirteenth century Worcester was one of the smallest Jewries. It was sixteenth of the 17 communities in 1221, and fifteenth in 1223. In 1220 Bonefei's grandson, Diaie son of Abraham, obtained what was probably a communal dispensation from wearing the badge, but it cost him over £2. Diaie was succeeded c.1231 by his son, Isaac, more usually called Hak, who led the Jewry's five delegates to the \*Worcester 'parliament' in 1241. As that part of the castle with the 'king's houses' had been returned to the monks in 1216, the gathering may well have been accommodated in the cathedral priory, either in the great circular chapter house with its picture cycle on the vault of ten New



*Genealogy 8* Worcester's leading dynasty, showing marriage alliances with the Hereford and Gloucester communities

*Note:* m. married.

Testament subjects, 'from Christ's nativity through to the triumphal enthronement of Mary/Ecclesia', or in the refectory, with its over-life-size sculpture of Christ in Majesty, surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists, completed some ten years earlier; or possibly in the bishop's palace. In 1242 Worcester's tallage contribution was the smallest of all 19 communities, 0.1% of the total.

The Jewry was to flourish, however, for Hak came to an accommodation with William III de Beauchamp, hereditary \*sheriff of the county. The Beauchamps, who had not paid the farm of the county to the Crown for 12 years, were well able to pursue an independent policy. Bonds in the Worcester \*chest indicate that the community's clients were drawn predominantly from the knightly class in the county and substantial freeholders within the city. Of the knights who held land by military tenure, background details can be found in the national records. Of the freeholders, little is known.

William recognised how useful the Jewry could be in his family's campaign to tighten its hold on the Severn and Avon valleys. The Beauchamp cartulary provides a range of evidence relating to the clients of the Worcester Jewry, in particular 'a picture of steady encroachment by William III on the lands and rights of his weaker neighbours', when they had outstanding Jewish loans. As sheriff William had access to the chest, and with it knowledge of who the defaulters were. Thus at Church Lench he acquired from Roger Roculf a meadow for 2 marks; a furlong for £2; 42 strips for £5; and 28 strips for £5;



in Powicke a tenement for £1 3s 8d; and at Droitwich half of Overham meadow and 16 rents for £17. Knightly members of William's household, such as the Barclives of Bicklehampton and the fitz Warins of Wick, Pershore, also suffered in this way. Even the powerful Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester 1236–66, could achieve little redress for the sheriff's encroachments.

William had already persuaded his younger brother, James, to accept the outlying manor of Acton Beauchamp in exchange for Wickhamford in the Avon valley. James sought to augment his Acton Beauchamp holding. John d'Abitot sold him his land for 10 marks 'to acquit himself against Isaac the Jew of Worcester'; his mother even parted with her dower lands for 'an allowance of corn and clothing'; and to 'free the property from the Jews', John de Cura sold his 'whole land' for 13s 4d. No doubt many other charters recording sales of land due to the grantor's 'great need' or 'urgent business' mask similar pressures.

Hak's two older sons, Aaron and Sampson, were his partners. He strengthened business relations with the leaders of the neighbouring Jewries of \*Gloucester and \*Hereford through marriage links. One of at least two daughters, Belia married Jacob Couperon, who succeeded his father, Bonenfaunt, as leader of the Gloucester community in 1250. One of his younger sons, Josce, married \*Hamo of Hereford's granddaughter, Contessa, whose *ketubah* included a house in Bye, now Commercial, Street in Hereford. In 1253 her brother, Moses, stood as guarantor with Hak for \*David of Oxford's widow, \*Licoricia. The vacuum created by Moses' death shortly afterwards provided Josce with a remarkable opportunity to try to establish himself in Herefordshire. He even traded as far north as Shropshire.

In 1254, Hak paid £66 of Worcester's £96 tallage contribution. At Martinmas the next year, Worcester ranked fifth equal of the 21 communities, paying £55. The marked contrast to its position in 1242 is a measure of Hak's success. But disaster struck in 1264, when the Worcester annals describe how Robert de Ferrers, the 24-year-old earl of Derby, came with de Montfort's sons, Simon and Henry, and a great army, besieged Worcester and sacked the city. Ferrers seized the Worcester chest, with its bonds; it was recovered from his castle at Tutbury in December 1264 when the Lord Edward took the castle, and returned to Worcester. Some Jews were killed, others imprisoned. The 1265 close rolls report that Josce was amongst those slain 'during the late disturbances in the realm'. Belia's husband, Jacob Couperon, having died at the siege of Gloucester, in 1265 Hak sent Ursell, another son, to support her and the family business.

After Hak's death c.1268 William III de Beauchamp, as sheriff, made return of 'divers debts within the chest' to assist the \*justices of the Jews in an assessment of the relief due on Hak's bonds and property, but omitted any reference to his chattels or houses. Negotiations about the relief to be paid by his sons continued for four years, with the justices ordering fresh inquests in 1271 and 1272. At the first the jury of six Christians

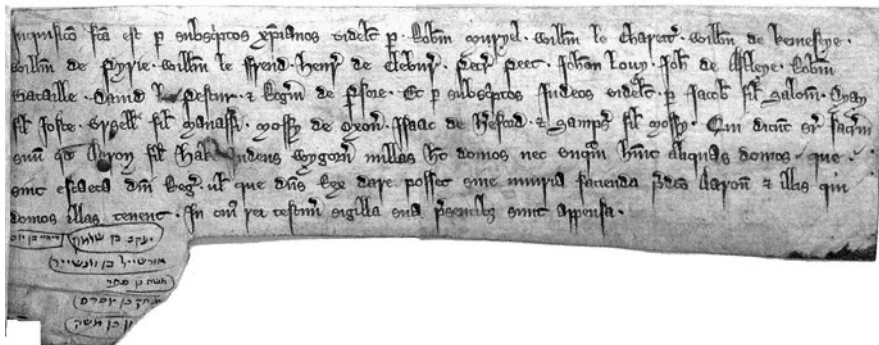


Figure 19 Extract from 1272 inquisition, signed in Hebrew by Jacob ben Solomon, Diaie ben Josce, Ursell ben Manasser, Moses of Oxford, Isaac of Hereford and Sampson ben Moses  
Source: TNA/C145/17/3. Photograph by Chris Willis, reproduced by permission of TNA.

and six Jews found that Aaron 'has not and never had any houses which are an escheat of the king or which the king can give without injury to the said Aaron and those who hold the said houses'. The Jews – Jacob ben Solomon, Diaie ben Josce, Ursell ben Manasser, Moses of Oxford, Isaac of Hereford and Sampson ben Moses – signed in Hebrew, in what Olszowy-Schlanger defines as 'Ashkenazi documentary script' (Figure 19).

Worcester Cathedral priory cartulary shows the monks buying up lands encumbered by Jewish debt. The worldly and arrogant Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester 1268–1302, and his brother Walter, archbishop of York 1266–79, had few qualms about profiting from the traffic in Jewish bonds. The 1273 \*plea rolls note that the Londoner \*Master Elias son of \*Master Moses 'gave' Godfrey a debt of £4 owed by Hugh of Kyngesham; this the bishop 'gave' to John de Solar. Unable to extract the cash, John went to Hugh's house in Dymock, 'felled 1500 of his oaks and other trees to the value of £10'. He returned to 'demolish his bakehouse and his other houses, taking away chattels to the value of £100, against the assize and custom of the Jewry'. This outrage took place within Godfrey's own diocese.

Bishop Godfrey had been involved in the trade in Jewish bonds even prior to his consecration as bishop of Worcester, when he was his brother's archdeacon at York. Of four debts outstanding to him of which there is record in 1268, two were valued at £100; one of these he had acquired from the family of Pictavin of \*Bedford, presumably \*Belia's late husband. No doubt Godfrey persuaded his brother to participate in the trade in Jewish bonds, as the 1271 patent rolls show Walter bought four debts, including one from Hak's sons, wherein Henry Pembridge, deceased, was bound to them. He probably sold them on to Roger III de Mortimer of Wigmore, who was now extending his Herefordshire estates.

In 1277 Josce son of Pygge, a Jew of Alcester, claimed that Elias, former abbot of Pershore, had accepted '£35 of silver, 2 marks of weighed gold, 55 silver spoons and 4 silver bowls' to keep for Hak and his heirs. De Blois's 1219 prohibition indicates that Josce's claim had some basis in reality, for Jewish wealth was frequently lodged with neighbouring monasteries, either for safety or to keep it from the prying eyes of the king's agents. Thus the great Leo Episcopus of York housed his \*treasure at Malton Priory, and the \*Bury Jews used the treasury of St Edmund's Abbey. However, six knights and six lawful Jews of Hereford gave evidence that there was no Abbot Elias of Pershore, only Abbot Elerius. Malice apparently underlay Josce's allegations for Pygge, Hak's younger brother, had been excluded from the family business in favour of Hak's children.

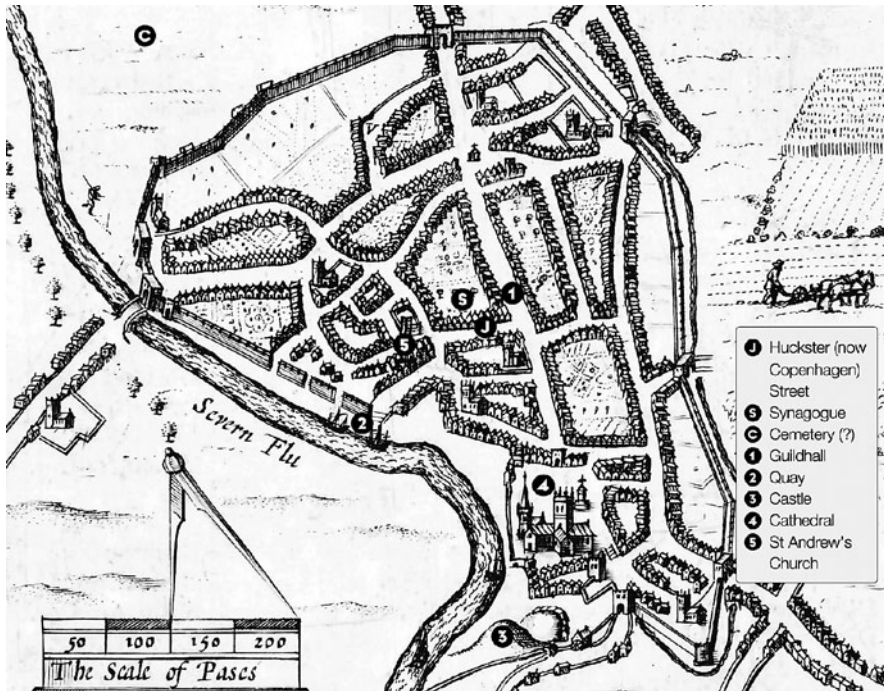
When all Jews were \*expelled from Queen Eleanor's four dower towns in 1275, the Worcester Jews were commanded to move to Hereford, where they joined Josce's widow, Contessa, to live under the protection of \*Aaron II le Blund. Moses son of Bonefei, however, paid 4 \*bezants to move to Oxford. By 1283 Hak's eldest son, Aaron, had also left Hereford to seek a livelihood at Oxford. Sampson, the second son, made a national reputation as an \*attorney for other Jewish financiers. At the \*expulsion bonds of both brothers, worth £25 16s and £19 4s 8d, were found in the \*Hereford Old Chest. In 1291 the city bailiffs delivered the Worcester chest of pre-1275 debts to the exchequer, reporting that the '\*chirographers and their clerks were dead', and that there was no key.

### The Jewry

In 1866 John Noake could find 'no trace of the Jews residence in the city'. Probably due to its small numbers, the name Jewry did not live on in Worcester, as it had elsewhere. Its site can, however, be established from contemporary documents. The 1240/41 Lord Treasurer's Remembrance roll refers to an enquiry into the occupancy of land in *Hucsterestret* (J on Plan 13), where Worcester's two most prosperous Jews, Diaie and Josce son of Moses, are recorded as purchasing land.

Huckster Street, later Cooken Row, and since Nelson's victory Copenhagen Street, formed the spine of St Andrew's parish. Also known as Quay Street, it stretched from the rear of the Guildhall (1) on High Street to the quay on the Severn (2). The Jewry also had access to the royal castle (3) beyond the cathedral (4). After the 1275 expulsion, Hak's grandson, Diaie son of Sampson, resident in Hereford, was licensed to sell his Worcester messuage 'in the parish of St Andrew' (5).

It was usual for the synagogue (S) to be out of sight and sound, behind magnates' houses. It is therefore not surprising that, as the 1266 close rolls record, the lands and tenements that had been assigned to Hak's daughter, Belia, included 'a certain house in the Worcester Jewry in front of the *scola Judeorum*'. This was evidently her *ketubah*. Noake comments that part of the racecourse was known as 'Jews' Patch', a name now



Plan 13 Plan of Worcester, from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611)

Source: © University of Bristol Library Special Collections.

given to the car park west of Severn Terrace. With access to water, it was possibly the \*cemetery (C).

□ Hillaby (1990c); N. Baker & R. Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church* (2004), 175, 177, 180, 251, 355; Peter of Blois, *Opera Omnia*, ed. J. A. Giles, III (1848), 62–129; Adler (1939), 60; Jacobs (1893), 179–82; CS, III, 52–7, 169–81, 294–325; RR, 1220–22, 103; Heslop (2001); Olszowy-Schlanger (2013); Mason (1980), nos 20, 24, 25, 28, 29, 89, 244; AM, IV, 448–9, 503; PREJ, I, 190, 194–5, & II, 31, 90–1, 203; CR, 1264–68, 66, 82–3; CPR, 1271, 567; Noake (1866), 62–4

**Worcester, Sampson son of Isaac of** *see* Attorney

**Worcester Parliament** *see* 1241, Worcester ‘Parliament’

**Wycombe** *see* Expulsions, Local

## **York**

This tidal port on the river Ouse, with its minster, the metropolitan cathedral, (1 on Plan 14) and two castles, either side of the river, was the principal city of northern England during the Middle Ages. York was not amongst the ten \*provincial Jewries that

contributed to the 1159 \*tallage. The 1168–70 \*pipe rolls for Yorkshire refer to Aaron, presumably of \*Lincoln, receiving *in soltis* payments, and a Samson paying 5 \*marks for the right to his debts. The earliest reference to a York Jew is in a \*starr of 1176, recorded in the 1197/98 pipe roll, whereby \*Josce of York appears as an associate of \*Aaron of Lincoln in relation to debts secured on the lands of William Fossard, for which the monks of Meaux were to give Aaron £840. In the Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Yorkshire entries of the 1177 pipe roll Josce, apparently acting independently, receives payments *in soltis* from the three \*sheriffs, of 4, 26 and 30 marks. Jewish settlement in York, it thus appears, originated as an extension of Aaron of Lincoln's elaborate national network of agents.

The lists of Aaron's debts outstanding in 1191, five years after his death, mention Josce's brothers, Benedict and Meir, and a Samuel of York. Benedict, who had died in \*Northampton of wounds received in the 1189 London riots, had interests extending well beyond York, for in 1200 King John granted his Northampton property, with appurtenances, to Simon de Pattishall, sheriff of Northants 1194–1203, at 16d a year 'for all service'. According to William of Newburgh, Josce and Benedict lived 'like princes of their people'.

### The 1190 Massacre

The events leading up to the massacre on the night of 16 March 1190, *Shabbat ha-Gadol*, the Sabbath preceding Passover, were not spontaneous, but, as Dobson points out, 'a calculated conspiracy on the part of impoverished local notables', led by Richard Malebisse, 'intent on liquidating their debts to the Jews by force'. There is a range of documentary evidence from church historians such as Roger of Howden and Thomas Burton's Meaux Abbey chronicle; but for Dobson, William Newburgh, canon of the Augustinian priory just north of York, is for this subject 'perhaps the most incisive and critical of all the chroniclers'; his description, 'well informed and emotionally involved, provides a comparatively impartial and well-balanced' account. Vincent provides a fresh appraisal of William's account, drawing particular attention to his use of irony. As to archaeological evidence, many bones and the remains of timber work were found on the south side of the tower during excavations in 1824, and in 1902 much charred wood.

The first house to be plundered was that of Benedict. His widow and children were slaughtered, and his property stolen. When a night attack was launched against Josce's house, York's Jews fled to the castle (2 on Plan 14); but after its constable unwisely left the castle, uncertain how far they could trust him, they refused to readmit him. The sheriff therefore ordered the castle to be besieged, to the delight of Malebisse and the mob. Its fall was inevitable. The limestone Clifford's Tower on its high motte that we see today was built 1245–62, at a cost of some £2450, including ancillary works. In 1190 York castle was a timber structure. The mob besieged it for some days, being constantly roused by a Premonstratensian canon shouting, 'Down with the enemies of Christ!' Such was his fervour that he failed to notice a boulder hurled by the Jews. He was the only Christian

to die in the onslaught; for Newburgh, 'a greater judgment fell upon him than on any other.' Once the sheriff's siege engines arrived, the defenders realised the end was near.

Rabbi Yom Tov of Joigny, near Auxerre, who had come 'to instruct the Jews of England', now called on all to accept death, as had the martyrs of Blois: rather than 'live with the greatest disgrace as apostates ... let us willingly and devoutly ... render up to Him that life which the Creator gave to us'. As Newburgh puts it, 'the men whose minds were more firm should kill their wives and children. Josce, with a very sharp knife, cut the throat of Anna, his most beloved wife, and spared not even his own children.' Yom Tov apparently cut Josce's throat, then his own. Ephraim of Bonn reports 60 martyrs. The remaining 90 Jews declared their willingness to embrace Christianity, but were slaughtered mercilessly by the mob, whom William condemns on four counts: first, for shedding blood like water without lawful authority; second, for acting barbarously through the blackness of malice; third, for denying them 'the grace of Christ'; and finally, for deceiving their victims to induce them to come out.

Newburgh's interpretation is based on his reading of Josephus' *Jewish War*, to which he refers; his version of the rabbi's speeches, as has been pointed out, recalls the actions of Eleazar and his followers at Masada in AD 72, when they saw the winds veer to the south, carrying the flames against the walls. However, Yom Tov's inspiration was not Masada, but the 1096 Rhenish massacres and, especially, the events of 1171 at Blois, where the Jews refused conversion and were burned to death. Their leaders Yom Tov praised in his poem, 'Lord, pour out Your Wrath'. As an instance of *\*Kiddush ha-Shem*, martyrdom for the sanctification of God's name, the York massacre was the subject of Hebrew laments by Ephraim of Bonn, Menahem ben Jacob of Worms and Joseph ben Asher of Chartres who in verse 15 compares Yom Tov with Mount Sinai, translated by Einbinder as:

[Like] Sinai, he uprooted mountains and made the crooked straight.  
His oral and written teachings were infallible.  
May he rest secure. His flesh will not decompose.  
*How goodly are your tents, O Jacob!* [Numbers 24:5]

Roth (1952a) provides a text in English and Hebrew.

The castle having fallen, the aim of those who had incited the massacre became evident. Richard Malebisse, whose family name lives on in Acaster Malbis, a few miles from York, and his confederates, including William Percy and Alan Malekake, went to York Minster, where they terrified the custodians into handing over the bonds deposited there by the Jews. These they committed to flames in the middle of the great church, thus freeing themselves, and others, from their Jewish debts. Ephraim of Bonn also reports that they despoiled the gold and silver of the Jews; but their 'splendid books, which they had written in great number ... there being none like them for their splendour or beauty, they took to Cologne and other places, where they sold them to Jews'.

According to Ephraim of Bonn, '150 souls, men and women, all holy bodies', died. The entire *\*community* was swept away. Four years later, when the smallest payment

to the Northampton *Promissum* was a mere 11s 9d from a single Jew at \*Coventry, there was no contribution from York. However, the Jewry was to stage a remarkable revival. Benedict's sons, evidently not in York at the time of the massacre, paid 700 marks to inherit his property and debts, and, as Dobson points out, the pipe rolls reveal Jewish lending within five years. By 1205 Isaac of Northampton had settled in the city, one of his bonds being registered in the York \*chest. Six Jews, named in 1221 as paying arrears for the Bristol tallage, are thus identified as living in York in 1210: Josce son of Cresselin, owing £1 10s; Isaac Blund, 2 marks; Manasser Pek, 10s 2d; Manasser son of Leo, 1 mark; Elias, brother of Vives, 1 mark; and Aaron son of Josce, known later as \*Aaron of York, £2 10s.

### The Golden Years, 1216–41

In \*1218, two years after the death of King John, the sheriff and citizens of York were informed by Henry III's Council of Regency that its Jewry was one of the 17 communities to receive official recognition and protection. To the 1221 tallage, 17 York members paid £164 10s, twice as much as \*London and 25% of the total. Six of the seven highest contributors nationally belonged to the York community: \*Aaron of York paid £28 15s; Leo Episcopus, £27 7s 6d; Benedict Episcopus, £21 12s 6d; Isaac of Northampton, £20 0s 10d; and Aaron son of Isaac £17 17s 1d; \*Hamo of Hereford, sixth, was followed by Josce of Kent, of York, who paid £15 12s 1d. By contrast, the London magnate Benedict Episcopus, ranking twelfth, paid £12 10s, and Leo, Aaron and Elias le \*Blund £9 4s 2d, £8 13s 9d and £8 12s 6d, respectively.

The 1221 returns also record the names of six members of the community who fined for the privilege of not wearing the \*badge. Samuel son of Josce paid £2 3s 10½d, probably for a group. Two were 'of Pontefract'. Two were widows, a reflection of the situation at \*Gloucester, where after 1210 the Jewry was dominated by three widows?

The York magnates cried foul at the assessment. No doubt the Londoners, conveniently on the doorstep of the \*Exchequer of the Jews, had used the same tactics as they were to in the 1230s, when the testimony against Robert Passelewe and his fellow justices shows how they turned proximity to advantage. Passelewe received 100 marks from the London Jewry for aid to them in 'collecting the tallage of 10,000 marks'. Further payments in 1234 were 'to equalise London's tallage with that of York, which it had formerly exceeded'. However, the \*1241 assessments made at the Worcester 'parliament' were to confirm beyond doubt that York's two super-plutocrats, Aaron and Leo, quite overshadowed London's magnates.

In the much heavier, 1223, tallage, when 31 members of the community contributed, York fared somewhat better. Leo Episcopus, Aaron of York and Benedict Episcopus now ranked fourth, fifth and sixth, paying between £44 13s 4d and £42, but Josce of Kent only £34 10s. Yet overall the York Jewry had to find 16% of the total, as compared to London's 12.5%. About 1230 the community bought from John Romeyn, sub-dean and

later archbishop, a garden with trees to serve as an extension to its adjacent \*cemetery. Witnesses to the Latin \*chirograph included the community's six magnates: Isaac of Northampton, Leo Episcopus, Aaron (of York) son of Josce, Benedict Episcopus, Josce of Kent and Samuel son of Josce. It is significant that Isaac of Northampton, who had lived in the city since 1205, heads the list.

The Jewry's prosperity was due in no small measure to the alliance formed by the marriage of Aaron to Henna, daughter of Leo Episcopus. The resulting syndicate included other members of the two families. Like Isaac of Northampton and Josce of Kent, Aaron son of Isaac was a prominent outsider. The York Jewry was well placed to continue Aaron of Lincoln's trade in the sale of debt-encumbered estates of clients of the Jewry to the land-hungry monasteries of the north, anxious to enlarge their sheep runs and maximise the production of wool, so eagerly sought after by Flemish, and later Italian, merchants. Of all the English abbeys, the Cistercians of Fountains, founded 1132, had the largest flocks, some 15,000 sheep producing some 70 sacks of wool annually. Its income from wool was three times greater than from any other source, and its production a third larger than that of its nearest rival, Jervaulx.

The cartulary of Fountains Abbey contains a number of charters relating to the transfer to the abbey of lands encumbered by Jewish debt. Five are especially informative. They refer to lands and so on of William son of Eudo of Kirkby Wiske, in debt to Josce of York. These include pasture for 300 sheep on common land, half a fishery in Wiske above and below the mill, and some 30 acres in the open fields. For this the abbot has released William from a debt of 60 marks against Josce, at \*interest. In an additional clause he grants Eudo, 'for the love of God, that he may be a sharer in life and death of all benefits of that Church into which he may be received as a monk or lay brother, according to the Cistercian rule, when he desires'.

As Coppack points out, 'Boston and York were the principal ports for the export of wool.' From the city, it would have been taken downstream on the tidal Ouse to the port of Wyke upon Hull. This was part of the estate of Fountains' eighth and final daughter house, the abbey of Meaux. By 1203–05, when most of the wool exported from Wyke went to Flanders, Wyke ranked sixth amongst the English ports, after London, Boston, \*Southampton, Lincoln and \*Lynn.

Fountains' principal urban property holding was in York. 'Acquisition began in the 1170s.' It was mainly on land close to the river, organised to provide a major outlet for the abbey's wool exports. Analysis of these holdings in their cartulary shows that a great swathe was to be found along North Street (3 on Plan 14), across the Ouse from Coney Street, where the Jews were firmly established. Fountains even had a boat on the Ouse in 1224, licensed to carry wool. The Jewry apparently had similar interests, for the *Plea rolls before the king or his justices* record that in 1208 Simon of Naburn and Peter King of Barlby were charged 'touching attacking Jews in the water of Ouse'.



## The Jewry's Decline

The Worcester 'parliament' and the 1241 tallage marked the beginning of the community's decline. Its six delegates were Leo Episcopus, Josce of Kent, Ursell son of Sampson, and Aaron of York, with two nephews representing the next generation, Benedict and Josce, later known as le Jovene. A radical redistribution of the tallage burden, away from smaller communities and poorer members, achieved a much more realistic assessment of the resources of the three plutocrats. Aaron of York was assessed at 6000 marks (£4000); \*David of Oxford and Leo Episcopus of York, 2200 marks each. The London magnates, Aaron le Blund and Aaron son of Abraham, paid merely 1200 marks each. Overall, York paid 47.6%, London 21.8%. The exposure of Aaron of York's extraordinary wealth was, inevitably, to lead to his eventual bankruptcy.

Despite his appointment 'for life' in 1236, Aaron of York was replaced as \*archpresbyter by the Londoner, \*Elias l'Eveske, in 1243. After the death of Leo Episcopus late that year, his heirs had to pay the largest \*relief recorded, 7000 marks: 1000 more than for Hamo of Hereford's estate, and 2000 more than for David of Oxford's. In 1255, when on grounds of 'his poverty' Aaron obtained exemption from the second tallage that year, the York community ranked fifth. Aaron died in 1268, leaving his widow, Henna, and two sons, Samuel and Elias. By 1273–74 York ranked eighth; in 1276 it was twelfth.

The \*1271 Statute touching Lands and Fees of the Jews ordained that no Jew could own houses except for his or her own occupation, or that of fellow Jews. As in \*Oxford and London, this struck hard at the wealthier members of York's community, who had considerable portfolios of urban property. Henna was probably the most famous victim, but Dobson refers to seven others. Jews owned many properties throughout the city. In addition to the favoured location of Coney Street (J on plan), the VCH lists Micklegate (4), Fossgate, Feltergayle (Fetter Lane), Bretgate (5), Walmgate, Patrick Pool, Pavement, Castlegate, St Saviourgate and Hungate. In 1237 a Manasser lived in Bretgate, now Market Street. By 1280 this 'street of the Britons', had received the prefix *Jou*, Middle English for Jew; hardly surprising, for Jubbergate, as it came to be known, linked the market with Coney Street, not far from the site of the \*synagogue (S). The impact of the 1271 statute on the sale price of York houses must have been considerable. In Oxford, Lombard of Cricklade even demolished a house outside the North Gate, selling the material for scrap.

## A Divided Community

The plea roll for January 1275 records 76 members. Only 7 had more than one bond; 46 had none. Deudone and Benedict Crespin held six and three, respectively. There is no indication as to the value of the bonds. As Mundill shows, in a scrutiny of the chest the next year two-thirds of the bonds, totalling £527 14s 8d, were held by the two Crespin brothers. A third brother, Aaron, is also known to have been operating in York. The

divisions were so deep that the sheriff reported to the justices that six York Jews had 'fled by night out of the county with all their chattels'.

Aaron of York's shadow remained over the city's Jewry, through his nephew, Josce le Jovene, and his son-in-law, \*Bonamy. The two men lent the abbot of Fountains £900. On occasions, they operated in a York consortium headed by Benedict Crespin, and including his brother, Deudone, and son, Josce. It lent £200 to the Yorkshire landowner, Sir Robert Percy, who also owed 50 marks to Bonamy and £50 to Benedict son of Josce in separate bonds, as well as, significantly, 250 marks to two Christian moneylenders in the city.

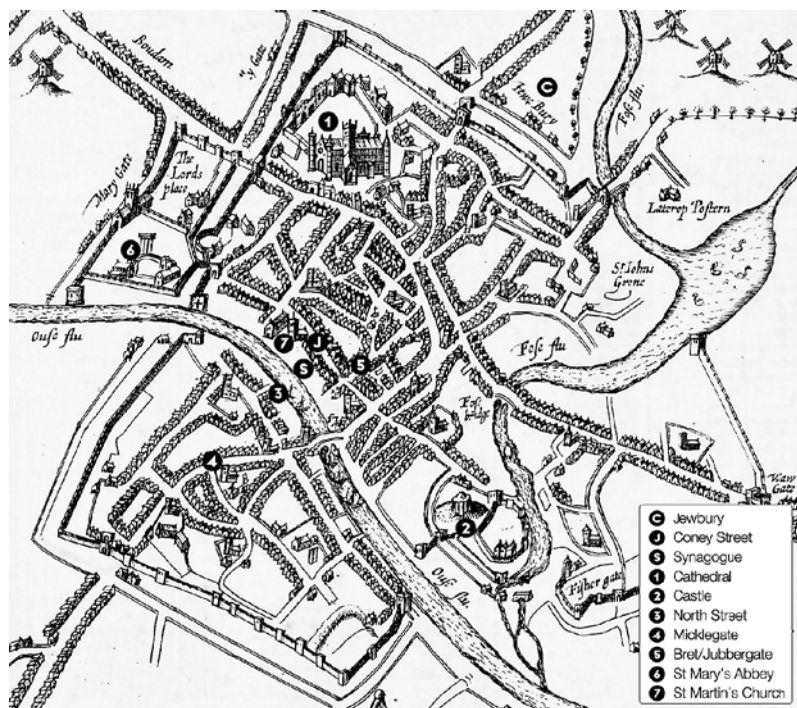
Although Josce and Bonamy both had houses in York, their financial dealings were throughout the country; few of their bonds were to be found in the York chest. They recognised that business success now depended on contact with the Court, through the Exchequer of the Jews, at London. By 1276 Bonamy had a house in Milk Street, the imposing twelfth-century stone undercroft of which was uncovered during excavations in 1976.

In 1277, during the \*coin-clipping crisis, the sheriff was ordered to transport 39 named York Jews 'to answer touching coin-clipping and other trespasses of which they are accused'. He replied that 'all the Jews are so poor they cannot find sureties or pay for carriage to London'. The overall impact was apparently less disastrous than for other major Jewries. Fines for York totalled £376 7s 9d, as compared to £951 4s for Lincoln and £452 4s 4½d for Northampton. However, at least four members of the Jewry were hanged: Josce le Jovene, his son Aaron, Jacob Sabelyn and Lumbard, 'husband of Antera daughter of Aaron of York'. Josce le Jovene's Coney Street house was granted to William Hamilton, later archdeacon of York, who sold it to John Sampson. His business interests passed to Bonamy. In \*1287, unable to name any York delegates to the 'mini-parliament', the exchequer clerks could only request 'four of the richer and more prudent Jews'.

The 1290 list of York bonds has been lost, but details survive of the annual values of Jewish property at the \*expulsion. In Coney Street lived Bonamy and, in another of his properties, which had belonged to Josce of Kent, his son Josce. Here also were Cok son of Aaron and Josce son of Benedict with Sara, his mother. Across the Ouse, in Micklegate (Great Street), lived Moses son of Bonefei and another of Bonamy's sons, Benedict. The total annual value of these six houses was £14 18s 8d, giving an average of some £2 10s, the highest of any provincial Jewry. At Lincoln the annual value of 27 houses was £13 18s 4d, giving an average of 10s. The marked difference between the two Jewries points to the commercial attractiveness of Coney Street, site of the Royal Exchange, and to the ebullience of York's property market. Here, the economic and social capital of the north, as the VCH points out, 30 religious institutions held some 163 investment properties.

### The Jewry

The heart of the Jewry was the west side of Coney Street, where properties backed onto the River Ouse. The direct route from the Guildhall and St Mary's Abbey (6 on



Plan 14 Plan of York, from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611)

Source: © University of Bristol Library Special Collections.

Plan 14) to York's only bridge, it remained the principal street until the fourteenth century. Here lived such early leaders of the Jewry as Leo Episcopus, Josce of Kent and Aaron of York. Later residents included \*Hagin, son of Master Moses, the archpresbyter 1257–80, and Deudone Crespin.

The position of Aaron's home in Coney Street can be established from the cartulary of Fountains Abbey, in which Hugh son of Ymbert renounces in favour of the abbey any claim he may have to 'all the land with the buildings thereon which lies between St Martin's church, York [7 on plan], and the house of Aaron the Jew'. The charter was witnessed by 'Hugh de Selby', exporter of wool to Flanders and importer of wine, who in 1217 was York's first recorded mayor, serving again in 1226, 1229–30 and 1235, and who in 1219 leased one of Aaron's houses, at 2s per annum. The eleventh-century church that Aaron would have known so well was bombed in 1940, but vestiges of its north wall can still be seen. His house, to the south of St Martin's, was on a plot between the street and 'the water of Ouse'. Richard Malebisse, died 1209–10, also had property 'beside the churchyard of St Martin'.

The site of Aaron's house is strikingly similar to that of \*Isaac of Norwich's great stone \*house, with its vaulted cellar, on the banks of the Wensum, where in 1225 Isaac had his own quay. Three common lanes, each with its own landing, ran down to the Ouse from Coney Street. The middle lane, 'St Martin's landing' in 1177–99 and *le Kirklene* c.1390, had two branches, one on either side of St Martin's church. One may have served Aaron's property for, as Palliser comments, '*lending* was used both for the quay and for the land giving access to it'.

Other Jewish properties were similarly situated. After the execution of Josce le Jovene in 1279 Queen Eleanor granted the York *scola* to John Sampson and Roger Basy. The plot, to the south of 'land late of Josce le Jovene', is described as having 'steps to the entrance' and stretching 'in length from Coningestrete towards the east to the river Ouse towards the west'. Both Josce's house and the synagogue therefore flanked the east bank of the river. The close rolls indicate that such Jewish Ouse-side properties frequently had vaulted cellars. In 1279 John Bek was 'to provide for the king, out of the houses that belonged to the Jews in the city of York, a good cellar...and deliver it to Matthew de CoLumbar[iis], the king's chamberlain, or to Simon Gisors, his \*attorney, so that they may put the king's \*wine therein'.

For the most part, the riverside Coney Street buildings are simply called 'messuages'. The 1290 description of Cok son of Aaron's property is more informative: 'all the cellars and the ground beneath the house' towards Coney Street belonged to Laurence of Botham, who in 1280 had bought the house of Deudone Crespin, between those of Benedict and Bonamy, sons of Josce. The tenement above the cellars was worth £2 per annum, and Cok paid Laurence 6s 8d per annum for the cellar. This suggests the vaulted undercroft of a hall-over-warehouse type building, as at Isaac of Norwich's Music House and Ronceval on the west quay at Southampton (*see* Houses). From 1273 Ronceval belonged to \*Benedict of Winchester who five years earlier had purchased a Coney Street 'messuage' from Henna, Aaron's widow.

John Sampson was a person of considerable importance in the city. With John *le Especer* he was keeper of the York Exchange. In 1281, on royal instructions, they paid £2000 to Tommasino Guidiccioni and his fellow merchants of the Riccardi of Lucca; they had already paid £1500 in 1280. *Le Especer*, himself a moneylender in a considerable way, was mayor in 1272–74, Sampson in 1279, 1283 and 1285, and Roger Basy in 1290 and 1292. Robert Appleby, whose lease of a Coney Street house was extended in 1272 by Henna for 'a further three years', was, like Selby, a city wool merchant. He also had a great hall at the Coney Street end of Jubbergate.

The 1279 grant by Queen Eleanor is the only evidence as to the site of the synagogue. As the patent rolls provide no explanation as to how she obtained the property, presumably it had belonged to Josce le Jovene. After its loss in 1279 Bonamy's Coney St house, sold for £40 in 1291, may have provided alternative accommodation. The expulsion returns make no reference to a communal synagogue. Eleanor was not alone in profiting from the property of those condemned for coinage offences.

The Jewbury (C on Plan 14), York's medieval Jewish \*cemetery, beyond the city walls, across the river Foss, was the subject of Lilley et al.'s major excavation in 1982–83, prior to supermarket development. The results were analysed in Lilley et al.'s extensive and wide-ranging report. A plaque marks the spot where reinterment took place in the presence of the Chief Rabbi on 8 July 1984, at the edge of the original cemetery. Documentary evidence suggests the existence of a \**bet tohorah*.

□ Barrie Dobson's *The Jews of York and the Massacre of March 1190* (1974), 'Decline and Expulsion of the Medieval Jews of York' (1979) and 'Medieval York Jewry Reconsidered' (2003) are brought together with 'The Jews of Medieval York in the Context of Some Other English Jewish Communities' in his *Collected Essays* (2010). The volume provides a valuable index.

□ Dobson (2010), xix–xxvii, 1–99; *PpR*, 1176–77, 14, 51, 70, & 1197–98, 61–2; Howden, *Gesta*, 2 (1867), 83–4, 107–8; Howden, *Annals*, 2 (1853), 138; Newburgh (1996), 565–71; Vincent (2013); Einbinder (2002), 29–30; Roth (1952a); Richardson (1960), 83–108, 281–4; Stenton, 4 (1967), 15; R. Graham, 'The Finance of Malton Priory, 1244–1257', *TRHS*, NS 18 (1904), 131–56; *CS*, III, 121; G. Coppack, *Fountains Abbey* (1993), 62–3, 85, 87; Lancaster, 1 (1915), 274–5, 278–91; Brunskill (1944); *CPR*, 1272–81, 97–8, 259–60; Vaughan (1984), 158–9; A. Raine, *Medieval York* (1955), 146–55; W. Hargrove, *History and Description of the Ancient City of York*, 3 (1818), 410–11; *RCHME, York, V. The Central Area* (1981), 25–9, 384–6; *VCH, Yorkshire: The City of York* (1961), 48; D. M. Palliser, 'Medieval Street-Names of York', *York Historian*, 2 (1978), 2–16; *PREJ*, IV, 16–17; Mundill (1998), 157–8; Lilley et al. (1994); S. Rees Jones, 'Neighbours and Victims in Twelfth-Century York: A Royal Citadel, the Citizens and the Jews of York', in Rees Jones & Watson (2013), 15–42

## York, Aaron of, d.1268, and Family

Aaron was by far the wealthiest Jew of thirteenth-century England. Michael Adler presented his study of 'Aaron of York and King Henry III' to the JHSE in 1933; but, as Dobson points out, Aaron's 'spectacular career would still repay scrupulous reassessment' for his story remains 'completely untold'.

The 1221 receipt roll provides valuable information about Aaron's early years. He paid the 'Aid' of that year in two instalments, being described in the first as 'of Lincoln', in the second as 'son of Josce'. Furthermore, the York entry shows that Aaron still had arrears of £2 10s outstanding from King John's Bristol \*tallage, indicating his membership of the York \*community by 1210. His brother, Samuel, who was with him in York, paid £2 2s 11d towards the 'Aid'.

By this time a wide-ranging family syndicate had been established as a consequence of Aaron's marriage to Henna, the daughter of his fellow York magnate, Leo Episcopus, and his wife, also Henna. It included Aaron's brothers, Benedict and Samuel; nephews, Josce and Isaac; Henna and her brother, Samuel Episcopus; and later, Aaron's son Samuel. Inevitably, there were disputes between members of the syndicate. Following Leo's death in 1243, his son Samuel and Josce, now *le Jovene*, fell out over 60 marks and a horse, ultimately adjudged to Josce, worth 3 marks.

Aaron and Leo's status as the dominant figures of the English Jewry is confirmed by details of their payments to the 1221 'Aid': £28 15s and £27 7s 6d, respectively. Nationally

they ranked first and second. In the 1223 tallage Leo, paying £49 13s 4d, is third nationally, after \*Hamo of Hereford, £70, and Aaron I le \*Blund of London, £50; Aaron ranked fifth, £43 2s 8d, after \*David of Oxford. Nevertheless, in terms of total contributions, York, paying £274 10s, was recognised as the most affluent of the English communities; London, paying some £215, was second. Aaron's nephew, Josce, paid a mere 12s 6d.

### Monasteries and the Wool Trade

What were the bases of such large fortunes? After the death of John in 1216, Aaron and Leo continued \*Aaron of Lincoln's trade in the sale of debt-encumbered estates of clients of the Jewry to monasteries, seeking to increase their wool production for export to Flanders and, later, Italy. The 1221 returns for York reveal payments *per Judeis* by the Cistercian abbots of Byland, 17 miles (27 km) north of the city, and Sawley, some 50 miles (80 km) west, where construction continued to 1220, and by the prior of the Augustinian house at Guisborough, a similar distance to the north. The 1234 close rolls reveal that the abbot of Eggleston, just across the river Tees in county Durham, was in debt to Aaron.

The cartulary of the Gilbertine priory of Malton, 18 miles north-east (30 km), illustrates its particularly close relationship with the syndicate. Leo housed his \*treasure at the priory, despite this practice being condemned by the Canterbury provincial synod, meeting at Oxford in 1222. The priory, founded c.1150, had established three granges, outlying estates devoted to sheep-farming, by 1178. Land acquisition through the Jewry brought the priory great commercial success; it had seven granges in 1223, nine in 1234 and eleven in 1244. In 14 years the prior spent some £500 buying land. In the 13 years to 1257 the canons made £5224 from the sale of wool. Gross profits ranged from £244 to £460 in 1251. Leo quitclaimed the prior and convent in 1243 for all the lands that they had received from Geoffrey Grunst and William Redburn in consideration of full payment of their debts. Next year William of Richburgh granted the priory seven bovates of land in Wellum, near Levisham, in exchange for which the prior paid his 36½-mark debt to Aaron's nephew, Josce le Jovene.

As late as 1250 the great Benedictine abbey of St Mary's, some 437 yd (400 m) north-west of Aaron's house, was among his clients. Fountains Abbey cartulary includes three separate grants transferring lands encumbered by debt from Aaron to the abbot. Two further grants were made: one by Aaron's brother, Samuel, of a bovat of land in Melmerby; another by his widow, Henna, and Isaac, her son-in-law and \*attorney.

Not all Aaron and Leo's monastic clients were local. The abbot of Tickford, Bucks, owed them 300 marks in 1235, and Thomas, the Benedictine abbot of Walden in Essex, 600 marks in 1238–39. Three deeds published by Davis and illustrated by Adler, show how Aaron quitclaimed to Hugh, prior of Durham, 'his successors and the convent of the same house forever, all the lands... of Thomas le Lung, formerly serjeant of [North] Allerton, in that vill or any other place. The close rolls of 1240 describe how Aaron and Leo joined forces with the London magnates, Aaron le Blund and Aaron son of

Abraham, to provide the abbot of Westminster with a loan of 1000 marks, which Henry III however, deeply involved in the abbey's restoration programme, claimed as their contributions towards the Third of \*1239. Stacey (1995) draws attention to the £1000 borrowed by the Augustinian canons of Waltham from Aaron and Leo by 1240.

In the provision of loans, Aaron was a partner with almost all the major Jewish magnates of his day, including his two London namesakes, Hamo of Hereford, David of Oxford and subsequently his widow, \*Licoricia. Both Aaron's and Leo's bonds were distributed widely in the \*chest, *archae*. At \*Cambridge in 1239/40, for example, there were 9 of Aaron's bonds negotiated between 1234 and 1239, and more than 40 of Leo's ranging between 1223 and 1240. Through the affairs of the Crown, Aaron also had business relations with merchant bankers of Bordeaux and Lucca.

The close rolls show that in 1235 Aaron negotiated with Henry III that, 'to be quit of tallage for his life', he would pay 100 marks a year, reduced to 60 marks in February 1236. Later that year Aaron replaced Josce son of Isaac as \*archpresbyter of the Jews. The charter rolls describe his appointment as 'for life ... so that no one shall trouble him therein, with order that he be maintained, protected and defended in that office'. In 1237 Aaron and Leo, with Benedict Crespin and David of Oxford, were commanded to take care of Semayne, the king's \*crossbowman, looking after him in necessities, 'as well robes as other things'. The request was repeated next year, 'so that [Semayne] may not through their default have to come again to the king to complain of them'.

### Aaron and the King

Following the failure of the Third in 1239, Henry decided to impose a tallage of 20,000 marks. However, instead of turning to his archpresbyter for advice on its assessment, in \*1241 he summoned the Worcester 'parliament'. There, as Stacey points out, 'elaborate arrangements were made to prevent favouritism or bribery from influencing the assessment'. Aaron led the York delegation, which included Leo Episcopus, Josce of Kent, Ursell son of Sampson and, representing the next generation, Aaron's two nephews, Josce, later referred to as *le Jovene* to distinguish him from Josce of Kent, and Benedict. For Aaron's syndicate the results were disastrous.

Aaron was assessed at 6000 marks, 30% of the total, Leo Episcopus at 2200 marks, 11%, but the leading Londoners, Aaron I le Blund and Aaron son of Abraham, a mere 1200 marks. Of the total sum due, York was responsible for 47.6%, compared to 21.8% for London. Despite his appointment 'for life', Aaron of York was replaced as archpresbyter by Elias l'\*Eveske in 1243. When Leo Episcopus died late the next year, his son Samuel was faced with a \*relief of 7000 marks, the highest ever levied on the death of an English Jew. This suggests that his overall wealth was 21,000 marks. On the basis of the 1241 tallage, Aaron was worth almost 60,000 marks.

For Henry, the decisions of the Worcester 'parliament' on the distribution of the 1241/42 tallage demonstrated starkly the outstanding wealth of Aaron and Leo's York

syndicate, some 40% of the whole. The king was not slow to make frequent and varied calls on Aaron's financial resources. At the end of 1243, his brother, Richard, earl of Cornwall, married Sanchia, daughter of the earl of Provence, and the queen's sister. According to Matthew Paris, 'not a little gold was extorted from the Jews'; and the king 'defrauded' Aaron of 4 marks of gold and 4000 of silver. This included 600 marks for Italian merchants 'to despatch the king's business in Rome'. The gold from each Jew, man or woman, he received 'into his own hand, becoming a new kind of tax gatherer'. Carpenter points out that in 1243/44 Aaron also provided 12 *augustales*. These were rare items: gold coins, minted in Sicily in 1231 for the Emperor Frederick II, with a gold content of some 20.5 carats. Only 14 are documented in the royal treasure.

The death of Leo Episcopus late in 1243, and the relief of 7000 marks, will have placed a great strain on the syndicate's cash resources. In November 1244 the patent rolls show that Aaron was the first named of five wealthy Jews who were required to provide four Florentine and Siennese merchants with '1000 marks which the king is bound to pay them on or before Christmas Eve'; this was to come out of 'the 4000-mark tallage by which the Jews are bound to the king'.

### Royal Demands

1246 was a black year for Aaron. Henry III's demands caused an acute cash-flow problem. In May he was obliged to borrow 500 marks from three Bordeaux merchants 'to the king's use'. Although responsibility for repayment rested with Aaron, any losses due to his default the king was bound to make good. In October Henry borrowed a further 400 marks from two Florentine merchants; if it was not repaid punctually the king was to 'cause the said money to be paid to them out of the lands and chattels of Aaron'. At the end of November there is reference to a penalty due from Aaron if he had not repaid the 'loan of 400 marks he received from Halingrattus', royal crossbowman and serjeant, and a man of substance, who in August had lent the king £400.

The November 1246 charter roll informs us of the 'grant to Halingrattus, his heirs and assigns of the messuage in London which Aaron and Samuel of York sold to him, lying between the *scholam Judeorum* and the house of Aaron [I] le Blund in Colechurch Street'. It was during his time as archpresbyter that Aaron will have acquired what was, for a Jew, one of the most desirable properties in the kingdom for, like Aaron of Lincoln and \*Jurnet of Norwich on Lothbury, he will have had direct access through posterns to London's principal \*synagogue. Its loss under such circumstances must have been humiliation indeed, deepened no doubt by Henry III's grant to Halingrattus some four months later of the house of the royal bailiff under the castle at Bordeaux.

In 1249, concerned for his wife Henna and heirs, Aaron negotiated that after his death they would receive a third, not the customary two-thirds, of his 'rents, possessions and goods...wherever they may be...on condition that they pay the king 200 marks a year until they have paid the value of the said third part'. Aaron had evidently learned that, as



Bracton explained, 'The Jew can have nothing that is his own, for whatever he acquires, he acquires not for himself, but for the king.' Next year the patent rolls record 'remission' to Aaron 'of the penalty and execution of judgment...for falsification of a charter whereof William Marmiun accused him before the justices of the Jews'. Paris reports this cost Aaron 14,000 silver marks and 10,000 of gold for the use of the queen, a total of some £70,000. He continues that Aaron had declared 'by legal attestation and on his faith to Brother Matthew' that after the king returned from overseas he had paid 30,000 silver and 200 gold marks, for the use of the queen. In November 1251 the close rolls note that Peter de Rivallis, now keeper of the great seal, ordered that his friend, Robert Passelewe, was to have Aaron's favourite mount, his handsome black, well-behaved, palfrey.

The patent rolls for January 1253 detail Aaron's six-year lease of his Milk Street house to \*Elias son of \*Master Moses, with a guarantee that 'Elias and his heirs be not distrained during this time for any debts which Aaron or his heirs may owe the king.' Thirteen years later the rolls ratify his sale to Elias 'of all his houses, lands and tenements in London ... in perpetuity'.

The final humiliation came in 1255 when, at the instance of the earl of Cornwall, Aaron, his wealth 'entirely evaporated', was granted exemption from the Michaelmas tallage 'because of his poverty'. The shortfall had to be made up: the Jews of London and the provincial communities had to pay a 10% surcharge for 'the portion of Aaron of York'. Nevertheless, on his death in 1268 it was testified that Aaron still had 'other houses and rents, as at Northampton, Oxford and elsewhere' as well as property in York. Eleven years later, his son-in-law Lumbard was still referred to as 'husband of Antera daughter of Aaron of York'.

□ Dobson (2010), 25–32, 55–63, 90–6; Adler (1939), 127–73; Stokes (1913), 269–72; *PREJ*, II, 83–4; R. Graham, 'Finance of Malton Priory, 1244–57', *TRHS* (1904), 131–56; Lancaster, 1 (1915), 274–5, 311, 507, 528, 609; *CR*, 1235, 10, & 1240, 197; *CPR*, 1232–47, 445, 480, 486, & 1249, 50, 59; *CLR*, 1240, 482, & 1243, 204, 209; Davis (1969), nos 196–200; Luard, IV, 260, & V, 136; Paris, I, 459–60; Carpenter (1987), 109; Pollock & Maitland, 1 (1898), 468–75

**York, Benedict** *see* York, Josce and Benedict

### **York, Bonamy son of Josce, d. after 1290**

For Barrie Dobson Bonamy (*Bonamicus*) 'probably deserves his reputation as the last of the great financiers in the history of the medieval English Jewry'; he even compares his fortune with those of the 'great Jewish entrepreneurs', \*Aaron of Lincoln and \*David of Oxford. Bonamy's background is obscure. In 1253 a Bonamy was acting as '\*attorney' to his father, Josce of Kent, but for Dobson it is 'extremely uncertain' whether this refers to Bonamy of York. Such a role would however have provided an excellent apprenticeship for a livelihood in finance.

In 1265 Henry III, anxious to revive the English Jewry 'after the late troubles', granted Bonamy that 'in respect of the debtors bound to him' no 'extent, prorogation of term, quittance or pardon' would be made within five years. Similar privilege in relation

to Hugh de Nevill 'or other debtors' bound to him was granted in 1270. Bonamy was amongst the three major York contributors to the 1272 tallage, to which he paid 110 marks in two instalments.

The first reference to Bonamy as the son-in-law of \*Aaron of York's nephew, the York magnate Josce le Jovene, is in 1274. Within a year Bonamy was working as a junior partner with Josce, who had been one of the delegates to the \*1241 Worcester 'parliament'. This brought him into business contact with, amongst others, Master \*Benedict of Lincoln and \*Master Elias, the eminent sons of \*Master Moses of London.

The memoranda rolls record that in 1274 Robert de Percy, lord of Bolton Percy on the banks of the Wharfe, some 6 miles (10 km) south of York, fined for 1000 marks that Master Moses' grandson, Cok Hagin, would discharge him of his debts to 'any Jew of York or England'. Percy, of the family of William Percy who had been associated with Richard Malebisse in the 1190 massacre, was a major client of the York Jewry. The relative poverty of the York \*community to which both Dobson and Mundill draw attention, together with the London connection, suggest that Bonamy and his father-in-law were the source of Robert's loans. In 1280, having apparently exhausted the Jewish money market, Robert turned to Christian moneylenders, putting up his manor of Carnaby in the East Riding as security.

Bonamy's major interests, like Josce's, lay in loans to the wool-producing monasteries of the north. In 1275 a \*starr directed by Bonamy to the Lincoln \*chirographers required them to hand over one of his bonds, for 55 marks, signed by Laurence, prior of the Augustinian house of Thornholme in that shire. The Augustinian priory of Newburgh in north Yorkshire, a cell of Bridlington, was another client.

Bonamy does not occur in either of the 1277 scrutinies of the York \*chest. By this time he had a house in prestigious Milk Street, \*London. This lay immediately north of the property formerly of Master Moses, which his son Cresse eventually bought back from the king for the extraordinary high price of £146 13s 4d. Fronting Milk Street on the west, Bonamy's house had a garden on the east. Excavations in 1976–78 revealed a stone building at right angles to the street 'for which a construction date of around 1100 is proposed, making it one of the earliest medieval secular buildings from recent excavations.' Two parallel foundations protruding from its east end may indicate a stair to the upper floor; between them was evidence for a doorway into the lower chamber, which may have been vaulted. Bonamy's son Jacob was living in this house at the \*expulsion in 1290, when it was valued at £3. To its north was the tenement acquired c.1226 by Leo II le \*Blund and granted in 1251 by Henry III to Martin Senche, the royal \*crossbowman.

### **Josce, Bonamy and Fountains Abbey, 1275–78**

The \*plea rolls for Easter 1275 report that 'Bonamy is daily before the Council and the Barons of the Exchequer'. In April 1275 Peter Ayling, abbot of Fountains, borrowed £900 from Josce and Bonamy. Of the total, Bonamy had lent merely 25%, his father-in-law 75%.

The memoranda rolls reveal that Cok Hagin was one of six prominent English Jews required to ensure Bonamy's presence before the barons of the \*Exchequer of the Jews on 28 April 1275, when a monk of Fountains and six each of 'the most law-worthy and prudent' Christians and Jews of York were to give evidence as to whether he had lent money to the abbot of Fountains 'against the law and custom of the Jewry'.

This put Edward I in a difficult position; he could hardly preside over the bankruptcy of the largest and most magnificent of the Cistercian houses in his realm. As administrator he appointed Anthony Bek, archdeacon of Durham Cathedral. In October we learn that Josce's debts had been taken into the king's hands 'for certain causes', failure to meet his tallage requirements. The king therefore also had an interest in securing the return of Josce's money from Ayling.

In August 1275 Ayling reported that the abbot and convent had satisfied him for the total sum 'by the hands of Luke de Lucca, the king's merchant'; yet early in 1276 the Exchequer of the Jews ordered the sheriff of Yorkshire to attach Ayling, who was 'in contempt of the king'. In July 1276 a formal acquittance was issued to the abbot and convent of Fountains, but in the autumn Ayling had 'departed the Exchequer of the Jews before he satisfied the king concerning the £900 in which he was bound' to him, suggesting that, again, the £900 had been promised but not delivered.

In October 1276 Ayling had negotiated, quite independently, with his Florentine merchants, the Thedaldi brothers, whereby he received 697½ marks (£465) in return for 62 sacks of wool to be supplied over the next four years. The contract concluded with the extraordinary statement that the abbot and convent 'renounced all aid of canon and civil law, privilege of clergy, inhibitions from papal or royal court ... all exceptions, rights and defences ... that might benefit them ... or injure the said merchants'. One of the Thedaldi brothers was obliged to transfer his half in the loan to Deotaiutus, 'merchant of the queen mother'.

Only in February 1278 was the matter of the debt to Josce and Bonamy finally resolved; the justices of the Jews were informed that the £233 6s 8d due to Bonamy had been granted to Bek. The next day this was amended to include £757 7s 8d for Josce, a total of £990 13s 4d being cited. Thus £90 13s 4d \*interest had been added to the original loan of £900, despite the \*1275 Statute which had stated 'covenants made before [the act was introduced] shall be observed, saving that the usuries shall cease'.

In January 1278 Edward I had licensed Bonamy 'to trade in accordance with the late statute and granted that his debtors be distrained by the justices... of the Jews'. This suggests Bonamy had established a working relationship with the king, similar to that of \*Aaron son of Vives, with the queen no doubt party to the deal. (See *Jews and the Court*.) Josce le Jovene and his son Aaron were 'hanged for felony' in 1279. Bonamy apparently inherited much of Josce's business. Thus in the late 1280s he lent £300 to Prior Gerard and the Augustinian canons of Bridlington in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

By 1291 Fountains had accumulated debts totalling £6373. The serious financial difficulties encountered in the late thirteenth century by such major monasteries as Fountains, Kirkstall and Bridlington were not due, as in the era of \*Aaron of Lincoln and \*Aaron York, to land hunger or even building programmes. They were due to the outbreak of scab, a mange mite believed, according to the St Alban's chronicler, to have been introduced from Spain in 1274. In the Middle Ages 30% losses were usual and often rose to between 50% and 70%.

Despite his interests in the capital Bonamy retained considerable property in York. At the expulsion the house in Coney Street, 'in which he resided,' was valued at £2 13s 4d. Another in that street, 'formerly the property of Josce of Kent' and valued at £3 5s 4d, was occupied by his son, Josce. Another son, Benedict, lived in his Micklegate house, valued at £1 13s 4d. The first was sold to William Vavasour of Hazlewood for £40; the second to Robert Ughtred of Scarborough, for £53 6s 8d; the sale price for the Micklegate house, across the Ouse, is not known. (See York.) His third son, Jacob, was one of the five Jews living in Milk Street, London.

On 26 July 1290 Bonamy was granted a personal safe-conduct, with 'his wife, children and household,' directed to the mayor and bailiffs of York. A month later the bailiffs, barons and sailors of the Cinque Ports were commanded 'not to molest Bonamicus de Eboraco and Joceus his son, Jews of York, and other Jews of the same city, quitting the realm within the time fixed, with their wives, children, households and goods, but to secure them a safe and speedy passage at moderate charges.'

Bonamy negotiated a charter with Philip le Bel whereby for 100 *livres tournois* annually he and his family could choose where to live in France and forgo the wearing of the *tabula* on their outer garments. The Paris tax rolls for 1292 and 1298 show that he settled in *Franc-Mourier* (today *rue de Moussy*), Paris, with his son Josce and daughter-in-law.

In 1292 Archbishop John Romeyn, returning from Rome, stopped in Paris where he had studied at the university and now had a house. Significantly, as Dobson points out, Bonamy in 1290 had persuaded Romeyn to provide him with a document threatening to excommunicate any within his archdiocese who interfered with the departing Jews. In Paris Bonamy persuaded Romeyn to pursue the £300 debt outstanding to him from Prior Gerard of Bridlington. Presumably the archbishop negotiated an appropriate reward for this service, bearing in mind the risk involved, for Edward I had ordained that the principal of debts outstanding at the expulsion was due to the Crown.

At his next formal visitation of Bridlington Priory, Romeyn spoke of the need, if the souls of the canons were to be saved, for the debt to be repaid through his agency. Later, in panic, the prior admitted to Edward I that the convent owed £300 'of the chattels of Bonamy,' agreeing to repay 100 marks at Michaelmas and thereafter 100 marks annually. When Bonamy's bond was found at St Mary's Abbey, just outside York's walls, Romeyn was adjudged to be 'in the king's mercy'. He was not the only archbishop of York to trade in Jewish bonds. In 1271 Walter Giffard, archbishop of York 1266–79, had bought rent charges from the heirs of Hak of \*Worcester.

□ Dobson (2010), 22–4, 61, 64, 70, 71, 132; *PREJ*, I, 114, & II, 155, 261, & III, 99, 199, & V, 175, 188, 191, 368, 417, 580; Rokéah (2000), nos 542–5, 616, 618, 622, 700, 807, 825, 1324; Causton (2007), no. 123; *CPR*, 1272–81, 97–8, 151, 156–7, 253, 259–60, & 1290, 379, 382; *CCR*, 1272–79, 209, 354–5, 386, 387–8, 444–5; Schofield (1995), 203–4 & figs 27, 154; Schofield et al. (1990), 133–42; *CChR*, 1280, 222; Loeb (1880); Chazan (1973), 183–4

### York, Josce, d.1190, and Benedict, d.1189, of

The two brothers were the leaders of the twelfth-century \*York \*community. The first reference to Josce is c.1176, when he is mentioned in the earliest known \*starr on record amongst a number of Jewish creditors of William Fossard, probably acting as \*Aaron of Lincoln's agents. In the 1176/77 \*pipe roll, with \*Jurnet of Norwich and two London Jews, he received payment, *in soltis*, for a small loan to the Crown from the \*sheriff of \*Oxford and, on his own account, from the sheriffs of Berkshire and Yorkshire.

The chronicler, William of Newburgh, reports that Benedict and Josce 'became rich, lending on usury far and wide'. In a famous passage, he describes how 'with profuse expense' they had built 'houses of the largest extent, comparable to royal palaces, in the midst of the city. There they lived in abundance and luxury, almost regal, like two princes of their own people.' Josce's house, 'from its magnitude and strength, might be equal to a castle of no small size'. As Ephraim of Bonn explains, their numerous books, 'precious as gold, there being none like them for their beauty and splendour'. These the plunderers of the York Jewry 'brought to Cologne and other places, where they sold them to Jews'. This being the case, the brothers were manifestly the heirs to Aaron of Lincoln's business interests.

Benedict and Josce were amongst the leaders of the \*provincial Jewries who came to attend Richard I's coronation at Westminster Abbey on 3 September 1189. A riot erupted when the Jews, who were forbidden entrance, were carried in through the western doors by the press. They fled to the Jewry and the Tower. Josce escaped, but Benedict 'could not run so fast, and blows were rained on him'. His fate is described by the Yorkshire chronicler, Roger of Howden.

Seriously wounded and unable to escape the mob, Benedict was baptised in the church of the Holy Innocents by his fellow townsman, William, prior of the great Benedictine abbey of St Mary's, who must have known him well. Thus was he saved from certain death. The next day, called before Richard I and Archbishop Baldwin and asked 'who are you?', he replied 'I am Benedict the Jew of York'. The king then turned to the archbishop and asked, 'Did you not tell me he is a Christian?' to which Baldwin replied, 'Since he does not want to be a Christian, let him be the devil's man,' thus permitting his return to Judaism. On his journey back to York, Benedict died of his wounds at \*Northampton, where he was refused burial as either Jew or Christian. His sons were to pay a \*relief of 700 marks for his lands and bonds.

The following spring, the York mob attacked the Jewry, incited by indebted local landowners, led by Richard Malebisse of Acaster Malbis. Benedict's house was the first

to be targeted. Access was gained with ‘iron tools made especially for the purpose.’ His widow, sons and entourage were murdered ‘while the flames, sullenly gaining strength, swept away his wealth.’ The next target was the Coney Street house of Josce who, with his family and most other York Jews, fled to the anticipated security of the castle.

In panic, however, the Jews barred the constable’s access. A siege was therefore mounted, lasting several days. When siege engines were brought, Rabbi Yom Tov of Joigny, on the night of the Great Sabbath, *Shabbat ha-Gadol*, 16 March, persuaded those present, rather than ‘desert *The Laws* for the short span of this life’, to accept death as had the martyrs of Blois, whom he had praised in his poem, ‘Lord, Pour out Your Wrath.’ According to Newburgh, Josce led the way, cutting the throat of his beloved wife, Henna, and sparing not his children.

□ Jacobs (1893), 58–9; Richardson (1960), 89–90; Newburgh (1996), 566; Howden, *Annals*, 2 (1853), 119–20; Dobson (2010), 8–11, 16–18, 157

# Appendix

## Contributions of individual Jewish communities to the tallages of 1194, 1221 and 1239–42

Community	1194			1221			1239–42		
	£	%	Rank	£	%	Rank	£	%	Rank
London	471	27	1	81	12	2	2,339	22	2
Bedford	2	<1	18	–			15	<1	18
Bristol	23	1	13	23	4	11	31	<1	13
Cambridge	97	6	6	16	2	13	83	<1	11
Canterbury	243	14	3	52	8	5	371	3.5	4
Chichester	26	1.5	12	–			–		
Colchester	42	2	11	2	<1	17	16	<1	17
Coventry	<1	<1	21	–			–		
Exeter	1	<1	19	8	1	14	–		
Gloucester	117	7	5	19	3	12	19	<1	16
Hereford	11	<1	14	31	5	8	259	2.5	6
Hertford	4	<1	17	–			–		
Lincoln	278	16	2	53	8	4	245	2	7
Northampton	161	9	4	48	7	6	74	<1	12
Norwich	72	4	8	28	4	9	217	2	8
Nottingham	5	<1	15	6	1	15	299	3	5
Oxford	44	2	10	27	4	10	1,327	12	3
Stamford	–			39	6	7	176	2	9
Wallingford	1	<1	20	–			–		
Warwick	62	3.5	9	–			27	<1	14
Wilton	–			–			26	<1	15
Winchester	85	5	7	53	8	3	104	1	10
Worcester	4	<1	16	3	<1	16	13	<1	19
York	–			165	25	1	5,110	48	1
TOTAL	1,750			655			10,750		

*Note:* Figures rounded to nearest £ so may not add up precisely.

*Source:* 1194, PRO/E101/249/2; 1221, RR, 1220–22, 79–81, 82–3, 84–92; and 1239–42, Stacey (1985), 200.

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